

SPEECHES
BY
LORD HARDINGE OF PENSHURST

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

VOLUME III.



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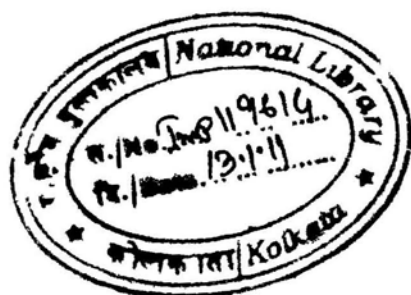


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II.—SPEECHES MADE IN INDIA.

1914-16.

SPEECHES IN AUTUMN SESSION OF IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL HELD IN SIMLA, SEPTEMBER 1914.

KING-EMPEROR'S MESSAGE. IMMIGRATION QUESTION. INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

[The Autumn Session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held for the first time in the new Council Chamber at Simla, recently built as an Annexe to the Viceregal Lodge. There was a large attendance of members and also of the general public. His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the Session spoke as follows:—] 8th Sept.
1914.

I gladly and warmly welcome Hon'ble Members of my Legislative Council to the new Council Chamber, and trust that they will find it much more comfortable and convenient than the arrangements hitherto made for meetings of Council in Simla.

Since we met last in Delhi we have to deplore the loss of one of our Members in the death of Rai Bahadur the Hon'ble Mr. Sri Ram. A member of a well-known family, Mr. Sri Ram as a public servant rendered great services to his country and the Government of India. After being for some time a Member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces, he was twice a Member of this Council and received in 1906 the C.I.E. as a mark of appreciation by Government of his services. His activities extended to various educational, charitable and religious works, and his loss will be as deeply regretted

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by his province as it is by this Council. I am sure that I may be permitted to say that this Council sympathises deeply with his family in their sad bereavement.

Before we pass to the ordinary business of Council, I will ask Hon'ble Members to stand up while I read to Council a gracious message addressed to the Princes and Peoples of India by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

"During the past few weeks the peoples of my whole Empire at home and overseas have moved with one mind and purpose to confront and overthrow an unparalleled assault upon the continuity, civilisation and peace of mankind.

The calamitous conflict is not of my seeking. My voice has been cast throughout on the side of peace. My Ministers earnestly strove to allay the causes of strife and to appease differences with which my Empire was not concerned. Had I stood aside when, in defiance of pledges to which my Kingdom was a party, the soil of Belgium was violated and her cities laid desolate, when the very life of the French nation was threatened with extinction, I should have sacrificed my honour and given to destruction the liberties of my Empire and of mankind. I rejoice that every part of the Empire is with me in this decision.

Paramount regard for treaty, faith and pledged word of Rulers and peoples is the common heritage of England and India.

Amongst the many incidents that have marked the unanimous uprising of the populations of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion to my Throne expressed both by my Indian and English subjects and by Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India and their prodigious offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm. Their one-voiced demand to be fore-

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most in conflict has touched my heart and has inspired to highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked my Indian subjects and myself. I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British nation of good-will and fellowship which greeted my return in February 1912 after the solemn ceremony of my Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked."

I think that I am voicing the views of my Council and of the whole of India when I say that we are profoundly grateful to His Majesty for his gracious and stirring message, and that we can only assure His Majesty of our unflinching loyalty and devotion in this time of crisis and emergency.

I propose now to add a few words explaining in greater detail the situation described by His Majesty in the first few sentences of his message.

It is now five weeks ago that the British Empire was plunged into war with the two great military nations, Germany and Austria. As has been said by His Majesty the war was none of our seeking, but it has been thrust on us in what one can only describe as a wicked and wanton manner. Although we all deeply deplored the horrible assassination at Serajevo of the Austrian heir to the throne and his consort, we cannot but feel regret that this was made the pretext for a conflict in which it was well known that there was every probability that most of the great Powers of Europe would be involved. It was not, however, until Germany, with a callous disregard for international obligations to which she herself was a party, refused to respect the neutrality of Belgium guaranteed in the Treaties of 1831 and 1839 by Austria, Russia, Great Britain and Prussia, that the intervention of Great

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Britain became inevitable. It is hardly necessary for me to describe steps taken by the King-Emperor to ensure peace, and the patient, genuine and whole-hearted efforts of that great statesman, Sir Edward Grey, to induce Germany to take a reasonable attitude, nor need I relate in detail what Mr. Asquith has described as the infamous proposals of Germany to buy our neutrality while giving her a free hand to destroy the independence of Belgium and the integrity of France and her possessions. All these details have been given by Sir E. Grey and Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons on the 3rd and 4th August.

It suffices for me to say here that Great Britain having with other great Powers guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, the vital interests of England being concerned in the independence and integrity of that State, it was her duty to keep her word and to maintain that neutrality with all the forces and resources at her disposal. It was in accordance with this stern sense of duty and with the conviction that her cause was just and righteous that Great Britain, in her accustomed rôle of protector of the smaller independent States, took up the sword to maintain the independence and integrity of Belgium and declared war on Germany. We have only to refer to the words of the German Chancellor in the Reichstag when he admitted that Germany had done a grievous wrong to Belgium to find more than ample justification for the action of our statesmen. The excuse then given that France meditated an attack on Germany through Belgium is one that can deceive no one, for it is notorious that France, who desires peace as much as we do, had already promised to respect the neutrality of Belgium. No Government and no people in Europe had less desire for war than the French, but their engagements by treaty and of honour compelled them to recognise their obligation to

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Russia. It is common knowledge that Germany for the last ten or fifteen years has been carefully planning and preparing for a campaign of aggression and self-aggrandisement, and in spite of all the denials of the German Government of any hostile intentions those, who, like myself, have been engaged in watching over the foreign interests of Great Britain during the past few years, correctly gauged the intentions of Germany to force war upon England, France and Russia as soon as she was ready for it and at the most favourable moment. We are now face to face with a possibly long and exhausting war, which, however just and righteous on our side, must be a terrible ordeal through which we should pass with firm confidence in the justice of our cause, and with strong determination to spare no effort to bring it to a successful conclusion. When this result has been achieved, as I have no doubt it will, let us not boast, but thank Him who has given us the victory. War is a terrible and horrible thing, but there is a worse thing than war, and that is national dishonour and failure of a nation to keep its engagements. This we have been happily spared by the firm and straightforward attitude of our statesmen in England. In this great crisis it has been a source of profound satisfaction to me that the attitude of the British Government has been so thoroughly appreciated in India and has met with such warm support. I have no hesitation in saying that the valuable offers of military assistance that I have received from the Ruling Chiefs of India, and the countless offers of personal service and of material help made to me by both rich and poor in the provinces of British India, have touched me deeply, and have given me one more proof, which I never needed, of what I have long known, and never for an instant doubted, *viz.*, the deep loyalty and attachment of the Indian people to the King-Emperor and the Throne, and their readiness to make

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any sacrifice on their part to further and strengthen the interests of the Empire. The fact that the Government of India are in a position to help the mother-country by the despatch of such a large proportion of our armed forces is a supreme mark of my absolute confidence in the fidelity of our troops and in the loyalty of the Indian people. I trust that this may be fully recognised in England and abroad.

That, owing to the war, sacrifices will have to be made is inevitable, and that suffering will be entailed is unhappily certain, but I am confident that the people of India, standing shoulder to shoulder, will shrink from no sacrifice, and will loyally co-operate with Government in maintaining internal order and in doing all in their power to secure the triumph of the arms of our King-Emperor. The countless meetings to express loyalty held throughout India and the warm response of the people to my appeal for funds for the relief of distress in India during the war have filled me with satisfaction, and have confirmed my first impression that in this war the Government would be supported by the determination, courage and endurance of the whole country.

It was moreover with confidence and pride that I was able to offer to His Majesty the finest and largest military force of British and Indian troops for service in Europe that has ever left the shores of India. I am confident that the honour of this land and of the British Empire may be safely entrusted to our brave soldiers, and that they will acquit themselves nobly and ever maintain their high traditions of military chivalry and courage. To the people of India I would say at this time—"Let us display to the world an attitude of unity, of self-sacrifice and of unswerving confidence under all circumstances in the justice of our cause and in the assurance that God will defend the right."

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I would now like to say a few words upon another question which has seriously occupied the attention of the Government of India during the past 12 months—a subject to which we attach the very highest importance. I allude to the question of migration from one part of our Empire to another.

Before dealing with this question I would like to remind you that, in a speech which I addressed to you in Council on the 24th March last, I informed you of an announcement made in the Union House of Assembly at Cape Town that the Government of the Union would introduce in the following session legislation based on the report of the Commission which had been sitting to enquire into the grievances of Indians in South Africa. As all of you are aware, the proposed Indian Relief Bill has since become law, and I think that we may regard the passing of the Bill by both Houses of the Union Parliament with grateful satisfaction. If the new law does not satisfy every Indian aspiration, it certainly removes the principal grievances from which Indians had for many years been suffering. The solution of this very difficult problem is a matter upon which we may legitimately congratulate the Government of General Botha, and I would like to say in particular that the bold and generous statesmanship which inspired General Smuts and the skill with which he piloted the Bill through the South African Legislature have earned our warm admiration.

I will now revert to the general question which is one of far-reaching importance. It cannot be dealt with satisfactorily from merely a local standpoint. It is a question for which, in my opinion, a practical solution may be found; but it is essential that such a solution should be based on a reasonable apprehension of the requirements of other parts of the Empire. At the outset of the discussion of the problem which has arisen, we are

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faced with this difficulty. It is being commonly asserted—whether on historical, legal or constitutional grounds—that the full rights of citizenship of the British Empire include the right to settle in any part of that Empire, irrespective of the existence of local legislation barring or limiting access to the Dominion to which access is sought.

But it must not be forgotten that to such a doctrine a political impediment exists of an almost insuperable character. Our Empire is largely composed of self-governing units. The Dominions have been given their own legislatures by the Imperial Government in order that they may regulate the management of their internal affairs as may seem best to them. It is beyond question that the control of immigration is primarily an internal question, for each self-governing unit must know best from what materials it desires to provide its future citizens. Thus, indeed, it must clearly be seen that the right of free movement within the Empire is conditional on the exercise by the local legislatures of their undoubted powers, just as it is restricted even more rigorously by the physical characteristics of certain parts of the Empire. The principle of free migration between all parts of the Empire may have attractions and many advantages; it is indeed the principle for which the Government of India have long and consistently contended. But I have shown that to reduce this principle to practice would involve the most serious difficulties, and the course of events has made it more and more clear that there is no hope of its adoption. On the other hand, when we review the whole situation and the policy that we have consistently followed for many years past, I fear that the obvious conclusion at which we must arrive is that the result of this attitude has been to force the Colonies to undertake more and more drastic legislation, and thus to produce the present situa-

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tion in Canada which has brought the problem to an acute stage. This being so, it seems to me that the time has come when we must change our course and we have to consider whether, if we cannot get all we wanted, some alternative is not feasible to relieve at least the present situation which already is unsatisfactory from the point of view both of Indian and Colonial interests, and may in the future lead to serious trouble. I think that such an alternative can be found, and I shall indicate presently what it is.

I desire first to try to correct any misapprehension that may exist in this country regarding the attitude of the Governments of the Dominions towards Indians as a whole, and towards the position of the Government of India, in this difficult matter. It is often stated that the Colonial Governments, in formulating their measures for exclusion, are actuated by feelings of animosity towards Indians, and that they would not apply to residents of the United Kingdom any of the restrictions they freely impose on residents of this country. I do not think that such a statement is quite fair. To be impartial it must be admitted that the Colonies naturally place above all other considerations the interests of their own country, as they understand them, just as we in India should put the good of India in the front of our motives for legislation. But time after time the Colonial Governments have given evidence, whether during the discussions in their Legislative Assemblies or in their attempts to negotiate with the Government of India, that they are by no means unmindful of the possible effects of their action on the government and people in this country; and I think I may say with justice that they are quite willing to consider India's requirements once they are satisfied that the interests of their own country have been adequately secured.

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Then, as to the right of residents of the United Kingdom to enter the Colonies without restriction, I can assure you that the Colonial Governments, both in theory and in practice, maintain their full right to reject such immigrants, and use this right without restriction as they may think their local conditions require. So much is this the case that the freedom with which Canada excludes labourers of inferior physique while encouraging by every possible means the emigration of the fit has been described as constituting a serious drain on the United Kingdom. I would also remind this Council how, some years ago, three English hatters were turned back from Australia on the ground that the local labour market for hatters was overstocked. At the present moment an Ordinance is in force in Canada which forbids *any* labourer, whether from the United Kingdom or elsewhere, landing in that country. Recently the Government of South Africa actually removed by force from their territories certain English labourers whose presence was felt to be undesirable.

In the face of such incidents, it is out of place to assert that the policy of exclusion is directed against Indians alone, and that there is therefore an Indian grievance against the Colonies. I should like to add that I have seen a statement recently made by the Hon'ble Mr. Roche, Canadian Minister of the Interior, which I believe to be substantially correct, to the effect that, during the past ten years previous to the arrival at Vancouver of the *Komagata Maru*, 917 English people had been rejected at Canadian ocean ports as compared with 376 Indians.

I will now touch lightly on the incident of the *Komagata Maru*. The despatch of this vessel from Shanghai to Vancouver with 400 Indians on board was carried out without the cognisance or approval of the Government of India. The object of the promoters of the

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expedition was undoubtedly to challenge directly the legality of the Canadian immigration laws on the lines that the would-be immigrants were British subjects, and had therefore the right to enter Canada. Such a proceeding was in direct contravention of the existing embargo placed on all labourers of every nationality arriving in British Columbia, and in violation of the condition that the immigrants should arrive by continuous voyage from their place of origin. It is unfortunate and to be regretted that such restrictions should exist; but when they do exist, they cannot be ignored without causing suffering and distress. We must all regret the discomfort suffered by the 400 Indians on board the *Komagata Maru* for which the organisers of the expedition were, in my opinion, culpably responsible. They must have known perfectly well that entry would be refused, and the sending of the ship could only be regarded as most unwise. The promoters should have remembered that they who fail to consider the rights of the Colonies can in return claim little consideration for their own. The Canadian Immigration Act gives the Government of Canada very wide powers, and anybody with any knowledge of its contents would realise how futile it would be to contest them. The case was taken as a test case before the Canadian Law Courts and was lost as was inevitable, the result being that, with very few exceptions, all those on board the *Komagata Maru* were deported. There were unfortunately some breaches of the peace committed by some of the Indian passengers on board, but in the end they left peacefully. In this connection I would like to mention the fact that the Canadian Government very generously gave £800 worth of supplies to the Indians on board for the return journey. This point should not be forgotten. I may add that the developments of this incident were watched by the Government of India with the closest

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attention; but as the question at issue was of a purely legal character, there was no cause for intervention. When however there was an apparent likelihood of the compulsion of the Indian passengers by armed force, I addressed a communication to the Secretary of State deprecating the use of force on our fellow-countrymen, and as you are aware, no force was used. Within the last few days I have learnt that these unfortunate people have been left stranded in Japan. I have therefore requested His Majesty's Consul-General at Kobe to repatriate them to India, and at the expense of Government in the case of those without means.

Having now cleared the ground of possible misunderstandings, I will revert to the alternative policy to which I referred a few minutes ago as a possible solution. I think I have shown clearly that we have drifted into a position of isolation, and it is evident that, if we are to secure for our Indian fellow-subjects any of the advantages that are now denied, we must substitute for this a policy of co-operation. This can, in my opinion, be achieved only by negotiation with the Colonies on a basis of complete reciprocity. Taking Canada for instance, we know that a certain number of Japanese are admitted annually on a passport system. Surely India may claim at least most-favoured-nation treatment in any negotiations that are opened, and secure equally favourable terms for Indians. It should not be difficult to limit by agreement the number of passports to be issued which, while providing very fully for temporary residence, as in the case of students, tourists and the like, would at the same time strictly limit the right to settle permanently in the country. Those attempting to secure admission without such permits or passports would be rejected at the port of entry after ample warning in the country of origin that such rejection would be inevitable. Clearly no

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reciprocal arrangement for controlling emigration at both ends can be outlined or considered in detail without full discussion with the Colonial Governments concerned, and it would obviously be undesirable to commence negotiations with the Colonies unless there was a reasonable prospect of some practical outcome of the discussions. If this alternative policy commends itself to the people of India, it would be futile to consider any other line of action until it has been tried and has failed. But with the knowledge in our possession that the Colonies have on various occasions shown themselves alive to the necessity of giving such consideration as is possible to the wishes of the Government of India, I am full of confidence that they would be willing to go to some length in giving facilities to a moderate number of Indian immigrants, while obtaining through such a compromise certain restrictions in India on free emigration to the Colonies. This is the policy which the Government of India would advocate at the present time—a policy based on a scheme of complete reciprocity—and it is for the consideration of Hon'ble Members and of the Indian public that I have developed our views here to-day. If these views meet with general approval, the Government of India are ready to recommend them to the Secretary of State, with a view to opening negotiations with the Colonies concerned. I appeal to the Indian public to view this question in no narrow light. India has her rights, but equally have the Colonies. Should it be decided to negotiate with the Colonial Governments, I am confident that they, with their strong Imperial instincts, will meet us in no mean or niggardly spirit, provided that we on our side show our readiness to meet them half-way. The fact that in a few weeks' time our splendid Indian soldiers may be fighting side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our Colonial fellow-subjects

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against the common enemy is a guarantee of fair and generous treatment on both sides in a controversy of this nature.

[After interpellations the rules of business were suspended when Sir G. Chitnavis expressed the respectful gratitude of the Council for His Majesty the King's gracious message, and moved the following Resolution:—

"That, in view of the great war, involving most momentous issues, now in progress in Europe, into which our august Sovereign has been forced to enter by obligations of honour and duty to preserve the neutrality guaranteed by treaty and the liberties of a friendly State, the Members of this Council, as voicing the feeling that animates the whole of the people of India, desire to give expression to their feelings of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to their King-Emperor, and an assurance of their unflinching support to the British Government.

They desire at the same time to express the opinion that the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom and request the Government of India to take this view into consideration and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.

They request His Excellency the President to be so good as to convey the substance of this Resolution to His Majesty the King-Emperor and His Majesty's Government."

Sir G. Chitnavis then drew a comparison between England's present attitude and that taken up by her during the great Napoleonic wars, pointing out how in the present conflict, as then, undeterred by fear of consequences or claims of self-interest, she stands forth as the protector of weaker nations against the brute force of militarism.

He then expressed the keen appreciation felt by all Indians of the Viceroy's prompt action in assuring the King of India's whole-hearted loyalty, thus acting as a true and trusted representative of Indian people. Though there may be internal difficulties and differences of opinion within the English Empire, in face of outside danger all rally round England to support the Empire of which all are proud to be citizens. Indians of all ranks, religions and opinions hope for England's victory with loyal sentiment based on gratitude, contentment and confidence in future. The maintenance of British

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rule is an essential condition of moral and material progress of a country, hence all rejoice that Indian fighting races will take the field in Europe alongside English troops. The splendid Indian Army, under British guidance, may be trusted to render a good account of itself under all circumstances. A further and nobler reason for India's support of the British cause is the complete confidence in the justice of it, as proved by published correspondence.

India desires deeply to prove herself worthy of England's confidence by action and sacrifice as well as by words. This sentiment expressed at crowded meetings throughout India must be voiced here in showing clearly to the Viceroy that all are, and will be, ready to bear their share in the financial burden imposed by the war. He moved the Resolution with confidence that he will have the full support of the whole Council, who will all wish to assist in continuing and completing the noble mission of the Empire.

The Raja of Mahmudabad, seconding the Resolution, stated that it represented the very essence of Indian public opinion, and that Indians are only too proud to bear their share of the Imperial burden. The entire resources of India in men and money should be at England's disposal. He expressed deep gratitude on behalf of India for the Viceroy's assistance in getting Indian troops despatched to Europe, which has made India justly feel proud of her position in the Empire.

Sardar Daljit Singh (Punjab), in supporting the Resolution, emphasised the righteousness of England's cause. India's determination to assist in the defence of the Empire is due not merely to sense of duty and gratitude, but also to feeling that her interests are indissolubly connected with those of England. Immense satisfaction was felt throughout India at the honour done to India by sending her troops to Europe. But England needs money as well as men, and this will be given ungrudgingly by all.

In an eloquent speech by Mr. Malaviya he said:—

India recognises her duty at this present moment and, God willing, will loyally and manfully discharge that duty; that no sacrifice of men or money will be grudged in order that the British arms should triumph; in order that the success of the British arms should establish the triumph of right over might, of civilisation over the military barbarism of Germany, of ordered freedom over military slavery, and of everything that men have held dear in the last hundred years over all that seems to be ugly and despicable at the present moment in the doings that are going on in Belgium and

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other countries. The appeal that England made in days gone by she has made now in respect of calling upon Englishmen to do their duty, and in this hour of crisis it is her proud privilege to call upon all the citizens of the British Empire to rise as one man and manfully to discharge the duties which the situation has imposed upon them. My Lord, India will humbly and dutifully respond to that call.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, on behalf of the Bombay Presidency, said that the Resolution embodied the feeling of the whole country, which desired to prove unity of Empire by sacrificing life and property in support of England. The crisis has helped Indians to realise how dear British rule is to them, and they regard the fact of Indian troops fighting with British in Europe as a great pledge of equal citizenship in the Empire. The resolution will be hailed by all India with proud approval.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghuznavi, speaking for Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, pointed out that the war had demonstrated to the whole world how truly united was the Empire.

Mr. Banerjee, in supporting the Resolution, pointed out that it was the duty of the Council to focus sentiments of enthusiastic loyalty and support which animated every province of the Empire; they desired to tell the world, the enemies of England and all else whom it might concern, that their loyalty was not lip-deep, but behind the serried ranks of one of the finest armies of the world, even the vast and multitudinous races and peoples of India were bound together as one man.

Every one of the non-official Members present also spoke in favour of the Resolution, and the proceedings were marked by a genuine ring of quiet enthusiasm.

His Excellency the Viceroy in closing the Debate spoke as follows:—]

It has been a source of profound pleasure to me to listen to-day to the loyal and patriotic speeches made by Hon'ble Members of my Council, and it has struck me during the course of to-day's discussion in Council that this remarkable demonstration of loyalty and of unity with the Empire has been a fitting baptism of this new Chamber.

I fully recognise that the views expressed by Hon'ble Members represent, not merely their own personal views,

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but those of the whole country which has been deeply moved by the fact that the Empire has, through no fault on the part of its statesmen, been placed in a position of grave external danger. The hearty desire displayed on every side to make material sacrifices and to offer personal service has been a striking demonstration of the enthusiasm of all classes and creeds to unite with the Government in resisting the aggressive action of a Power which can only be regarded as a menace to civilisation in its savage efforts to dominate Europe and indirectly the world. India has gladly given her sons to fight the common foe side by side with the sons of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and we may, with confidence and with pride, look forward to their achievements on the battle-field being worthy of the best and highest military traditions of this country. It is no longer a secret that we have already despatched two splendid divisions of infantry to Europe and one cavalry brigade, while three more cavalry brigades and four additional field artillery brigades will follow immediately. We have also another division of infantry with some excellent regiments of Imperial Service Troops ready to start. That we have been in a position to send a military force of over 70,000 combatants to fight for the Empire across the seas is a legitimate source of pride and satisfaction to India as a whole; and with the knowledge that practically all the Ruling Chiefs have placed their military forces and the resources of their States at the disposal of the Government, it is clear that we are not at the end of our military resources. Several of the Ruling Chiefs have in accordance with their desire been selected to accompany the expeditionary force, whilst all who have had any military training have expressed a desire to serve. Amongst those selected are Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur, and the Maharajas of Bikaner,

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Patiala, Rutlam, Kishengarh, Jodhpur, the Nawabs of Jaora, Sachin, Bhopal and several other leading Indians of rank and distinction, amongst these being our friend Malik Umar Hayat, who never misses an occasion to go to the front, and whose cheery presence in this Council we shall all miss. I should like to add at the same time that our ally, the Maharaja of Nepal, has also very generously placed his forces at the disposal of Government, while I have received from His Majesty the Amir the most friendly assurances.

That Hon'ble Members should desire at the same time to share the financial burden cast upon the United Kingdom by the war is a very natural and legitimate aspiration, and one that I cannot commend too highly. I speak for the Government of India when I say that we are in full accord and complete sympathy with the wish expressed, and will be very pleased to gratify it as far as we legitimately can, having due regard to the interests of the Indian tax-payer. You are no doubt aware that we are bound to suffer financially from the war and the consequent dislocation of trade, entailing as it will a falling off in our customs returns and railway receipts. We could, however, under ordinary circumstances, have asked the Home Government to bear the whole cost of the expeditionary force, as in the case of the forces sent to China and South Africa, and in this way we could have effected very considerable counter-savings. But I must tell you that we have actually had this matter under our consideration, and we felt that it would not be in accordance with the wishes of the people of India that, in a crisis like the present, India should gain a material advantage at the expense of the Home Government in the savings effected on the despatch of a large expeditionary force to Europe, a feeling which has received full confirmation in the resolution which has been moved and in the speeches

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which have been made. On behalf of Government I accept that resolution and it will strengthen our hands in the recommendation we felt disposed to make, and shall now proceed to make, that, under present circumstances, we should accept such portion of the cost of the expeditionary force as would have fallen upon India had our troops continued to be employed in this country under normal circumstances. As far as a rough estimate can be framed at present, and it must necessarily be a very rough one, the net amount which the Government of India would in this way contribute to His Majesty's Government, assuming that the war lasted till towards the end of the current financial year, would be about one million sterling.

Hon'ble Members will have seen the announcement in the press of the splendid offer of 50 lakhs as a contribution to the cost of the expeditionary force made by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. I cannot sufficiently commend this striking and patriotic action on the part of His Highness, whose loyalty, generosity and liberal views are so well known. The money so offered will be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government as an additional contribution and has been earmarked for meeting the cost of the transports taking our troops overseas. Any other similar offers that may be made will be treated in like way.

I trust that this solution of this somewhat difficult question will prove satisfactory to Hon'ble Members and to the country at large. We shall thus, besides placing at the disposal of His Majesty's Government a large portion of our Army—primarily maintained for the defence of India—also present them, and that at a time when, as I have said, the war is likely materially to affect our budget arrangements, with a sum which may run to about

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a million sterling. A contribution on more liberal lines than this would not, we think, be fair to the Indian taxpayer; but that we should go to this extent in helping the mother-country is, I believe, a measure which will be in unison with your wishes and with Indian sentiment generally.

There is, I believe, nothing like comradeship in arms before the enemy, and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level all distinctions, to inspire mutual respect, and to foster friendships. This I regard as the bright side of the despatch of our troops to Europe and of the heavy and material sacrifices that are being made by India for the sake of the Empire. I cannot help feeling that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire, many misunderstandings will be removed, and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of us all.

In conclusion I accept, on behalf of the Government of India, the loyal and patriotic resolution moved by the Hon'ble Sir G. Chitnavis; and if Hon'ble Members agree, I shall have very great pleasure in telegraphing its terms to the Secretary of State and in asking Lord Crewe to be so good as to lay it at the foot of the Throne of our King-Emperor.

MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT DELHI.

- n. [The first meeting of the Legislative Council of the 1914-15 session was held at Delhi on the 12th January. There was a large attendance, only a few non-official members being absent. Business was of a general character, including replies to certain questions and the passing of the Bill continuing in force the War ordinances that have only a statutory life of six months,

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His Excellency in opening the proceedings spoke as follows :—]

Since I last addressed you in September the British Empire, much to our general regret, has through the intrigues and pressure of Germany and Austria been plunged into a needless and useless war against Turkey. I believe that I am not wrong in saying that this is the first occasion in history that the British Empire has been at war with Turkey. As you are all aware, in the Crimean war England expended freely her blood and treasure to maintain the integrity of Turkey, while nearly 25 years later the disastrous Treaty of San Stefano, which would have destroyed Turkish power in Europe was annulled solely by the threatened intervention of Great Britain. Since those days the policy of the British Government, as I am personally able to bear witness, has been to endeavour to strengthen the position of Turkey, and to induce her to seek safety from internal danger and external menace by the introduction of much-needed reforms into her administration. The advice of England, though frequently unpalatable, was at least disinterested.

New evidence almost daily brought to light tends to prove the present war to have been a long premeditated and prepared aggression on the part of Germany and Austria, of which the infamous assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his consort was merely the pretext but not the cause. When it broke out England had no quarrel of any kind with Turkey, and the British Government simply expected of the Turkish Government their observance of the ordinary principles of international law and the elementary duties of a neutral Power. I need not repeat here the breaches of neutrality committed and the provocations given by Turkey culminating in the unprovoked attack upon Russian harbours in the Black Sea, the hostile infringement of Egyptian territory by armed Turkish forces and

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the sinking of a British merchant vessel while lying in a friendly port. From these incidents it was clear that our patience was misunderstood, that a powerful party in Turkey, dominated by German influence, was bent on war, and that they meant to go on from outrage to outrage till war was provoked. These incidents finally led up to a declaration of war; but although they occurred on the 28th October, Sir Edward Grey, with that exceptional patience which has characterised the attitude of the Foreign Office in its relations with Turkey, informed Tewfik Pasha on the 4th November, when the British Ambassador had already three days earlier been recalled from Constantinople that, if his Government wished hostilities between the two countries to cease, the only chance was to dismiss the German naval and military missions and especially the officers of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*. It is clear from events that have since taken place in Constantinople, that the Turkish Government as a whole were not at all anxious for war, but according to information recently published in an official White Book, Enver Pasha told the Austrian Ambassador on the 22nd October that he was determined to have war whatever his colleagues might desire, that the Turkish fleet would be sent into the Black Sea, and that he could easily arrange with the German Admiral in command of the Turkish fleet to provoke hostilities. This cynical forecast is what actually took place six days later.

I am well aware that many of the leading Moslem bodies in India have most loyally done their utmost to avert war with Turkey, and that the authorities in Constantinople have turned a deaf ear to their repeated representations. The fact remains that there is absolutely no reason for Turkish intervention in the war. The allies have more than once given solemn assurances to respect the independence and integrity of Turkey and

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there is no menace to Islam. On the contrary the allies have made a declaration of the immunity of the holy places of Arabia and Mesopotamia from attack, while the British Government have even declared that they are prepared, if any such need should arise, to defend them against all foreign invaders and to maintain them inviolate. The most striking commentary on the unnatural combination of Germany and Turkey is the fact that, while there are many thousands of Moslems fighting in the ranks of the British, French and Russian armies against Germany, not a single Moslem is to be found in the German ranks. It is no exaggeration to say that the military clique of Enver Pasha, under Germany's compulsion, has betrayed the interests of Islam, and that the Turkish Government, in submitting to it, has abdicated its sovereignty and delivered the independence of a Mahomedan Empire into the hands of Germany. It will now rest with Turkey to face the consequences of those actions for which she is responsible; but however the tide of events may shape its course, there can be no doubt that the holy places will remain inviolate, and that Islam will still be one of the great world forces.

From the very moment that the intervention of Turkey in the war appeared probable, it was clear that it was not to be expected that amongst Indian Moslems there would not be a natural sentiment of sympathy with a great Mahomedan Power. But when the character and motives of this war became fully known to, and realised by, the Moslems of India, whatever might have been the sympathy with which their religious instincts might under other circumstances have inspired them, any such sentiment was absolutely swept aside by their feeling of unswerving loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the British Empire, whose cause in this war they recognised to be that of freedom, honour and justice. The other

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great Indian communities have not been behindhand in their demonstrations of attachment to the Throne and Empire, and a towering wave of patriotism and loyalty has swept over India from shore to shore. It has been a source of gratification to me but not of surprise to witness the universal demonstrations of loyalty of all classes and creeds of the people of India. This has been yet one more of Germany's miscalculations which will bring about her ruin.

As to the progress of the war I know no more than you. I give all the information that I receive to the Press. It is clear, however, that German strategy has failed, and that the allies are holding their own and gradually gaining ground, while German shipping and commerce have disappeared from the seas and the main German fleet has not dared to appear outside its harbours. What is particularly satisfactory to us all has been the splendid behaviour of the Indian troops at the front. No troops could have behaved more gallantly. This is recognised by all. We knew it could not be otherwise. It has also been a source of pride to us all that, in accordance with the boon announced at the King-Emperor's Durbar, two Victoria Crosses have already been awarded to our brave Indian soldiers, this much-coveted decoration having, in one case, been bestowed by the hand of the King-Emperor himself.

In my speech to this Council on the 8th September, I mentioned that it was a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to India as a whole that we had been in a position to send a military force of over 70,000 combatants to fight for the Empire across the seas. Since I used those words we have done much more than that; thanks to the energy and powers of organisation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the military authorities, British and Indian troops have been fighting side

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by side in no less than five theatres of war, in France, Egypt, East Africa, the Persian Gulf and in China. We have despatched or are despatching nearly 200,000 men overseas to fight for the Empire of which we are proud to be a living and virile unit. These have been relieved by a certain number of fresh troops from England. At the same time we have maintained our military forces on the frontier unimpaired to protect our line and to be ready, as a defensive force, to meet any emergency in that direction. We are all proud of our military forces and of their gallantry in the field, and I can only repeat what I have said before, *viz.*, that the fact that the Government of India are in a position to help the mother-country by the despatch of such a large proportion of our armed forces is a supreme mark of my absolute confidence in the fidelity and gallantry of our troops and in the loyalty of the Indian people. That confidence is being every day more and more justified.

We may have days of depression and even reverses before us in the future, but we need feel no doubt as to the ultimate triumph of right over might and of civilisation over mediæval barbarism, and let us take to heart in such circumstances as these the noblest statement ever made of a nation's duty which English-speaking peoples owe to Abraham Lincoln, the great President of the United States. These are his words—

“With malice towards none; with charity to all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace.”

Amongst the many drawbacks to which war on such a large scale must necessarily give rise the upward trend in the price of wheat has given me cause for anxiety. There seemed reason to believe that stocks were being held up

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in the expectation of a further rise in prices either in the foreign or the Indian market, and in view of the hardship involved to the consuming classes, I have issued an Ordinance giving power to Government and to Local Governments to investigate the existence and amount of stocks, and if necessary to take over such as in their opinion are being unreasonably withheld. The question of further remedial measures has also been thoroughly examined at a Conference in Delhi with representatives of the wheat trade, who have co-operated readily with my Government in this matter. We were reluctant in the interests of agriculture and of commerce to prohibit altogether the export of wheat and flour from this country, and the information before us did not appear to indicate that there was sufficient actual shortage to justify this step. It has been decided therefore to restrict to a definite quantity, exports up to the end of the cold weather, by which time the new crop will be beginning to come in. The measures which have been taken have already checked any further rise in prices, and in view of the excellent promise of the new harvest, I hope that the situation may improve.

The cotton situation also, as you are aware, has been a matter of some anxiety, though I am glad to learn that it has recently shown some signs of improvement. The announcement which we made the other day has already informed you of the steps which we are prepared to take. We propose to advise a general restriction of cotton cultivation next season, and I hope that the expectation of such restriction will do something to assist the disposal of existing stocks. We are also prepared, by loans through the Presidency Banks, to help in securing the continuance of reasonable financial facilities not only for the cotton trade but also for other special trade interests which may be somewhat similarly affected. We have been very glad

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to intervene in this manner and so give evidence of our real desire to assist agriculture, trade and credit when we can legitimately and expediently do so. You will readily recognise, however, as the Conference of provincial and banking authorities which advised us in the matter also recognised, that we cannot embark on speculative and indefinite commitments. Our resources are very limited in comparison, for example, with those at the command of His Majesty's Government, and in these difficult times and with a most uncertain future ahead of us, we have to tread very warily.

I should like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the manner in which the Press, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, has been conducted in the face of considerable difficulties during the past few months. It is common knowledge that in England and I may add in America, there has been a good deal of recrimination about the vagaries of the censorship, and I have reason to know that in India too there has been some irritation against that much abused person, the Censor. But the Press has to a large extent recognised that his task is a hard one and have exercised moderation and patience. Similarly these months have been a time when rumour has been busy with every kind of false report, and when it would have been easy to have done great mischief by giving wide publicity to idle tales in the columns of the daily papers. With a very few exceptions, to which I need not refer in detail, the Press of India has exercised wisdom, restraint and moderation, and I feel that we all owe to it an expression of gratitude.

It has been suggested that the exceptions to which I have referred are sufficiently serious to demand a more drastic Press Law during this time of war, for at present no action can be taken against an offending paper until the mischief has been done; we are however opposed to

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taking any further powers in this direction unless the necessity is absolutely forced upon, for the exceptions in the good conduct of the Press as a whole have not so far been sufficient to justify anything of the nature of a pre-censorship and I for one should regard it as a grave misfortune if the errors of a few should bring a stigma upon the Press of India, which speaking generally has been wisely and loyally conducted during these difficult times.

I now desire to invite the attention of Members of this Council to a matter of importance which immediately concerns the business of the present session. It is the desire of the Government of India that, so far as may be possible, the discussion of all controversial questions should be avoided during the continuance of the war. The present emergency necessitates the enactment of a particular measure to which I will refer later, and for obvious reasons the introduction of this Bill cannot be postponed. In regard however to legislation not immediately necessary to meet the requirements of the present situation, I and my Government consider that it would be most inadvisable at this juncture, when the minds of all are concentrated on one object, the protection of the Empire against a ruthless and powerful enemy, to undertake any legislation which might provoke anything approaching controversy and friction. The one feeling now prominent in the mind of every loyal citizen is the necessity for united action to vanquish the common enemy, and no part of the Empire has come forward more readily and enthusiastically than India to render assistance to His Majesty's Government. We may have different points of view as to methods of administration and as to details of domestic legislation, but in a time of common danger we should present an united front, and it is clearly our duty to sink all minor differences and to seek and ensue but one object, the

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successful conduct of the war against the enemies of the British Empire. It is not that I think that the differences to which I have alluded are likely to be of a serious character, but I feel, and I hope you will agree with me, that this is a time when all appearance of division should be avoided, as such differences might be misconstrued by those who are strangers to Indian conditions. In this view we have decided to defer the consideration of a number of measures already introduced in Council, and to postpone the introduction of other Bills. Amongst these I may mention the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, the Bill for the Further Protection of Minors, the Bill dealing with Contempts of Courts, and the Universities Bill. We recognise the fact that, important as these Bills are, they are necessarily to some extent controversial, and in view of the present position, we have decided that it would be better not to proceed further with them during this session.

I feel confident that the Council will approve of this decision, and I hope that you will support us in attaining the object in view by abstaining from moving any resolutions which might provoke controversy or bitterness, or embarrass the Government. In adopting this course, you will be following the example of the British Parliament where all political controversy has been suspended during the war, and where the leaders of the Opposition have refrained from any action which might embarrass the Government or add to the labours of Ministers already overburdened with work and responsibility. It has been felt in England, to use the words of Mr. Bonar Law in a speech delivered on 10th August, that controversial debate at such a time would be a national calamity. Although the position of Members of this Council is not in many ways analogous to that of Members of Parliament, yet I hope that, in this respect, they will treat the

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Government with like consideration. My Council has on various occasions been congratulated on the excellent traditions that it is building up for the future, and I hope and believe that this opportunity of adding to those traditions will not be lost.

In connection with this question I think that I ought to mention one legislative measure which will come up for consideration to-day. This is the measure to which I referred in an earlier passage of my speech and is a Bill for prolonging the period of emergent provisions of the law now contained in certain Ordinances recently passed. The Council is aware of the authority vested in the Governor-General personally to promulgate in times of emergency Ordinances which have for a period of six months the force of laws passed in this Council. These powers have been infrequently exercised in the past. Indeed I believe I am correct in saying that in all only seven Ordinances were promulgated between 1861 and 1913, but the present emergency has shown how valuable these powers are, and since the outbreak of war, I have found it necessary to utilise them in respect of various matters of the gravest urgency. You will to-day be asked to co-operate with me by enacting a law which will render the provisions of these Ordinances effective so long as the war lasts and for a certain period thereafter, as the cessation of conditions created by war will not synchronise with the declaration of peace. I trust that I shall receive the full and unanimous support of this Council in the enactment of this measure. Military and political considerations make it imperative that these emergent measures should continue to be in force and it is impossible for the Government to publish or discuss in detail the reasons underlying them without divulging facts of a confidential nature, the publication of which would not only embarrass the authorities in this country,

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but might also assist our enemies. In these circumstances I ask the Council to give practical proof of their loyalty and of their confidence in the Government by accepting the Bill as it stands without entering into a prolonged discussion of its merits.

VISIT TO PERSIAN GULF · ADDRESS FROM BRITISH
COMMUNITY OF BASRA.

[On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 3rd February, the Viceroy proceeded up the Shatt-el-Arab and anchoring near the mouth of the Karun river, made an interesting trip by launch some miles up its course. Lady Cox and Colonel Trevor were presented to His Excellency and accompanied him on this trip. 4th Feb. 1915.

Early on Thursday morning the Viceroy proceeded up the river passing the "Elebatana" which with other smaller vessels had been sunk by the Turks in a vain attempt to block the channel shortly after the outbreak of war. A little above this spot is the Palace of the Sheikh of Mohammerah who came aboard accompanied by his Wazir to pay a formal visit to His Excellency—at the conclusion of which the Viceroy invested him with insignia of Honorary K.C.S.I. and decorated his Wazir as C.I.E. Subsequently the Viceroy received them at a prolonged private interview.

His Excellency arrived at Basra under a salute from His Majesty's ship "Lawrence" and the shore batteries and shortly afterwards General Sir Arthur Barrett and his staff as well as Captain Nunn, Senior Naval Officer, came on board and were presented to His Excellency.

After lunch the Viceroy received a deputation from the British community of Basra who presented the following address which was read by Mr. A. Lyle:—

*May it please Your Excellency,—*We, as a deputation, representing the British Community of Basra, wish to express our pleasure at your visit to this port, and to bid you welcome.

This is the first instance of a Viceroy of India visiting Basra, and this fact, coupled with the general conditions prevailing here and in Europe, makes the occasion of great interest.

At the present time all are more or less suffering from the effects of the war; but we take this opportunity of specially expressing our heartfelt sympathy with you on the loss of your son Lieutenant E. C. Hardinge, D.S.O., who died in the defence of his country.

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The knowledge of his distinguished services will, we hope, to some extent mitigate the sadness of your bereavement.

Basra has for many years been associated with India, as long ago as 1640, in the early days of the East India Company, trade was established between the countries of India and Turkish Arabia, of which Basra is the chief port.

Basra is the outlet for the produce of Mesopotamia and the receiving station for imports. The commerce of the Province has increased enormously of late years—a result due largely to the enterprise of British Merchants, and we welcome the British occupation of Basra, which we earnestly hope will be a permanent one, feeling confident that it will greatly advance the prosperity of the country.

In the past there have been great difficulties in the way of development, which we trust will now disappear.

The establishment of Imperial Penny Postage and Indian Inland Rates is an advantage which has already been greatly appreciated, and we are thereby emboldened to hope that improved telegraphic facilities may now be secured to us.

In this connection we beg to bring to Your Excellency's notice that not only is the rate from Basra to London extremely heavy—as much as Rs 2 annas 9 per word—but the rate to India over cables, wholly controlled by Government, is even greater than the rate from Bombay to London.

We would further represent that although, since the occupation of this region by our forces, long needed telegraphic connection has been established with Mohammerah through the British Consulate there, by land line and cable, unfortunately the line has not yet been made available to the public. We pray that it may now be opened to the public for *bona fide* local messages, and that, if possible, the tariff may be fixed at Indian Inland Rates.

We venture to urge that there is a strong case for a substantial reduction of rates in the first two instances and for the adoption of our suggestion in the third, and we trust that we may be so fortunate as to have the support of Your Excellency's Government in securing these further facilities for British commerce.

The possibilities of expansion of commerce are unbounded and with the security offered by British legislation the success of the irrigation schemes inaugurated by our distinguished countrymen, Sir William Wilcocks, and the general increase of trade will be assured.

We also desire to express our admiration for the achievements of the Naval and Military Forces under the command of Lieutenant-

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General Sir Arthur Barrett, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., which have so opportunely arrived, in spite of great difficulties, to secure British interests in Mesopotamia, and we trust that the whole of this fertile region will eventually come under British control.

We conclude with the hope that this present visit will be the precursor of many with which the Viceroy of India will favour us in future.

The Viceroy replied as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—It gives me very great pleasure to have had the opportunity of meeting you here this afternoon and I thank you very warmly for the hearty welcome you have accorded to me.

I notice with pleasure the appreciative reference you have made to the achievements of His Majesty's Naval and Military Forces. They have carried out the duty allotted to them with skill and gallantry and General Sir Arthur Barrett is entitled to our warmest congratulations upon the success that has attended the troops under his command. Their task has been successfully achieved in spite of difficulties and dangers and our casualty lists have not been small: let us not therefore in the happiness of the results that have so far been secured forget to pay a tribute to the memory of those brave men who have laid down their lives for the honour and glory and safety of the British Empire.

The occupation of Basra by our Forces has raised problems regarding the administration that require prompt consideration and settlement, and I have come here to see for myself its local conditions so that I may be in a better position to judge what measures are desirable in the interests of its security and good government and the general welfare of the community. I was recently reading some old papers about former conditions prevailing in Iraq and it is sad to think of the smiling face this country must have presented a few centuries ago and to contrast it with

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the desolate appearance produced by generations of turbulence and misrule. You are of course aware that in the great struggle in which we are involved we are not fighting single-handed, and we cannot therefore lay down plans for the future without a full exchange of views with the other great Powers, who are our allies. But in any case we may be permitted to indulge in the confident assurance that henceforth a more benign administration will bring back to Iraq that prosperity to which her rich potentialities give her so clear a title.

You, Gentlemen, as representing British interests in Basra, which may be described as the seaport of Iraq, are as much concerned in the welfare of the country as are its indigenous inhabitants. You inherit the traditions of the old Factory of the Honourable East India Company which as you have reminded me was in existence here in the early part of the 17th Century. In the year of Grace 1754 the Pasha of Baghdad wrote to Mr. Shaw who was then the Resident here expressing "the particular satisfaction he received from the regular and decent conduct of our nation at all times in his Government" and I have no doubt that if friendly relations had not unfortunately been disturbed you would have secured an equally favourable testimonial from the late Government of Basra. In those days the merchants have had to carry on a constant struggle against irregular exactions and outrageous conduct, they had to guide their course with much discretion and the servants of the Honourable Company were looked up to, by the other merchants to afford them security from every sort of oppression. It is pleasant to think that in whatever distant corners of the earth our countrymen find themselves they manage at all times to gain the confidence and goodwill of the people among whom their lot is cast, and I trust that this characteristic will continue to distinguish you and your suc-

Visit to Persian Gulf: Address from British Community of Basra.

cessors here in Basra. I should like to take this opportunity of conveying to you as a body my warm and grateful thanks for the unremitting and cordial assistance you have rendered to the Expeditionary Force. You have placed your resources, your staffs and your houses at its disposal and given every help you could, and though it may be invidious to single out individuals I trust that you will regard the presentation of plate which I look forward to making to two of your number to-morrow as a compliment to you all.

It is a source of much satisfaction to me to feel that I am the first Viceroy to have visited Basra in an official capacity and, although in the natural course of events it is hardly likely that I shall have another opportunity of visiting this city during the term of my Viceroyalty, I shall always watch her future with the keenest interest and in the settlement that must come after this great war, you may rest assured that steps will be taken to protect you and your interests as well as those of all the well-disposed inhabitants of this place and the country round.

You have mentioned certain points connected with postal and telegraphic questions in which, as representatives of the commercial community, you are specially interested. You will, I am sure, understand that these are matters in which other interests are also involved, and that it is not in my power to reply off-hand to your representations, but I can assure you that they will be duly considered and that your interests will not be ignored.

I thank you very cordially for your friendly and sympathetic reference to my recent loss in the death of my dear son from his wounds, received on the field of battle. In this time of universal sorrow and suffering common to us all, I am only one of many who, sad as we may be, are yet proud to have given our best for our King and country.

Visit to Muscat: Address from Sultan and British Indian and British Protected Subjects.

While again thanking you for your very cordial welcome I wish the British community of Basra much prosperity and success.

[Soon after the departure of the deputation the Viceroy went ashore to visit British and Indian hospitals and conversed with a large number of the sick and wounded.

Later in the afternoon the Viceroy was At Home on board and in the evening gave a small dinner party.]

VISIT TO MUSCAT: ADDRESS FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE
SULTAN AND BRITISH INDIAN AND BRITISH PRO-
TECTED SUBJECTS.

11th Feb.
1915. [After visiting Basra His Excellency the Viceroy proceeded to Muscat which was reached early in the morning of the 11th February. His Highness the Sultan was accorded a private interview with the Viceroy on board the "Northbrook," after which His Excellency paid a visit to His Highness on shore during the course of which the Sultan read an address in Arabic, a translation of which is as follows :—

In the name of God, the best of names, praise be to God, he who brings friends together and bestows help and benefit. Not only with my lips but with all my heart I beg to express my deep gratitude to the Great British Government for the friendship which she has shown to me and for the goodwill existing between me and her. I feel confident that the cordial relations existing between the two Governments will increase in strength. I feel deeply honoured by the visit of so exalted and distinguished a personage as Your Excellency. But what greatly adds to my joy and delight is the fact that I have been honoured by this visit within so short a period after assuming the reins of Government, whereas my late lamented father did not attain to such an honour in the visit of Lord Curzon for many years after his accession to the throne. It is, however, a matter of extreme regret to me that this honour should have fallen on me at a time when, owing to local disturbance, I have been prevented from making suitable arrangements such as the reception of so exalted a representative of His Majesty as Your Excellency demands. I am deeply grateful to the British Government for the moral and substantial support which has been rendered to me, not only recently in

Visit to Muscat: Address from Sultan and British Indian and British Protected Subjects.

my hour of need, but in the past also. In this crisis I have received the able advice of my sincere friend the British Consul, whose friendship and assistance I much appreciated. I very deeply deplore the casualties which have occurred among the troops. It is my earnest desire to bring about a peaceful settlement of these troubles and I shall use every endeavour to attain this end. I also pray to God the Most High that he may so shape the affairs of the great British Government that a successful peace may speedily terminate the present world-wide conflict. I myself, as well as my family and all my state officials, will ever remain grateful in heart and soul to the great British Government.

It will ever be our aim and desire to strengthen the cordial relations existing between us and her and we trust that the great Government will accept our assurances that she may ever rely on our loyalty and friendship in all circumstances. In conclusion it only remains for me to thank Your Excellency again for the honour you have bestowed on me by your visit and while regretting the shortness of Your Excellency's stay, we desire to wish Your Excellency God-speed and trust Your Excellency will carry away nothing but pleasant recollections of your necessarily brief but to us very welcome visit to Muscat.

The Viceroy replied in the following words :—]

I am very much obliged to Your Highness for your expressions of goodwill and I also trust that the cordial relations existing between our Governments may continue to increase in strength. Your Highness has recognised in generous terms the substantial assistance that the British Government has recently given you and is still giving you in the troubles with which you are surrounded. As Your Highness has remarked the loss of life that has occurred is deplorable and I can only urge upon you the supreme importance of using every endeavour to bring about the cessation of bloodshed and a lasting reconciliation with those who are troubling the peace of Muscat. It has given me the greatest possible pleasure to pay to Your Highness's territories this brief and somewhat informal visit but I rejoice to have had the opportunity of making your acquaintance and I trust that as a result of your

Visit to Muscat: A Welcome from British Subjects.

future wise conduct of your government, our acquaintance may ripen into personal friendship. I have now only to thank Your Highness very warmly for your kind words of welcome.

[His Excellency's reply was duly translated into Arabic.]

A WELCOME FROM BRITISH SUBJECTS.

[At the conclusion of his visit His Excellency proceeded by boat to the landing place in front of the Consulate where he was received by a guard-of-honour furnished by the Grenadiers. After inspecting this the Viceroy received a brief address of welcome from the British Indian and British protected residents of Muscat, which was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the entire British community, representing all creeds, Hindu, Muhammedan, Christian, Parsi and other British protected persons, settled in the towns of Muscat and Matrah, most respectfully beg, on behalf of ourselves and our fellow-subjects residing in other parts of His Highness the Sultan's dominions, to offer Your Excellency a most cordial welcome on the occasion of your visit to Muscat.

We shall not trespass upon Your Excellency's valuable time by dilating upon the importance of this town of Muscat, suffice it to say that Muscat has been the seat of the Government of the ruler of Oman for several centuries.

The relations between Great Britain and Muscat have been intimate for a century or more.

We enjoy here the rights and privileges of the most favoured nation, our interests are carefully guarded by our Consular authorities and we experience complete toleration in matters of religion.

In matters of commerce generally we continue to hold our ground and we rejoice to say that Indian and British imports rule the market. Nearly 70 per cent. of the export trade is in British hands.

Our commercial interests have, however, to a certain extent suffered by the imposition of an enhanced export tax of 10 per cent. levied by the Local Government, and by unrest in the interior, and we have often been put to considerable anxiety for the safety of the lives and property of our fellow-subjects.

Visit to Muscat: A Welcome from British Subjects.

We therefore respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to vouchsafe to us a continuance of that protection and security which is afforded by the presence of British troops.

As regards our communications with India and elsewhere, in spite of the terrible conflict which is now convulsing Europe, regular steamship services both for commerce and our mails have, thanks to the superiority of the British Navy, been maintained as in normal times.

In conclusion we beg to reiterate our welcome and earnestly pray to Almighty God to vouchsafe to Your Excellency a continuance of bodily health and strength to enable Your Excellency to render further great services to the Empire and to bind fresh laurels on your brow.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following reply:—]

Gentlemen,—It has given me very great pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting you, the British Indian residents of Muscat, and I thank you very warmly for the good feeling which has prompted the address of hearty welcome which you have just presented me. Recent events in the Shatt-el-Arab led me to make my present expedition to Basra in order that I might form an opinion as to the best solution of various administrative problems that have arisen there but I thought that if time allowed I would on my return pay a brief visit to the territory of the Sultan of Muscat, with whom we have such intimate relations, and so many agreements in furtherance of our common interests. I did not intend that my visit should have a public character and I, therefore, the more appreciate your kindness in deigning to present me with an address of welcome. You have been good enough to omit from it all reference to any disadvantages that you may be labouring under but I trust that you will understand that if there be any they shall, on being duly represented through my Agent here, receive the earnest and careful attention of my Government. As British Indian subjects you enjoy many advantages and your rights and privileges are guaranteed by various engagements which

40 *Speeches by H. E. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst.*

Inspection of the 102nd K. E. O. Grenadiers and 95th Russell's Infantry at Muscat.

His Highness and his predecessor have entered into with the British Government. These I have every confidence that His Highness will loyally maintain in future, as in the past, and I trust that you, the present representatives of that spirit which has carried British Indian enterprise to a spot so far distant from the shores of India, will continue to flourish and prosper under his ægis. I thank you all-most heartily for the very friendly welcome you have extended to me.

[The Viceroy then entered the Consulate and accorded private interviews to the French and American Consuls and subsequently Mrs. Benn was presented to him. The Viceroy gave a small luncheon party on board during which the ship steamed round past Matrah to Basra where in the course of the afternoon he again went ashore and inspected the troops under the command of Colonel Edwards, who successfully repulsed, though not without some loss, a most determined attack made recently by the rebel Arabs from the Hinterland. At the conclusion of the inspection the Viceroy addressed the officers as follows :—]

INSPECTION OF THE 102ND K. E. O. GRENADIERS AND 95TH RUSSELL'S INFANTRY AT MUSCAT.

11th Feb.
1915. It is a source of great pleasure to me to be able to visit your regiments here to-day and to tell you all, British and Indian officers and men, how much your good work is appreciated both by me personally and by the Government of India. You have all by your gallantry, devotion to duty, and skilful conduct of operations on 11th January against rebels, rendered signal service to Government. I wish to congratulate you on the success of those operations and to assure you that the Government and the people of India are deeply grateful to you for what you have done. You are a long way from India but I can guarantee that you are not forgotten. Your movements and welfare are watched with pride and interest. It has

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given me very great pleasure to be able to meet you all and personally give these assurances and I hope that they may be suitably conveyed and explained to all ranks in your Force Orders.

SECOND MEETING OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT DELHI,
1914-15 SESSION.

DEATH OF THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE.

[The Imperial Legislative Council met on the morning of the 23rd Feb. 23rd February under a deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of Mr. Gokhale. There was a large attendance of members and the galleries were full of visitors. Among those present were Lord Carmichael, Governor of Bengal. 1915.]

His Excellency the Viceroy said :—]

It was with deep regret that on the morning of 20th I received the sad news of the premature death during the previous night of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Member of this Council. I had heard that he had been compelled by indisposition to delay his arrival in Delhi, his intention having been to come in time for the meeting of Council to-day, and it was a great shock to me, as it must have been to us all, to learn that he had quietly passed away.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was born at Kolhapur in the year 1866. I need not go into the details of his earlier life beyond mentioning that Mr. Gokhale took his degree as Bachelor of Arts in 1884, in the University of Bombay of which University he subsequently became a Fellow. Almost immediately afterwards he began to devote himself to the cause of education. For 20 years he served as a lecturer at the Fergusson College, Poona, specialising particularly in History and Economics, a subject into which he threw himself with so much fervour and zeal that he became an acknowledged

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authority; and at the same time giving much of his time to establishing the college on a sound financial basis. During this period of his life, he began to take a prominent part in public life and was for four years Secretary to the Provincial Congress of Bombay; in 1897 he was one of the Joint Secretaries of the Indian National Congress and continued for many years to labour in that capacity. In 1897 he went to England as one of the witnesses before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure and gave evidence which was of very great importance and value. In 1900 he was elected a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council and in 1902 he was elected as a representative of the Bombay Council on the Imperial Legislative Council. This office he continued to hold until the date of his death.

In 1904 he was made a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire. In 1905 he was President of the Indian National Congress and in the same year founded the Ranade Economic Institute and the Society of the Servants of India. Later on he paid several visits to England and toiled ceaselessly for the various causes he had so much at heart, and I have always understood that he took a quiet but active part in the conversations that led up to the reform of this and the other Indian Councils. Finally in 1912 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Public Services in India.

Such are some of the very distinguished services of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, but not all, for in Council he was well known as a speaker of conspicuous ability and wonderful eloquence, while his earnest enthusiasm and sound judgment secured for him a commanding position among the public men of this country. He was a loyal supporter of British rule in India, but nevertheless was also on many occasions a fearless critic of the adminis-

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trative methods and policy of Government and never hesitated to draw attention to any measure or action which, in his opinion, was improper or open to censure. In regard to financial and educational questions in particular his attacks were frequently most forcible and incisive, so much indeed so that the abilities of his opponents were frequently taxed to the utmost to meet his arguments. Though, however, a severe critic of those who opposed him, he was always dignified and courteous in debate, and even when unsuccessful in securing his object impressed all who heard him not only with his skill, but with his intense earnestness and desire to do what was in his opinion right. He took a prominent part in all debates of importance during his period of office in Council, especially in those relating to financial, education and administrative questions.

During my period of office the most important measure in which Mr. Gokhale was interested was the Bill to make better provision for the extension of primary education. Though he failed in inducing the Council to accept the Bill, all those who heard him will remember the extraordinary force and ability with which he pressed his views.

It is also right that on this occasion I should refer to the important part taken by Mr. Gokhale in emigration questions and in particular that relating to Indian immigration into South Africa. In this question, as in all other political questions, Mr. Gokhale strove ceaselessly for the amelioration of the condition of Indians and for the promotion of their welfare, and in my opinion it was largely due to him and his tactful and statesmanlike attitude during his visit to South Africa that this thorny question eventually received a satisfactory solution.

In my personal relations with Mr. Gokhale I have always regarded him not merely as an important Member

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of my Council but also, as a friend. On more than one occasion he has given me advice which I found to be both sound and useful, and I may mention that in the South African Immigration question he rendered me most loyal and helpful assistance. It was only six months ago that I recommended to His Majesty the King-Emperor the appointment of Mr. Gokhale as Knight Commander of the Indian Empire as a mark of recognition of his valuable services, but Mr. Gokhale, with that simplicity of nature which characterised him, gratefully acknowledged the intention, but asked to remain as he was.

He has now left us and we shall feel the void he has created, for one may truly say that it will be almost impossible to fill his place in Indian public life. I understand that the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis desires to say a few words on behalf of non-official Members of my Council and after that I propose to adjourn Council till to-morrow as a mark of sorrowful respect towards our late friend and Member the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. May he rest in peace.

[Sir G. M. Chitnavis, who followed His Excellency the Viceroy, said :—

My Lord, as the spokesman on behalf of the Honourable Members of this Council, I beg to associate myself with Your Excellency and express our profound sorrow at the death of Mr. Gokhale. Every word that has fallen from Your Excellency strikes a sympathetic chord in our hearts. Indeed it is difficult to convey in suitable language the depth of our feeling on this sad occasion. My Lord, to me personally, as to many others on this Council, the loss is very great and very painful. Mr. Gokhale was a friend with whom my relations were always cordial and intimate, and the friendship formed in our youth was cemented and strengthened by years of close association in public. I feel his death has, on this account, been a great blow to me. But the removal by death from the scene of his activities of a man like Mr. Gokhale is far more than a personal loss to his friends. It will be difficult to fill up the void created by it in Indian public life. Mr. Gokhale combined

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under his unassuming exterior so many rare qualities of head and heart. It was remarked some time ago that Mr. Gokhale was sacrificing his life on the altar of the Motherland. This description is absolutely true, not only with reference to any particular period of his life, but almost to the whole of his life. There was hardly a moment when he was not doing something or other with the sole object of helping in the amelioration of the Indian people, and he always applied himself to his work with characteristic zeal, earnestness, and tenacity. Had he not been so hard working in the public cause he would, I am sure, have been spared long to cheer us with his genial presence, his splendid talent, and unsparing industry, which were alike applied to the service of his country, the country he loved most, and the political advancement of which he so capably advocated. When the future history of a progressive India comes to be written, Mr. Gokhale will stand out in bold relief as a strong advocate of political measures to which a good deal of that progress will be due. Mr. Gokhale's deep study of public affairs made his services invaluable, and his tactful handling of them saved many a difficult situation. His participation in the settlement of the South African Indian question has been acknowledged by all to have been productive of solid results, with Your Excellency's whole-hearted and sympathetic support, and his later services in the cause of Indian education shed lustre on a life begun as a philanthropic and self-sacrificing worker in that cause. My Lord, if Mr. Gokhale is remembered for his varied and unwearied public activity, his work in this Council will form a brilliant page in its history. Those among the non-official members who had the privilege to be his colleagues here, cannot fail to miss him for much, especially for the acumen he always displayed in the discussion of the various subjects, and his splendid leavening of debate, but, My Lord, his brilliant example will be with us to inspire us in our humble work. Mr. Gokhale had quite a passionate fondness for Council work, and even in the last days of his serious illness he was anxious to join us here. Indeed he was only prevented from making the attempt by his medical advisers. We owe it to our departed friend to pay this humble tribute to his memory.

Sir Gangadhar read a message from the Hon'ble Mr. Achariar expressing his deep sense of loss, and associating himself with the Council in their expression of profound sorrow.

His Excellency then adjourned the Council.

The Viceroy in making his speech spoke with much earnestness and feeling, and his remarks were listened to with the deepest

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attention. The non-official members of the Council were in entire sympathy with all that His Excellency said regarding the late Mr. Gokhale, and the Indian members were particularly pleased at the respect shown to his memory in the adjournment of the Council.]

OPENING SARA BRIDGE.

4th March 1915. [The Viceroy opened the Sara Bridge on the morning of the 4th March inaugurating direct railway passenger communication across the Lower Ganges.

A large and representative gathering was in attendance at the head of the Bridge on the occasion. Many well-known people were present including a large number of ladies despite the dull condition of the weather. The Governor of Bengal accompanied by Lady Carmichael was the first to arrive. He was closely followed by the Viceroy and party.

Mr. R. R. Gales, Engineer-in-Charge, addressing the Viceroy, said :—

Your Excellency,—The bridge which Your Excellency has kindly consented to open has been called into existence by the great and growing volume of traffic, mainly jute and tea, which originating in Northern Bengal seeks its natural market in Calcutta by the shortest route. The traffic has hitherto been crossed over the Ganges by transhipment in barges supplemented as the traffic increased by metre and broad gauge wagon ferries. The changeability of the channel, the instability of the banks, the sudden rushes of traffic when the main staples have to be moved and the existence of a metre gauge on the northern bank and a broad gauge on the southern bank have for years combined to produce conditions with which neither the railway administration nor its clients have been content. The construction of a bridge was first seriously proposed by the Eastern Bengal Railway in 1889 and a committee of engineers appointed to consider the question reported a bridge to be feasible. This was followed by the preparation of a detailed project by Sir Francis Spring. A controversy arose as to the best site for the bridge from a commercial point of view resulting in the assembly of a committee consisting of Mr. G. Moyle, Sir Frederic Dumayne, the Hon'ble Mr. W. A. Igglis, Mr. Radha Raman Kar, Mr. Norman McLeod and Major Skalley. The committee recommended that the bridge should be built at Raita. In 1908 the matter was referred to a second committee of engineers composed of the Hon'ble Mr. W. A.

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Inglis, Mr. F. Palmer, Sir William Johns, Mr. J. Adam and myself. The committee without minimising the dangers and difficulties of the project expressed the opinion that the bridge could be constructed at Sara with freedom from excessive risk. By that date the construction of the bridge had become of the greatest urgency and importance and in that year, nineteen years after the first inception of the project, the sanction of the Secretary of State was obtained and I was appointed Engineer-in-chief.

The project involves two main considerations, stabilisation of the course of the river and the construction of the bridge itself. The training works which have been undertaken have for their aim the retention of the river in its present alignment in the immediate vicinity of the bridge. In 1868 the river flowed close under the bank at Bhairamara, where trees are visible in the distance and the Eastern Bengal Railway ferry worked from there to Sara. Since that date the river has moved across the intervening couple of miles and 1910 found it where it is now but cutting the east bank at the rate of about 200 feet a year. In the working season 1911, two stone pitched guide banks for 3,000 feet above the site and 1,000 feet below were undertaken forming permanent banks between which the bridge could safely be constructed. The training works include the pitching of a clay nose at Raita nine miles above the bridge and of a railway frontage at Sara for 4,000 feet in each case. The bridge itself consists of 15 spans of girders of 345 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch span with three land spans of 75 feet span, at each end. It is founded on wells sunk from 150 to 160 feet below the low water level. It provides a double line of rails and a road-way. A headway of 40 feet above the high flood level is provided for steamers. The outstanding features of the construction have been the use of electricity for the transmission of power over practically the whole of the work, the use of concrete blocks weighing 6 to 7 tons in wells in place of bricks, thus obtaining greater weight for the well sinking and enabling very rapid progress to be made both in building and sinking and the employment of a service girder weighing 100 tons which floated from span to span, provided a cheap and efficient staging for the girder erection during the nine months of the year as against six months during which the erection on a timber staging was possible. The years 1909 and 1910 were occupied in surveying the river, the determining of the site, the acquisition of land, the seeking out and acquiring of quarries, the laying down of service lines, the purchase and ordering of rolling stock, rails, sleepers and plant and the erection of quarters, water supply, a hospital, power

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houses, workshops, store sheds and the collection of vast quantities of pitching stone and other materials required.

A year consists of a period of floods and a working season, which is brought to an abrupt termination in June by the arrival of the floods. Any work in the river which is not finished and completely safeguarded by the time of the arrival of the floods runs the risk of swift destruction, and it is this which causes the chief anxiety in building the bridge. The season, 1910-11 as mentioned before the construction of the right and left guide banks was undertaken and their completion before the floods was jeopardised by two successive outbreaks of cholera among the earthwork labour. However, sufficient was eventually done to ensure the safety of the site. In 1911-12 guide banks were completed and the Raita bank started and five wells were completed and the Bita bank was finished. One main span and service girder were also erected. Coal and other strikes in England in March 1912 and later delayed the supply of steelwork and both the span and service girder were erected against time. The service girder in particular, which was erected as the steelwork came to hand, was the cause of much anxiety owing to the non-arrival of some important pieces. However, all were eventually received and the girder was safely struck the day before the floods came down.

In 1913-14 four remaining wells were sunk and eleven spans of girders erected, five on a timber staging and six on the service girder and in the latter part of 1914, three remaining spans were erected.

On a service girder, there is comparatively so little to see of all the work done in bridging and training a river of the character of the Ganges that Your Excellency will perhaps pardon an explanatory illustration. To those familiar with Calcutta it may be explained that the part of each pier under water is equal in depth to the height of the Ochterlony Monument and to visitors from Delhi that each pier from foundation to girder is equal to the height of the Kutub. A few figures will further assist the imagination. At high flood level $2\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic feet of pitching stone have been used in training works and a reserve* and 39 million cubic feet have been used altogether in the bridge and the training works. Each well weighs fifteen thousand tons, and all wells and piers together weigh three hundred thousand tons. Each span of girders weighs twelve hundred tons and there are thirty thousand tons of steelwork in the whole bridge. One million seven hundred thousand field rivets have been put in at the site,

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Owing to the good fortune which has attended the work it has been possible to construct the bridge for a lower sum than was at one time anticipated. The cost, exclusive of further credits for plant, has been 399 lakhs of rupees made up of 108 lakhs for training works; 76 lakhs for the approaches; and 215 lakhs for the bridge proper. It is anticipated that this outlay will be fully justified by the increased traffic which will follow on the construction of the bridge and the savings that will be effected by the abolition of the river services, the recurring cost of which is equal to a considerable part of the interest charges on the capital now expended.

I take the opportunity of bringing to Your Excellency's notice the staff who have worked throughout so ably and indefatigably for the good of the bridge. Of those still here Mr. Alexander's services in working out and running the power plant have been invaluable. Mr. Delanougere, always reliable, has built half the bridge from the right bank; Mr. Pearce, indefatigable in all things, has in turn had charge of the quarries and the left bank divisions; Mr. Christie, one of the first to join, has helped me loyally to the end. The accuracy of Mr. Bravshay's calculations has contributed much to the success of the operations. Mr. Fink has been an ideal examiner of accounts, firm and tactful, nor must those be omitted who, recalled to military duty, have taken their place in the new armies at home—Major Cowie, who quarried the greater part of the stone, Major Walton, who built half the bridge from the left bank and Captain Marryat, who handled the 1,000 tons service girder with the greatest coolness and address. Mr. Bush, also, who was responsible for the very successful working of the electrical and mechanical plant, has taken a temporary commission in the Royal Engineers in the New Army. Time fails me to acknowledge all the assistance received from Mr. Butcher, Mr. Salmond, Mr. Affleck, Mr. Blackwood, Mr. Connell and their trustworthy subordinates and from other past members of the staff, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Martin and Mr. Ker, who are here to-day. Last but not least the work owes a debt to Dr. Bishop for the care and success with which he carried on a campaign against disease particularly for the cholera treatment with which his name will always be associated. I have now pleasure to ask Your Excellency to open this bridge to all descriptions of railway traffic and to permit it to be named after you.

The Viceroy said :—]

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Gales has told us that the object with which this bridge has been

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built has been the serving of the traffic between Northern Bengal and the port of Calcutta. That an outlay of some four crores of rupees should have been justifiable in order to provide better facilities for this traffic is the more remarkable when we consider how recent has been the development of trade and of railway communication in Northern Bengal. Sixty years ago the engineer officers of the time were still considering the best starting point for the proposed Calcutta-Darjeeling road and the first railway in Bengal, the Howrah-Hooghly section of the East Indian Railway had been opened less than a year previously. Darjeeling had only recently been taken under British protection with the hundred souls who at that time constituted the entire population of the district. Seven years later the road was still unmetalled and five rivers remained unbridged. It was not until 1877-78 that the first section of the present Eastern Bengal Railway metre gauge system, the section from here to Sili-guri, was opened. From that date commercial developments and the improvement of railway communications have in this area proceeded with equal rapidity. At the present time the territory which will be served by this bridge contains the greatest area under jute and probably the greatest area under tea in the world. Nor has the limit of expansion been reached. It was but the other day that a through railway communication with the Dacca and Mymensingh districts was effected while the Gauhati extension to Assam has been opened for only a few years. In each of these areas, in the province of Assam and the district of Bengal east of the Brahmaputra, I look for the rapid development of railway communications and for a corresponding increase of trade and general prosperity. But the advantage of this great bridge will not stop there. It seems to me certain that before many years are over these tracks will form part

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of a trunk line of railway connecting India and Burma. The depredations of our gallant enemy, the Captain of the "Emden," have had one advantage in calling prominent attention to the political as well as the commercial advantage of a through railway connecting this great province with the rest of the Indian Empire, and I am happy to say that a strong party of engineers is now engaged on a survey of the several possible routes.

I need not re-open the discussions which have occurred during the period of 19 years which, as Mr. Gales has said, intervened between the first inception of the project for bridging the Ganges and its sanction by the Secretary of State. These discussions ranged over the entire field of railway policy. They covered such vexed questions as that of gauge and company *versus* state management, which have engendered controversy since the construction of the first Indian railway was mooted 70 years ago and are likely to cause contention for many years to come. Few will question the wisdom of the principal decisions affecting technical matters, that the bridge should be built for a double line of railway on the broad gauge, that it should be constructed to a standard which so far as can be seen will render it capable of carrying the heaviest loads that can ever be placed upon railways of that gauge. These decisions we owe, I believe, to the foresight of the late President of the Railway Board, Sir T. R. Wynne. To the Railway Board of the day we also owe the equally wise decision that you, Mr. Gales, should be placed in immediate charge of the construction of this great work. The magnitude of the task which faced you cannot be adequately appreciated from the consideration of any mere statement of results or even of such enormous figures as those which you have cited. Problems had to be solved which were unique in the history of engineering science. Before bridge building

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could be begun the Ganges had to be confined by these great training works, every possibility of danger from flood and from cyclone had to be thought out and plans had to be made for guarding against such possibilities. That when the actual construction of the bridge was undertaken, it was completed without a hitch and practically without the loss of a single piece of equipment we owe first to the ability and forethought of the designers, that is of Mr. Gales in collaboration with Messrs. Rendall, Tritton and Palmer, Consulting Engineers to the India Office, and secondly to the zeal and energy of the staff employed upon construction, that is of Mr. Gales and the staff whose services Mr. Gales has been the first to recognise. The greater a project the greater the necessity for minute care regarding the perfection of every detail, and if he had not had on the Lower Ganges Bridge a picked staff of engineers and artificers, on whom implicit reliance could be reposed, we should not, I feel sure, have been able to congratulate Mr. Gales to-day or for many days to come upon the achievement of his task. While this is naturally the Engineers' day I cannot omit the work of the medical staff. Paksey has not always enjoyed a reputation as a health resort and we all know what outbreaks of cholera have often meant on great public works. That the two outbreaks of cholera which unfortunately occurred were rapidly stamped out and that Paksey to-day is as healthy a spot as is to be found in the plains of Bengal, we owe to the professional skill and devotion to duty of Dr. Bishop and the staff who have assisted him.

Now, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, but one duty remains for me. Mr. Gales has asked me to permit the bridge to be open to traffic. I believe, Sir Henry Burt, that the bridge, with which I shall be glad to have my name associated, has been inspected and tested by the Senior Government Inspector of Railways in charge of

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this circle and that the Railway Board accept his report that it has been well and truly built and is in all respects capable of carrying all classes of traffic without risk to public safety. On your recommendation, therefore, I have much pleasure in declaring the Hardinge Bridge open for the carriage of all descriptions of railway traffic.

[After breakfasting with the guests the Viceroy left by special train for Calcutta, the Governor of Bengal following later.]

UNVEILING STATUES OF LORDS RIPON AND MINTO AT
CALCUTTA.

[The Viceroy arrived in Calcutta from Sara at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 4th March. His Excellency then unveiled the statues of Lords Ripon and Minto on the Red Road. The 10th Middlesex and the 76th Rajputs formed a semi-circle enclosing both statues and the Calcutta Scottish, the Port Defence, the C. V. R. and a squadron of the 17th Cavalry were drawn up near the shamiana on the Red Road. One thousand five hundred police lined all the crossings in the vicinity and the route from Government House. The Viceroy was accompanied in his carriage by the Governor. The Calcutta Light Horse and a detachment of the Bodyguard formed an escort. On the Viceroy arriving at the statues the National Anthem was played and the troops presented arms.] 4th March
1916.

The monument of Lord Minto is in the form of a bronze equestrian statue of Lord Minto mounted on his favourite Arab horse, New Minister. The statue stands on a marble pedestal surrounded by a bronze frieze about four feet wide and about thirty feet in length. The frieze depicts the people of India acclaiming their appreciation of Lord Minto's administration. On the front of the pedestal His Lordship's name and the date of his Viceroyalty are engraved and at the opposite end there is placed a shield bearing his family coat of arms. The metal used for the statue and the frieze was supplied in the shape of old bronze guns by the Government of India. The guns proved to be of an alloy very suitable for casting and the founder, Mr. A. B. Burton of Thames Ditton, expressed satisfaction with the metal. Sir William Goscombe John, B.A., was entrusted with the commission.

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The statue of Lord Ripon, to whom the Viceroy referred as Ripon the righteous, is a full length portrait and is said by those who knew him to be an excellent likeness.

Among those present were the Bishop of Calcutta, Archbishop Meuleman, the Hon'ble Sir Ali Imam, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Generals E. S. May and E. B. Money, the Nawab of Murshidabad, the Hon'ble Mr. R. G. Monteith, Nawab Syed Shamsul Huda, the Hon'ble Mr. C. F. Payne, Chairman of the Corporation the Maharajas of Burdwan and Nashipur, the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee, who reported on behalf of the Ripon Committee, and the Hon'ble Mr. F. H. Stewart, who reported on behalf of the Minto Committee.

THE RIPON STATUE.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in unveiling the statue of the late Lord Ripon said :—]

Gentlemen of the Ripon Memorial Fund Committee,—
I feel that it is a very great privilege that I have been asked to perform the ceremony of unveiling the statue of Lord Ripon. It is not only that there has never been a Viceroy who has been more beloved, and rightly so, by the people of this country that makes it a very great compliment that the representatives of the people should have themselves asked me to take part in this ceremony, but in addition I myself had the honour of Lord Ripon's friendship which I valued most highly and can testify from my personal knowledge to the wonderful gentleness and kindness of his heart and the soundness of his judgment. Years after he left India he held a prominent place in the councils of his Sovereign and to him, more than any other, men turned for advice alike in their personal difficulties and in questions of high policy.

India to the last occupied a prominent place in his thoughts and one of his latest public acts was to attend and take part in the debate on Lord Morley's Reform Bill. I do not propose to pass in review the history of his administration nor to stir the dust of past controversies; but I would remind you that he came to India inspired by

Unveiling Statues of Lords Ripon and Minto at Calcutta.

the liberal policy of Mr. Gladstone and the sympathetic interest of our great and good Queen Victoria. He tried to breathe the breath of life into local self-government and it was in his Viceroyalty that that noble act of liberal statesmanship, the Rendition of Mysore, was effected. He gave new life and organisation to the Department of Agriculture, from which have sprung so many beneficent activities. I need only enumerate the diffusion of useful agricultural information, the system of loans for agricultural operations and later the scheme of credit Co-operative Societies. He took the greatest possible interest in the ever present problem of education, and while always determined to do nothing which could endanger the advance of higher education he did much to organise and develop teaching of an elementary character, the foundation upon which the whole superstructure of a proper education has to be built. He saw the powerful effect that railway extension must have in preventing famine and gave a great impetus to a bolder policy in this direction, though steadfastly refusing to allow it to throw any additional burden of taxation upon the people. He reduced the salt duty and from first to last was animated by an intense desire to promote the welfare of the masses.

A distinguished Indian, who enjoyed the honour of his friendship, tells us that his popularity in India arose not so much in connection with the measures with which his Viceroyalty is associated as in response to his own unfeigned love of the people, his desire to broaden the basis of their civic liberty, and above all his treatment of them as brothers and fellow-citizens. When he first arrived in this country he remarked in one of his earliest speeches that 'it does not become him who putteth on his armour to boast himself as one that taketh it off.'

• He refused to make any large promises but said that he would prefer that when the time came India should

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judge him by his acts. How favourable was that judgment was evidenced by the scene of unprecedented enthusiasm that took place in Bombay when, four years later, deputations from every part of India came to bid him good-bye and innumerable addresses were presented him and I think the secret of his success as Viceroy is to be found in the noble words he used on that occasion. 'If England,' he said, 'is to fulfil the mighty task which God has laid upon her and to interpret rightly the wondrous story of her Indian Empire, she must bend her untiring energies and her iron will to raise in the scale of nations the people entrusted to her care, to impart to them gradually more and more the richest gifts which she herself enjoys and to rule them, not for her own aggrandisement, nor yet for the mere profit of her people but with a constant and unwearied endeavour to promote their highest good.'

Happily was he known to the people of India as Ripon the righteous.

THE MINTO STATUE.

[His Excellency the Viceroy, in unveiling the statue of the late Earl of Minto said :—]

Gentlemen of the Minto Memorial Fund Committee,—
It is my valued privilege to-day to unveil the statue of my distinguished predecessor, the Earl of Minto. At the short interval of time that has elapsed since Lord Minto's Viceroyalty ended, it is not easy to appraise correctly the true value of an administration which has so recently passed into history, but the period during which the affairs of India were entrusted to his guidance was so full of interest that you will perhaps forgive me if I dwell a few moments on one or two of the more striking features. His

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Viceroyalty may be described as a record of difficulties and dangers bravely faced and honourably overcome. During the years which had preceded it there had been gathering in India a very considerable feeling among many moderate and loyal Indians, who, conscious that they were capable of taking an honourable and useful part in the government of the country, contended that their legitimate ambitions in this direction were insufficiently recognised. That intuitive sympathy, which was one of the most striking characteristics of Lord Minto's nature, was quick to recognise the legitimate grievance that underlay this feeling and he addressed himself without delay to finding a means of satisfying these aspirations. His task was rendered the more difficult by a small body of extremists who hoped to wring concessions from Government by acts of violence and crime. To a weaker man it might have appeared necessary on the appearance of this new agitation not only to meet it with repressive measures sufficient to ensure the preservation of the public safety but also to withhold all concessions even to those aspirations which he regarded as legitimate for fear that he and his Government might be accused of yielding to threats and violence what they were unwilling to grant spontaneously.

Faced with this situation Lord Minto showed that he possessed in addition to that personal courage, which had already won him distinction in many different fields, the much rarer courage which enabled him to pursue his policy undeterred by the fear of being accounted weak. He determined that the conduct of a very small minority should not force him to withhold reasonable concessions from the great majority of loyal but expectant Indians. This determination at length resulted in the establishment of the enlarged legislative councils with which we are now familiar and in the appointment of an Indian

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to be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The inauguration of these changes will be within the memory of most of you here to-day and at this short interval of time it is impossible to pass a final verdict upon their value. But I may say with confidence that the splendid loyalty of India at this time of the Empire's need is in no small measure due to the wise and sympathetic policy which Lord Minto pursued in the face of much opposition and he will always be remembered in India as one who tried to meet just claims for political recognition with generous and statesmanlike concessions.

His relations with the ruling chiefs were marked by the utmost cordiality on both sides, a result largely brought about by the genial personality which had made him the object of affectionate regard throughout his career. There can be no question that his policy of confidence did much to promote the happy relations which now subsist between the native states and the paramount power and we realise to-day that Lord Minto might be justly proud of the magnificent contributions which the ruling chiefs have made towards the defence of the British Empire.

I have dealt hitherto only with Lord Minto's work in his public capacity, but I feel that no appreciation of his character can be complete without an allusion to the universal affection and respect which he commanded in private life.

He was a true sportsman in the very best sense of that term and his personality combined a most gallant spirit with kindly sympathy and the highest courtesy. He was indeed the *beau ideal* of a great English gentleman. I shall always remember with gratitude the honour that has been done me to-day in asking me to unveil the statue of these two great men. May the memory of their labours

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and their love for India long remain to inspire and dignify the public life of this country.

[The Viceroy pulled two cords and unveiled the statues. A salute of 31 guns was fired from Fort William as the statues were revealed and the guards-of-honour and troops presented arms.

The Nawab of Murshidabad proposed a vote of thanks and the ceremony closed.]

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

[His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the annual Convoca-
tion of the Calcutta University at the Town Hall in the afternoon of March the 6th. The building is near to Government House and the police controlled all roads in the immediate vicinity and traffic was stopped for some time before His Excellency arrived at the Town Hall. Consequently there were few spectators near the Town Hall and these consisted of lower Indian classes. For fully an hour before the Viceroy arrived the Town Hall was filled with students and recipients of honours, among the latter being a great number of European and Indian ladies wearing caps and gowns. But in spite of the decorations, consisting of long red and yellow streamers and large palms, there was a quiet dignity in the atmosphere of the hall. The gathering remained hushed and expectant until the Viceroy smilingly entered at 3 o'clock, and then it burst into cheering and again lapsed into dignified silence. The Viceroy, in the robes of the Chancellor, accompanied by Lord Carmichael, the Rector, motored from Government House and was met at the foot of the staircase by the Vice-Chancellor, members of the Syndicate and the Registrar, who conducted him to the entrance hall, where he was received by the Fellows. The Viceroy and Rector robed and headed a stately procession through the hall and to the platform. Among those on the platform were the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice, and the Right Rev. G. A. Lefroy, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who occupied seats on the dais to the right of the Rector and to the left of the Vice-Chancellor respectively. *Ex-officio* Fellows, Sir Gooroodass Banerjee, the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, C.S.I., former Vice-Chancellors, and Deans of Faculties occupied seats on the dais. Seats were also reserved on the dais for the Hon'ble Maharaja of Darbhanga, Dr. Rashbehary Ghose and the Hon'ble Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy, benefactors of the University.

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The Viceroy, as Chancellor, declared the Convocation open, and candidates for degrees were presented to the Vice-Chancellor, a lengthy and tedious process, in view of the number. They included 1,800 B.A.; 817 M.A.; 280 B.Sc.; 55 M.Sc.; 279 B.L.; 1 M.L.; 2 M.D.; 55 M.B.; 10 B.E.; 1 Ph.D.

His Excellency then addressed the Convocation as follows —]

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,—It gives me much pleasure to preside once more at your Convocation and to welcome Dr. Sarbadhikari to the first Convocation at which he has officiated as Vice-Chancellor. Few people realise the great volume of work, worry, and responsibility that fall to the Vice-Chancellor, and I think we all owe him a debt of gratitude for so cheerfully shouldering this burden and wish him every success in his heavy task. As I have already said on a previous occasion, I value my position as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, especially because it brings me into direct contact with the students of India, in whose welfare I am keenly interested. I am glad also to think that during my Viceroyalty there has been considerable progress in university education. In 1904 the universities of India were invited to take a higher part in the educational activity of the country than the mere examination of students taught in independent colleges. The Government of India assisted them by funds to obtain closer control over the affiliated colleges by means of periodical inspection. The funds, however, were not forthcoming at that time to enable our universities to undertake the important functions of teaching and research, and I am pleased to think that during my term of office Government have been able to place the universities in a position to perform this duty. It is a matter of congratulation that this example has been followed with generous gifts from two of your citizens. I mean the late Sir Taraknath Palit and Dr. Rashbehary Ghosh.

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In the past few years the Government of India have contributed Rs. 12,00,000 for the capital requirements of your university, which also now draws an annual sum of Rs. 1,28,000 by way of subsidy toward its recurring requirements, a sum the capitalised value of which amounts to more than Rs. 36½ lakhs.

I do not propose to give you a history of all that has passed in this period. Indeed it would be impossible to do so, for the movement which has been initiated is as yet incomplete. We still stand on the threshold and amid the preliminary difficulties of what I believe to be a new era in the history of Indian universities—their transition from a purely examining to a partly teaching university type. I may point out that the number of arts college students in the area over which your university holds jurisdiction has between 1910 and 1914 nearly doubled, increasing from over 9,000 to nearly 18,000; the annual number of your matriculates has increased from nearly 3,000 to nearly 7,000, that of your graduates has trebled, and that of those who pass the Master's degree has quadrupled, and I might elaborate this expansion along many lines and ask you to reflect what this great expansion means. I prefer, however, on this occasion to confine myself to three special considerations which, to my mind, are of the first importance.

The first is the increased interest which has arisen in the teaching of science subjects. University inspection combined with an ordered procedure in affiliation has, I believe, considerably raised the standard of instruction in the colleges. Some of the laboratories attached to these institutions can now compare favourably with any in the world. The teaching staffs have been strengthened. Your advanced students produce papers dealing with subjects of research which are accepted by leading scientific journals in Europe. The benefactions

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to which I alluded above were both made for the advancement of scientific teaching and research. I am not fully aware of the dispositions you propose for the utilisation of these donations or of the Rs. 12,000 a year of Imperial grant which is to be expended on the upkeep of your university laboratories. But much as we admire the triumphs which India has achieved in the field of humanitarian studies, it is a matter for satisfaction that her sons are now advancing along the path which will enable her to take her due place in a civilisation which demands other qualities besides those of poetic sense or philosophic contemplation. While I am on this theme I should like to acknowledge similar advances made elsewhere, for Bengal is not alone in her awakening to the need of scientific training. In Bombay the contributions of a few public-minded citizens to the proposed Royal Institute of Science have totalled nearly Rs. 25 lakhs, while Sir Chinubhai Madhav Lal has endowed the Institute of Science of Ahmedabad with Rs. 6 lakhs, giving a further Rs. 2 lakhs to the Gujarat College with which it is associated.

The second point which I note is this. The universities of India have recently made laudable efforts, which have been substantially aided by my Government, to provide for themselves local habitations in the shape of buildings befitting their dignity and libraries where their *alumni* may learn the use of books and the methods of investigation and research, which collections of books alone make possible. Nor has Calcutta been behind-hand. Thanks to the generosity of the Maharaja of Darbhanga you are now possessed of a handsome library. The students of your Law College are accommodated in a hostel towards which my Government contributed Rs. 3 lakhs. We have also made a grant of Rs. 8 lakhs for the purchase of a valuable site which abuts on your

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university buildings and the acquisition of which should permit of a further extension.

The last subject on which I shall speak is one upon which I feel strongly. Early in my term of office I made a point of personally investigating the conditions in which students in Calcutta reside. It is a matter of common knowledge that these conditions leave much to be desired and that, even where in default of hostels the lodgings occupied are unobjectionable on sanitary or other grounds, there is little chance for that community and pleasant intercourse of life which Cardinal Newman described as worth more than all the teaching and examination which a non-residential university can provide. Two years ago your Vice-Chancellor described it as a matter of the deepest regret that visible progress had not yet been effected in the erection of hostels for colleges in the city other than the University Law College and, he continued, 'to all interested in the welfare of our students, it is still a matter of grave concern that they continue in many instances to live under very unfavourable conditions.' The University Law College has a commodious hostel. I am proud that it bears my name. There are also good hostels attached to some of the colleges. But I understand that a large number of university students and practically all those of certain colleges have no place of residence save what they can find in the shape, sometimes, of licensed and subsidised hostels up and down the city. In the past few years my Government has given out a capital grant of 14 lakhs for hostels in Calcutta exclusive of the three lakhs given for the Hardinge Hostel and of a further 24½ lakhs given for hostels in the mofussil. Imperial funds have also contributed over 3½ lakhs towards the building of the University Institute, on the completion and success of which I lay great stress as one of

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the few social links which may bind your students into the corporate life proper to a university. Thus Government has done much. But I cannot conceal from myself that much more still remains to be done, and I would urge upon the University the desirability of consolidating its work by some concentration of energy on the residential system without which the creation of new chairs and the construction of new laboratories are but too likely to prove of little avail. With a view to contribute towards this end and to commemorate this visit I am glad to announce that my Government will make a further capital grant of 10 lakhs to the University of Calcutta on certain conditions for the building of hostels for undergraduates studying in affiliated colleges in Calcutta.

As this is the last occasion upon which I shall have the honour of presiding as your Chancellor at Convocation, I would like to address a few words to the students of the university. I have myself been a student at the University of Cambridge for a spell of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years and although I can recall periods of what seemed to me then hard work and unwelcome drudgery, I now look back upon that time with grateful enthusiasm as some of the happiest years of my life. I am aware that my tutor was a little disappointed with me and the results of my examination. Still it is not by the results of examinations that one is truly able to gauge whether a young man has profited or not by his residence in the university. Nor can it be said that the standard of education of a student and his utility in after-life depend upon the knowledge in some special subject that he is able to assimilate in his brain for the time being. Still what I learnt and what I veritably believe to be even more valuable for practical life in this world, was the power of concentration and assimilation, and these are qualities

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that each and every student should assiduously cultivate for himself and that no tutor, however gifted, can teach. I feel that I have here made a personal digression; but what I wish to say a few words about to you to-day is the meaning of university life and the part that you students should play in it. In the modern State one of the chief objects of those who are responsible for its good government should be the encouragement of the moral and intellectual development of the people. The natural channel through which such progress should be safely obtained is through its educational establishments, such as universities and schools. The primary schools are the lowest of such institutions and are intended to educate and raise the people of the soil, while the secondary schools to which a comparatively large number proceed are utilised for the development of education and expansion of knowledge amongst a class of people who, as useful members of the commonwealth, are in a position to exercise a beneficial influence on their surroundings and on those who have not had the privilege of enjoying similar advantages. But it is from the universities that we hope and expect to find those pioneers of higher intellectual thought and reason who not only contribute to the knowledge of the world, but also impress upon the State the individuality of their views and the refining influence of their higher aspirations. In this sense the university plays a very important part in the State since it is indisputable that, with but few exceptions, those who rise to the highest positions in the public and intellectual life of the nation are those who have passed through the portals of the university and have thereby acquired not merely academic knowledge, but a wider outlook upon life, together with a more penetrating insight into the ways and character of men. It is the higher and more intelligent life of the univer-

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sity that should be the training ground of the nation's most distinguished sons, whether in public life or in the higher intellectual pursuits. Thus it is in accordance with the duty of the State and an act of patriotism in all those concerned to maintain the universities at the highest possible level of intellectual efficiency, and in so doing they may rest assured that, with the course of time, men of the highest talent and intellect will emerge and that their efforts will not have been in vain.

Now it is as well that students also should realise their duties and responsibilities towards the university of which each one of them is a small but component part. Just as they enjoy the advantage of the prestige of the university, so they should do all in their power to maintain and even to uplift it. The best way to do this is to make the utmost of their opportunities, to foster noble thoughts, to develop intellectual ideas, and to strive to live at a higher level. The path is hard and stony and it is only by incessant toil and strenuous effort that the goal of learning can be reached. It is not in the backwaters of university life but in the full stream of mental activity and intellectual competition produced by contact with greater minds that the cultivation of the intellect can be perfected. These are opportunities which present themselves during your university career. To reap the full benefit of your residence at the university, you must strive for concentration in your ideas and assiduity in your studies. At the same time there is plenty of room for enjoyment and toil brings with it its own rewards, its own pleasures and its own happiness. Those who aim at reaching the highest plane must live accordingly and must look for their pleasures and enjoyment in the lighter side of intellectual research. Do not forget that the night cometh when no man can work. So also with character, without which

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learning is of no avail to secure success in life. The precepts and principles of character can only be inculcated from earliest childhood and cannot be taught, though they may be inspired by noble example. As was said recently by a great English statesman, "you cannot have a class of character or a class of morals, but you can imbue individuals with the tone and atmosphere of your universities and your professors." It is character in combination with learning that makes a man, the man of whom the State needs so many and for whom unfortunately the demand is far greater than the supply. Man is as he made himself; man will be as he makes himself. It is true that external circumstances may influence the development of a man, nevertheless his ultimate formation depends largely upon himself, and in his daily life he is determining his own future and what sort of man he shall be. The highest code of ethics and of chivalry, embracing honour, loyalty, uprightness, and devotion to duty for duty's sake, are qualities that must be cultivated from infancy and a noble character creates by noble deeds a source of inspiration and provides an example for future emulation. These are the men who succeed in the world's rivalry and it is such men that I would wish to see trained and developed in this great university. India has need of every one of such men and the need grows greater every day. So long as such men are produced in these seats of learning no nation need despair and I look forward with the hope and confidence that the students of this university in particular may even now and in the future so shape their lives that on their arrival at the age of maturity they may each in their own way, whether in the field of literature or science, or whether in public or private life, render valuable assistance and co-operation to the Government of India in welding together into one

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civilised and progressive whole the destinies of this great Empire. They should also endeavour to show to the world that the East is not only recovering its former position of supremacy in the arts and sciences, but that India is at the same time training up a race of men who, in the words of Milton, the great poet and educationist, shall be "enflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages."

And now I have done and it remains for me take leave of you all, and in doing so I wish to tell you how much the young men of India will always be in my thoughts and in my prayers for their own welfare and the prosperity of this Indian Empire, so largely dependent upon them and their efforts. I would like to add on this occasion that it has been to me a source of great satisfaction to learn that there is a large number of medical students of this university amongst the ambulance corps recently formed and offered by Calcutta to the military authorities for employment with our troops overseas, an offer which the Government of India have gratefully accepted. Although its destination has not yet been definitely settled, this ambulance corps will probably be employed in Mesopotamia and possibly as a river ambulance service. I am confident it will do well. With these few words I bid you farewell and may God bless this University to all time.

I will now call upon the Vice-Chancellor to address Convocation.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR:

[The Vice-Chancellor in response to His Excellency's invitation referred at great length to the war and the rise of the Bengali Volunteer Field Ambulance Corps. In this connection he said there

Public Safety Bill.

must be much satisfaction in the feeling that our universities were beginning to be alive to national duties and responsibilities and be sensitive to the atmosphere about them. Not alone to "knit the community together by common mental associations and enjoyments, not alone to render service to learning and science, but to ennoble a liberal education by its true adjunct, real manliness, and to elevate character, are not the least of the functions and privileges of a university." Regarding the war he said :—" No event can now loom larger in any academic stock-taking. A beginning has been made and when the din of battle has died down and the smoke and dust have cleared, England and India will, through events and agencies like these, be far closer to one another than ever for humanity's good in fulfilment of the divine decree." Referring to the Chancellor the Vice-President said :—" For a moment another aspect of the war must engage our attention. We are highly thankful for the presence this afternoon of His Excellency the Chancellor, than whom Indian students and Indian education have no truer friend. But we receive him with a sorrowful heart. He has just paid a heavy war toll. It has been the lot of few Viceroys to bear such a load of trials and bereavements in so short a time and few have borne them more nobly. She that nursed him back to life not long ago, herself lay cold in death soon after in a distant home when news of her speedy restoration to health was daily expected. The tragic end came almost at the moment when not very far from this spot thousands of young hearts, for whose good she toiled even with her last breath, were filled with prayers for her early recovery. Before this wound could heal there was readily laid down in his country's cause another life no less dear to him and of which he and his country and his sovereign were justly proud. A quick succession of afflictions, rare and cruel as these, daunt not Your Chancellor's courageous heart. He whose unspoken watchwords have ever been ' Duty and Devotion ' stands out as an example before every member of this university. In life's lesser troubles such a model will stand us all in good stead. In his unspeakable loss he has grown dear to India as India has grown dearer unto him."

The Chancellor then declared the Convocation closed and the procession left the hall amid cheers.]

PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

[The above Bill was taken into consideration and passed at the 18th March meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Delhi on the 1915.]

Public Safety Bill.

18th March. There was a full attendance of members and a large number of the public were present.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the proceedings said :—]

I duly forwarded to the Secretary of State for submission to His Majesty the King-Emperor the following loyal resolution unanimously adopted at a meeting of my Legislative Council held at Delhi on 24th February 1915.

“ This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that His Excellency in Council may be pleased to communicate to His Gracious Majesty the feelings of sincere gratitude, devotion, and loyalty with which the immense population of India have heard of His Majesty's gracious personal attention to Indian soldiers in the theatre of war and in hospital and the unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifice it may entail on them.”

On the 16th March I received the following reply from the Secretary of State :—

“ Please inform Council that it has given me much pleasure to lay loyal resolution before His Imperial Majesty the King, who has read it with great satisfaction.”

I also received the following message from Field Marshal Sir John French :—

“ I am glad to be able to inform Your Excellency that the Indian troops under General Sir James Willcocks fought with great gallantry and marked success in the capture of Neve Chapelle and subsequent fighting which took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of this month. The fighting was very severe and the losses heavy, but nothing daunted them. Their tenacity, courage, and endurance were admirable and worthy of the best traditions of the soldiers of India.”

Public Safety Bill.

I then sent the following telegram to General Sir James Willcocks:—

“I have just received from Field Marshal Sir John French a telegram informing me of the great gallantry and marked success with which the Indian troops under your command fought in the capture of Neuve Chapelle and subsequent operations which took place on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of this month. I shall be glad if you will be so good as to convey to the Indian troops on behalf of myself, the Commander-in-Chief, the Government and people of India, our warm admiration of their gallant behaviour and our confidence that they will ever maintain before the enemy the best traditions of the Indian Army.”

Before the formal introduction of the proposed Bill to provide for special measures to secure the public safety and the defence of British India and for the more speedy trial of certain offences, I would like to address a few words to *Hon'ble Members of my Council*.

In a speech that I made to you in this Council Chamber on the 12th January I informed you of the desire of my Government that so far as might be possible the discussion of controversial questions should be avoided during the course of the war. I pointed out that in adopting this course we should be following the example of the British Parliament, where all political controversy has been suspended during the war and where the leaders of the Opposition have refrained from any action which might tend to embarrass the Government. In consequence of this decision my Government have deferred the consideration of a number of important measures, of a more or less controversial nature already introduced in Council, as well as the introduction of other Bills. In maintaining this decision my Government have been loyally assisted by *Hon'ble Members*, and I should like to take this oppor-

Public Safety Bill.

tunity of expressing my appreciation and gratitude for your attitude.

In the Bill that is before you to-day I do not attempt to disguise the fact that it is a measure that presents openings for controversy, and I would have been very pleased to think that we could have done without it; but we have felt that a precautionary measure of this nature has become necessary in order to ensure public peace and tranquillity. You will observe that it is a war measure, to last during the period of the war and for six months afterwards; that on enactment certain important clauses do not apply automatically to the whole of India but only to those districts or provinces which upon the advice of Local Governments may be notified by the Governor General in Council. It rests with the people of India to decide how far it may be necessary to put those clauses into force. The fact that such a Bill has become necessary in India as a precautionary measure cannot be regarded as in any way a slur on the people since it follows in general outline the Defence of the Realm Act passed in both Houses of Parliament and now in force in the United Kingdom; but in so far as trial by court-martial is replaced by trial by special Commissioners is of a less drastic nature. Law-abiding England accepted this measure without a murmur, realising that in such a situation *salus populi suprema lex*.

You may possibly ask what is the reason for this legislation. To that I would reply that there is cause for precautionary measures and for the quickening up the procedure of justice. You may yourselves have heard rumours of attempts to disturb the public peace. I know that some of you have heard them, and although I do not want to go into details, you may take it from me that Government are in possession of information that proves conclusively that a precautionary measure of this

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kind is absolutely necessary to meet an emergency that may arise. There is no one in this land more jealous than I am of the honour of India and of the striking reputation for loyalty that India so rightly deserves, and I am not disposed to allow the honour and fair fame of India to be tarnished by the criminal acts of a few ill-balanced minds, at a moment when India's sons are shedding their blood on the battle fields for the King-Emperor and country. It is a fact that I might have elected to promulgate an Ordinance embodying the provisions of the Act that is before you; but for political and other reasons, and in view of the fact that my Legislative Council is in session. I have preferred to take my Council into our confidence, to place the matter before you, and to invite your help and co-operation in enacting a measure so essential to the public weal, and I am confident that you will not refuse. I will now call upon Sir Reginald Craddock to move for leave to introduce the Bill.

BUDGET DEBATE, 1915-16.

[The annual debate on the Budget took place in the last meeting 25th March of the Imperial Legislative Council of the 1914-15 Session at Delhi. 1915. Many non-official members spoke, most of them expressing the hope that Lord Hardinge's term of office might be extended.]

His Excellency in closing the Debate and Session spoke as follows.—]

We are now approaching the close of another session of this Legislative Council, and before we disperse I would like to say a few words upon the budget and other matters of general interest.

As regards the memorable budget which has been under discussion this session, it is a matter of much satisfaction to me that all its important decisions—those for example relating to taxation, capital outlay and borrowing—have commanded practically unanimous

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acceptance both inside this Council and beyond it. The imposition of additional taxation at the present time would not in our judgment have been justified either by financial requirements or by the present economic condition of the country, and our attitude in this matter has, I think, been thoroughly understood and appreciated. As regards capital outlay, we have had to strike a mean. At a time like this, material development must inevitably be retarded. But our capital programme is an integral part of India's financial system, and must be maintained on a scale bearing some reasonable relation to past standards, if excessive hardship and dislocation are to be avoided. Our borrowing arrangements naturally follow from the conclusions on these two points. We are fortunate in being able to see our way to carrying them through without straining our credit, or drawing to the full on reserves which may afterwards be required to meet the many contingencies of another year of war.

Sir William Meyer's most interesting recital of the financial events of the war period brings out convincingly the inherent soundness and strength of India's financial position, and this has been recognised in every quarter. It is quite true that our revenue has suffered and that our resources have been depleted in other ways. This must be expected in a country whose fiscal system is so directly responsive, under almost every head of revenue, to fluctuating economic conditions, and whose Government performs so many financial functions besides that of looking after its own balances. We undoubtedly undertake in this country some heavy financial responsibilities, some indeed from which other Governments, the Home Government for example, are exempt. But we are in a position to say to-day, after eight months of war, that these responsibilities have

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been fully discharged, and that the strain which was thrown on us at the outset has now sensibly relaxed. At the same time we realise fully that another year of war must bring with it many unknown possibilities; and if further burdens are thus thrown upon our finances we are not unprepared to meet them.

I turn now to the economic questions which have recently engaged my attention and that of my Government. The principal question under this head has been the high prices of wheat. When I addressed you at the beginning of this session we had already restricted the exports from December to the end of March to a fixed quantity, in order to secure that only a limited proportion of the surplus remaining over from the old crop should be exported, and we had also taken powers to enquire into the existence of stocks, and, if necessary, to take over such as might be unreasonably withheld. The enquiries conducted by Local Governments showed, however, that such stocks were not in existence, and further action in this direction could have had no good effect. It was therefore apparent that the only possible policy was to do what we could to relieve distress by cheap grain shops and the like, and to await the effect on prices of the new crop which usually begins to operate some time in February. World prices, however, continued to rise, and it became necessary in the interests of the Indian consumer to take steps which would ensure the effect of the new crop making itself felt as soon as possible. No ordinary measures would have sufficed, and the urgency of the situation called for decisive action. We accordingly issued the announcement that all private export of wheat would be prohibited on and after the 1st April. Our object was to ensure that the supplies of the new crop, which I am glad to say promises to be one of the finest on record,

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began to be marketed, they should be used to relieve the undoubted shortage in India instead of being attracted to other countries by the high prices prevalent in the markets of the world. The results of this announcement were immediately beneficial and prices promptly declined to a more reasonable level. At the same time we have not neglected our responsibilities to the cultivator and to Indian trade. There is every sign that there will be an unusually large surplus this year available for export, and while we intend to keep export under our own control in order that prices may not be driven up again by sudden and excessive exportation, we are equally desirous of allowing our export trade to be carried on, so far as is compatible with the interests of the Indian consumer. I trust that this double object will be achieved by the scheme which has already been laid before Council in a recent debate. Under this scheme we shall keep the control of purchases for export in our own hands and we hope thus to be able to ensure a moderate level of prices; to safeguard the consumer, and yet not to disappoint the cultivator of his legitimate profits. The fact that we shall have created an artificially low level of prices in India as compared with prices in the other markets of the world, implies that export may be conducted on a considerable margin of profit. We hope to make arrangements by which such profits as may accrue to the State under this scheme will not be utilised, as is our revenue from normal sources, to meet the ordinary expenses of administration, but will be devoted to some special purpose for the advantage of the people. It is not possible for me now to say what this will be, but I have noted with sympathy the feeling expressed during the debate in my Council in favour of such profits as may accrue being expended for the benefit of the agricultural classes.

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In addition to the control of wheat, my administration has had to bear its part in the policy which is being so vigorously and successfully prosecuted by the Imperial Government for preventing supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials reaching the countries with which we are at war. The strictest watch has been kept upon our trade with neutrals. Prohibitions and restrictions have been imposed where necessary, and I have pleasure in testifying to the readiness with which the commercial community has submitted to these necessary interferences with the ordinary course of trade. Trading in India by firms or companies containing a hostile element has been put an end to, and the process of closing down such businesses is being carried into effect with due caution in order to avoid possible injury to Indian and British interests. At the same time my Government have been giving such assistance as they can to Indian industries in its endeavours to take advantage of the opportunity for expansion afforded by the cessation of imports from Germany and Austria and other continental countries affected by the war. I should like to add that the whole question of promotion of industrial development in India is one which has been and is receiving the most careful consideration of myself and my Government, and I am glad to find from the prominent place which it has taken in the debates of my Council this session, that it is also occupying the minds of public men in India. The present time, when commerce and finance are naturally disturbed by a great war, when men's minds can hardly be expected to look on economic problems from their normal angle, is not in my judgment a suitable moment for taking special action or for initiating special enquiries as to how best this end may be achieved. But it is a question, the importance of which is very present in my thoughts, and it is one