

Last meeting of Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi, 1915-1916 session. Budget Debate. Viceroy's farewell to Council.

His Excellency had also bestowed sympathetic attention on the question of the removal, so far as possible, of the hardships which hadjis had to undergo in the performance of their hadj. Mr. Ghuznavi pointed to the magnanimity of the Government in permitting the shipment of foodstuffs to Jeddah. "These instances are but a few amongst the numerous benefits that the Mussulman community in particular have derived at Your Excellency's hands," added the speaker. "I am sure I am only voicing the general opinion of the people of India as a whole when I say how greatly we appreciate, and how deeply we are grateful for Your Excellency's liberal instincts and how responsive Indians are to the good work done and the generous policy adopted. It is only men of strong individuality and liberal instincts such as Your Excellency who can overcome narrow obstructions to progress and advance the real and permanent well-being of the people." Mr. Ghuznavi congratulated the Finance Member on his cautious Budget. He deprecated the additional tax on salt, but accepted it as a temporary measure and asked the Finance Member to give an assurance that this extra tax would be repealed after the war. He was glad that the Finance Member had adopted the suggestion he made last year about increasing the income-tax, and thought that people occupying positions of ease and affluence ought not to grumble if they had to pay a few extra rupees in the interest of the Empire. The speaker urged the claims of his community for preferential treatment in matters of education and advocated free and compulsory education when the proper time came. He drew attention to the spread of the drug and drink habit. He fervently looked forward to the time when disability under the Arms Act would no longer exist or when, at least, no preferential treatment in the matter of gun licenses would be meted out to European aliens, and when, if the Arms Act still remained on the Statute book, that it should be made alike applicable to Europeans and Indians.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola agreed with those of his colleagues who spoke of the Budget as a War Budget and referred in this connection to the increase in military expenditure by about two millions and a half over the normal rate since war, an increase directly responsible for the deficit and consequent increased taxation. He did not object to this for he wished to give a free hand to Government in the matter of expenditure while the war was on, but he trusted that the additional expenditure would not form

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a permanent burden. Mr. Stewart had suggested ways in which new taxes, if necessary, could be raised, but the speaker thought the jute trade, which had been pampered because of conditions arising from the war, ought to bear the greatest part of the burden. Even an increase of one anna in the cost of third class tickets was a very heavy burden on poor passengers.

Mr. Shafi said :— It was inevitable that the Budget should bear the impress of abnormal financial conditions. The scheme of additional taxation, though not entirely free from objection, was, on the whole, discriminately conceived. India had responded loyally and had made willing sacrifices which were bound to leave their mark on history and create a new bond of citizenship. More than fifty per cent. of the entire number of recruits had been drawn from the Punjab, he remarked. She had also set a noble example to the rest of India in providing a fleet of aeroplanes, the fund for which exceeded in amount the whole of the overseas aeroplane fund. Mr. Shafi eulogised the services of Lord Hardinge in the cause of education and sanitation and also for his advocacy of the right of Indian troops to take part in the European war.

Mr. Abbott said that His Excellency's departure from India would be a blow to the country. During Lord Hardinge's viceroyalty India had made steady progress. Referring to the new taxation Mr. Abbott said the increased duty on salt would be the poor man's contribution to the war. He pleaded that seats in Provincial Legislative Councils should be reserved for members of the domiciled community. Though this was not the time to ask for special privileges, yet he hoped that when the time came the claims of the domiciled community would not be overlooked. Members of the Anglo-Indian community should be given facilities to enter into the regular army. He had received from the Adjutant-General a pamphlet dealing with the conditions upon which the Anglo-Indian force, recently sanctioned by the Government of India, might be raised. The bar sinister had been lifted and they had been given their magna charta. For this and other favours he had already tendered the grateful thanks of the community which was determined to prove that small quantities of good service were better than tons of profession.

Mr. Rayaningar said :—The significant note in the Budget was the statement of the Finance Member that one of the results of the war would be the increase of military expenditure in the future. This was a point upon which a clear expression of public opinion

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was necessary. The war must have made it clear that a change in the military policy of the Government was necessary. The people had long been excluded from all association with the defence of the country both internal and external and the result was that, in spite of her teeming millions, India at this hour of trial was unable to put on the field an army in proportion to the magnitude of the operations. He pleaded for the commissioned ranks of the army to be thrown open to members of the aristocratic houses. He asked that Government should undertake a thorough enquiry into the economic condition of India. In conclusion he said that His Excellency had spared no pains to better the condition of the Indian people at home and to secure for them a dignified place abroad, for which all India was grateful to him.

Mr. Acharian thought that the fresh taxation should not be removed, except the salt tax. He criticised the granting of concessional rates for telegrams to newspapers also the supplying of news to Government officials. He expressed appreciation of the services of Lord Hardinge.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya hoped the industrial commission would inquire fully into the economic needs of the country. His Excellency's experience would enable him to realise the needs of a greater expansion of Councils. He asked His Excellency to carry Home to His Majesty the King Emperor, India's devotion to his person and throne, and a message to Englishmen that India fully sympathised with them in their present crisis. India fully realised what Englishmen had done during the present war to maintain the glory of the Empire. He only hoped that his countrymen would be able to do as much as Englishmen had done.

Nawab Sayid Mahanad Sahib Bahadur expressed disapproval at the omission of taxation on cotton imports. Lord Hardinge, he said, had guided the destinies of India at a time which demanded all the resources of statesmanship.

Mr. M. S. Das and Mr. Sitaiyad associated themselves with the sentiments expressed by their colleagues regarding His Excellency's services to India.

Sir William Meyer, in reply, expressed his satisfaction that the Budget had been so well received. Great care had been taken to distribute the necessary new burdens as fairly as possible. He congratulated his non-official colleagues upon the business-like manner in which they had dealt with the proposals of the

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Government. As to whether the new taxes would be continued after the war he could only repeat what he had already said. With regard to the conversion terms for the new loans he said he was fully aware of the importance of the subject. He would be going to Bombay shortly and would consult with representatives of the banks and others. He would welcome notes from any members who might have suggestions to offer. On sanitary expenditure the question of separate accounting might be considered. Mr. Stewart's criticisms of the new taxes came somewhat late. The railway and postal charges, which he suggested as alternatives to the income-tax, would have fallen upon the poor.

Mr. Achariar's remarks regarding telegraph charges would, no doubt, be carefully considered by Sir William Clark.

After Sir William Meyer had spoken His Excellency brought the session to a close. He spoke for fifty-five minutes and at the conclusion declared the Council adjourned *sine die* amid cheers.

The following was His Excellency the Viceroy's speech :—]

Gentlemen,—Before I deal with the Budget and other matters I wish to thank Hon'ble Members for the very kind and appreciative remarks that they have been pleased to make on me and my administration in their speeches to-day, and to assure them how highly I value their words, and how much I shall always treasure the remembrance of the very friendly sympathy of the Members of my Legislative Council at this the last meeting over which I shall preside before I leave India. I am profoundly grateful to you all.

I have to congratulate my Honourable Colleague, Sir William Meyer, upon the reception accorded to his Budget. In the earlier years of my viceroyalty it was our good fortune to be able in effect to give back money to the tax-payer. But on this occasion we have had to raise additional revenue on a considerable scale; and it is a remarkable circumstance that a Budget in which new taxation is the foremost feature has been received with more general approval than perhaps any Budget

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of my time. I attribute this to two causes—First, we have done our best to distribute the new burdens fairly, and this has been generally recognised. But chiefly, I think, we owe the easy passage of our fiscal proposals to a very general feeling of public spirit which desires to help the Empire at this time of need. In this respect, the Council has faithfully reflected the general body of public opinion outside, and I am grateful to you and to those you represent for thus strengthening our hands. Any measure which fortifies our general financial position is a real service in the prosecution of the war; and though I am happy to say that, in some respects, our position is stronger than might have been expected, I can assure that small minority which still doubts the full necessity of the new taxation that our Budget dispositions take by no means an exaggerated view of the contingencies for which we ought to be prepared.

I do not propose on this occasion, amid the preoccupations of the war period, to embark on any full review of the financial history of my administration. Our policy before the war was one of development, material and social. Our productive capital expenditure had reached by 1914 a scale previously unattained. For education, sanitation and other special purposes, we had increased the permanent resources of the Provincial Governments by one million a year, and to the extent of £7 million more in non-recurring grants. We had reason to hope for a gradually increasing utilisation of India's available resources through the borrowing policy pursued during Sir William Meyer's incumbency of the Finance Membership. Generally, as I think I may claim, we had succeeded, in matters of banking, currency and the like, in getting into closer working association with the commercial community; and finally, our whole finance and currency system had recently been over-

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hauled, and we had hoped, in some directions, to make a fresh start on more progressive lines.

These hopes and activities have been disappointed and arrested by the war. India, however, cannot complain if the even tenour of her progress has been checked. Her financial system has well withstood the strain of the last 18 months, and she has not had to suffer the complete upheaval of her trade and the diversion of all her energies to other channels. The measures which we have taken this session will, I hope, secure her financially in the 12 months which lie before us, and she may hope to emerge from the war in a strong position. I think I may congratulate this Council and the country that this strength has been obtained with relatively so small an addition to her fiscal burdens.

Sir W. Meyer has explained the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the proposal made by the Government of India that, in the new taxation proposed in this Budget, the import duty on cotton should be raised leaving the excise duty on cotton at its present rate, an assurance being given by His Majesty's Government of the future abolition of the excise duty as soon as the financial situation would permit of such a course. He has also explained that His Majesty's Government feel that the raising of this question at the present time would be unfortunate, since it would provoke the revival of old controversies at a moment when it is specially desired to avoid all contentious questions both in England and in India, and that it might prejudice the ultimate settlement of larger issues raised by the war. I need hardly say that the Government of India have no desire to create controversy here, in England, or anywhere else at the present time, by the discussion of questions affecting Indian interests, but they are glad to have had the opportunity of placing on official record

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their views that the import duties on cotton fabrics should be raised, and that the excise duty should for the present remain at its actual figure and an assurance given that it would be abolished as soon as financial considerations will permit.

But His Majesty's Government, in expressing their desire that a conflict should not be raised at the present time over the cotton duties, have made a definite declaration which has already been quoted by the Finance Member in his speech introducing the Financial Statement, but which I now repeat as I regard it as of very great importance to India. It is as follows:—

“His Majesty's Government feel that the fiscal relationship of all parts of the Empire and the rest of the world must be reconsidered after the war, and they desire to leave the questions raised by the cotton duties to be considered at the same time in connection with the general fiscal policy of the Empire and with the share, military and financial, taken by India in the struggle. His Majesty's Government are aware of the great interest taken in this question in India and of the impossibility of avoiding all allusion to it when new taxation has to be raised, but they are confident that their decision is in the best interests of India, and that premature discussion of this particular issue could only be harmful.”

Now I wish to be very careful in not reading into this declaration an interpretation that would not be justified, but I think that I am fully justified in saying that it contains an assurance that the fiscal relations of India in the Empire, towards the Empire and towards the rest of the world will be reconsidered after the war in connection with the general fiscal policy of the Empire, and that the best interests of India are being taken into account in postponing a decision about cotton duties

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which, after all, form only a small fraction of the fiscal system built up in India. We are all unanimous, I think, as to what the best interests of India in connection with the cotton duties may be, and I regard this declaration that I and my Government have been authorised to make in the name of His Majesty's Government as a far-reaching pronouncement of statesmanship and full of hope and promise, implying as it does the possibility or, I may even say, the probability of a broad reconsideration of the fiscal interests of India from a new "angle of vision." It seems to me to mark a new departure, that it places the future position of India much higher than would have been done by the simple acceptance of the proposals of the Government of India, and I think that the Government and people of India may, with this declaration before them, await the future with patience and confidence.

In closing the discussion on his resolution of the 20th instant relating to the abolition of Indian indentured emigration, the Hon'ble Pundit Malaviya asked that Government would, as an interim measure, take steps to mitigate certain abuses and hardships in connection with the recruitment of labour in India and its despatch to the Colonies.

One at any rate of his proposals referred to a matter which was then under consideration, and I thought it best to take a little time for examining it before I replied. I am happy to say I find myself able to meet him on most of the points he brought forward. With reference to his first request, my Government propose to ask Local Governments to examine carefully the conditions under which recruitment for the Colonies is carried out. In the next place, the Government of India will take an early opportunity of arranging for the insertion in the agreement of all necessary particulars regarding

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the penal provisions of the contract. With reference to the Hon'ble Pundit's third request, I think the best way of meeting it is by our asking the Secretary of State that the attention of the Colonial Governments should be drawn to the religious objections that are felt by many Hindu castes to such forms of employment as those which he mentioned.

Another six months have passed since I last addressed you in Simla on the subject of the terrible war now devastating Europe, and we seem to be still a long way from its close.

In the Western theatre of war the British and French Allies steadfastly maintain their position and are every day growing stronger in numbers, material and supplies. No very serious attack has been made on the British lines that has not been easily defeated, and the French, with their usual bravery, have most gallantly resisted and driven back, with tremendous losses immense masses of German troops that had been gradually collected by the German Commanders in order to make a supreme effort for a decisive victory before the moment arrives that they anticipate and dread of a general advance on the part of the Allies. This advance will probably not be long deferred and, you may rest assured, that it is being deferred only in order to make it, when the time comes, the more deadly. On the Austro-Italian front the Austrians are being slowly but surely driven back by our gallant Italian Allies. The theatre of war, in which the most decisive results have recently been achieved, has been in the Caucasus and in Northern Persia, where the Russian Generals have gained some remarkable successes including the fall of the fortress of Erzerum, regarded in Constantinople as impregnable, and the storming of Bitlis, less than 100 miles from the Tigris, together with the capture of immense quantities of

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prisoners, guns and material, while in North-Western Persia the rebel gendarmerie and the Turks with them have been repeatedly defeated, so that the brave Russian troops have now, it may be hoped, finally destroyed Germany's hopes of making Persia, as she has already made Turkey, the cat's-paw of her insensate ambition.

There have been unfortunate developments in the Balkans owing to the treacherous intrusion of Bulgaria into the war against Russia, her liberator in the past, and England and France, her supporters and well-wishers in all her legitimate aspirations. Servia and Montenegro have, after a glorious struggle against overwhelming forces, temporarily ceased to exist as Kingdoms, but the Allies are confident that the Teuton and Bulgarian forces will be ultimately expelled from the lands they have occupied and ravaged in the Balkans, just as Belgium and Poland will witness at no distant time their deliverance from the cruel yoke that Germany has temporarily imposed upon them. There may be some who question upon what such confidence is based, and to these it may be confidently replied that, while Germany and Austria are slowly but surely bleeding to death and unable to compel by any decisive success the peace which it is known that they now desire, England, France, Russia and Italy are daily growing stronger and by close and active co-operation, both military and economic, are exercising a pressure which will soon become irresistible. As I said before in Council last September the deciding factor in this struggle will be British sea-power. It is the sea which unites and welds together in a common effort the widely distant territories of the Allies. It is sea-power that is protecting the shores of India and Indian commerce from the ravages of the enemy, and it should not be forgotten that, even if—which God avert—disaster befell the arms

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of England and her Allies on land, British sea-power would still remain, rendering Great Britain and her possessions invulnerable, and placing England in the position of being able to impose terms upon the central Powers before a single German or Austrian ship would be allowed to sail the open sea with impunity. Not that there can be any doubt as to the ultimate victory of the Allies upon land, but it is the British Navy that is gradually but surely strangling the enemy with a grip that will never be relaxed until peace has been secured on such terms that the smaller Powers shall regain their full liberty and independence, and that civilisation shall no longer be endangered by the dreams of conquest and the military despotism of a Power which has arrogantly proclaimed *Might to be Right*. Until absolute and incontestable victory has been achieved, there can be no flinching from our duty, and no peace without being faithless to our ideals of truth and liberty and to our responsibilities to civilisation and the future of the world. The German menace that has weighed so heavily on Europe for the past generation must be reduced to impotence and permanently removed.

Turning to foreign affairs nearer home it is pleasant to be able to state that in Persia there has been a very distinct improvement in the situation. We are on the most friendly terms with the Persian Government who have at last realised the danger to which their country was exposed by the machinations of German and Austrian bands and are doing their utmost to suppress them. I need hardly say that, in their efforts to restore order, the Persian Government will continue to have our hearty co-operation and assistance in any way that they may desire.

Our friend and ally, the Amir of Afghanistan, continues to maintain very friendly relations with the

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Government of India and has recently renewed his assurances to observe an attitude of strict neutrality, and we have naturally implicit confidence in his royal word.

On the frontier perfect tranquillity has for some time prevailed, except for raids by gangs of Mahsuds in the Dera Ismail Khan District. The cup of their misdeeds is already overflowing, and the day of retribution is at hand. As soon our preoccupations elsewhere are relieved, and when it suits our convenience, it will be necessary for the Government of India to take drastic steps to put an end for ever to the campaign of murder and plunder that has disgraced the Mahsud tribe during the past few years.

Except in Bengal where, I am sorry to say, there has been a regrettable number of murders and dacoities, which dim the fair fame of that province, and which every effort should be made not only by the Government, but by the people themselves to suppress, the internal situation of India could hardly be more favourable, and it is a source of profound satisfaction for me on the eve of my departure to be able to say so. We do not feel the shock of battle here as the nations feel it in Europe, but we have had ample evidence of German designs to create trouble in India which have so far proved abortive, based as they were on the fallacy that India would be disloyal to the Empire. During the past 20 months of war the people of this land have displayed a loyalty and patriotism, deeply appreciated by the Empire at large, that have been beyond all praise, and have entirely justified the confidence and trust that I reposed in them. Heads of Governments have told me that never in their experience have the relations between the Government and the people been closer or of greater confidence, and I readily believe it. When I hear pessimistic prophecies or apprehensions as to the future

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of India, I ask myself who, 20 years ago, would have predicted the magnificent loyalty of the Ruling Princes and the people of India which we have seen since the outbreak of war? None ever doubted the valour of the Indian Army, British and Indian. But who would have said 20 years ago that it would be possible to send out of India to the different theatres of war army after army of brave and experienced soldiers? When it is remembered that the largest expedition that ever left the shores of India before the present war numbered only 18,000 men, and that since the outbreak of war India has despatched about 300,000 soldiers overseas, and has contributed several million pounds worth of war material to the Empire, I think we have every reason to be proud of the efforts that India has made, and of the situation on, and inside, our frontiers that have rendered such efforts possible. Many gallant men have, alas! died for their country. Of these the whole Empire is the tomb.

As this is the last occasion upon which I shall have the privilege of addressing the Members of my Legislative Council, there are certain subjects of general interest, upon which I would like to say a few words.

My stay in India is now fast drawing to a close, and as I look back upon the past 5½ years they seem full of incident, and there is much of which India may well be proud, but I cannot help feeling how much there is also that is still left undone, that I would wish to have seen done, and that I am confident will be done in the not far distant future, to secure that peace, contentment, and progressive development which must be the end in view of every far-sighted British statesman who conscientiously recognises the duty of Great Britain towards this country, who remembers the engagements given to the people of this land by successive Sovereigns, and who

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realises that it is only by the study of the welfare of the people, and by the reconciliation of the administration with the awakening and legitimate aspirations of the people that the foundations of British rule in India can be broadened and solidified. There can be no finer ambition for my country than that the future historian may be able to describe how a bruised but ancient country of old civilisation and culture, after centuries of invasion and conquest, had been uplifted and gradually strengthened till it could stand upon its feet, and how the child had become a source of strength and gladness to its mother-country.

It is difficult as yet to foresee what the results of the terrible war now in progress will be upon the civilisation of the world, but there can be no doubt that national ideals and common aspirations will be purified by the knowledge of the united effort that has been made to crush a debased system of culture founded on the hypothesis that might is right. It is devoutly to be hoped that this sense of unity may prevail long after this war has ceased, and that it may be the prelude to the disappearance of all religious, class and racial discord which, I unhesitatingly say, can be productive only of harm, and which tends to sap all healthy development and impede all real progress. In no country is unity more absolutely necessary than in India, but unfortunately, and I say it regretfully, we are still far from that ideal. It can only be achieved by a real effort on the part of all classes to understand each other better and to inspire one another with mutual sympathy.

During the past few months I have seen mention made in speeches at meetings in the country and in the press of self-government, Colonial self-government and Home Rule for India. I have often wondered whether those speakers and writers fully realise the conditions

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prevailing in Dominions such as Canada or Australia which render self-government possible. I wish that some of these could visit the Dominions and see for themselves. A study of the history of these Dominions would show that the development of their present self-governing institutions had been achieved, not by any sudden stroke of statesmanship, but by a process of steady and patient evolution which has gradually united and raised all classes of the community to the level of their enhanced responsibilities. I do not for a moment wish to discountenance self-government for India as a national ideal. It is a perfectly legitimate aspiration and has the warm sympathy of all moderate men. But in the present position of India it is not idealism that is needed, but practical politics and practical solutions to questions arising out of the social and political conditions in this country. We should look facts squarely in the face and do our utmost to grapple with realities. To lightly raise extravagant hopes and to encourage unrealisable demands can only tend to delay and not to accelerate political progress. I know that this is the sentiment of many wise and thoughtful Indians. In speaking thus frankly it is far from my intention to create a feeling of discouragement, for nobody is more anxious than I am to see the early realisation of the just and legitimate aspirations of India, but I am equally desirous of avoiding all danger of reaction from the birth of institutions which experience might prove to be premature. During the past 5½ years I have steadily kept this aim in view, and, as far as I am able, will do all in my power to help the course of Indian progress in the future.

Nothing that has occurred during the past 4½ years has made me change by a hair's-breadth my views as to the soundness of the policy defined in that much disputed third paragraph of the despatch of the Government of

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India of August 25th, 1911, the responsibility for which rests especially upon myself in conjunction with my late friend Sir John Jenkins. The meaning of that paragraph has been much discussed, but as it is written in plain English I see no necessity for explaining it. I only wish to emphasise the fact that it was not contemplated that the policy adumbrated should be fulfilled in its entirety in the immediate future, or within a specified period of time, but that the progress towards the foreshadowed goal should be steady and gradual. Speculation as to the rapidity with which progress is to be made or the precise definition of the goal to be achieved would be profitless, but my strong advice is not to go too fast and to be sure that you can walk firmly before you try to run. This is very clearly expressed in the text of the paragraph, and I claim that, during the 4½ years that have elapsed since that despatch was published, the Government of India have been true to the policy indicated, although they have not always been able to give full scope to their wishes. During that period Bengal has become a Presidency with a Governor in Council; Bihar and Orissa form a Province with a Lieutenant-Governor in Council and with a majority of elected Members in the Legislative Council; Legislative Councils, with non-official majorities in each, have been given to the Central Provinces and Assam; Bihar and Orissa has received a High Court; and I have no doubt whatever that in a very short time the recommendation of the Government of India for the creation of an Executive Council for the United Provinces and a High Court for the Punjab will be accepted. Surely this is a good record for the past 4½ years, and surely the pace has not been slow.

A further change in the same direction that I regard as very desirable is greater decentralisation and less

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interference from the very top to the lowest rung of the administrative ladder, and the recognition that to endeavour to attain a drab uniformity in this country, where such wide variations in habits and thought exist, can only lead to local discontent and ultimate failure. While the Imperial Government retains, and must retain, the power of initiative in policy and control, it should steadily, and on broad lines, delegate more and more power to Local Governments to dispose of matters of merely local or secondary importance. In pursuance of this view, it has been my policy to give as much freedom as possible to Local Governments, and never to override them except under the most urgent necessity, bearing always in mind that it should be the part of the Government of India to control, and theirs to administer.

The fact that, at the conclusion of this great war, questions of far-reaching importance to India will arise, provoking discussion and requiring sympathetic decision, is patent to all. Many such questions have had my most earnest consideration, and the Home Government are in possession of my views as to how they should be solved in a generous measure, but this is neither the time nor the place for dwelling upon them. I was glad when I read Sir Satyendra Sinha's speech at the National Congress last December in which he strongly deprecated treating the satisfactory solution of such questions as a concession in return for Indian loyalty. Loyalty has no price, it is priceless, it is not an object of exchange and barter. Whatever changes may in due course be made will be owing to the fact that they are justified by the indomitable bravery of our soldiers, by the patriotic attitude of the people of India during a period of difficulty and stress, and by their political progress and moral development during the past few years. I will only say this, that the question of the improvement of

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the status, position and prospects of the Indian officers and men of the Indian Army is one that should have precedence over all others, for it is they who have borne the danger, heat and burden of the day, and have nobly maintained the honour and fair fame of India in the vanguard of the British and Colonial Armies in Flanders and other theatres of war. I would urge further that special provision should be made by Government for those who have suffered permanent injuries as well as for the education of the orphans of Indian soldiers who have perished during the war, and that the future prospects of such children should always be a matter of concern to the Government and people of India.

As regards the position of India within the Empire, the announcement which I made in this Council last September to the effect that India's demand to be represented in future on Imperial Conferences would be sympathetically considered by His Majesty's Government is, I think, likely to become historic, for it marks the beginning of a new era, and the growth of more liberal ideas in regard to India not previously entertained. At the same time the reception by the Colonial Press of the resolution relating to the representation of India at the next Imperial Conference, proposed in this Council last September by the Hon'ble Mr. Mohamed Shafi and unanimously accepted, was most encouraging, and was a good indication of the change in the angle of vision of our fellow-subjects in the Dominions towards India, and the place that India should hold in the Councils of the Empire. I feel confident that the statesmen of the self-governing Dominions, recognising the splendid services rendered by India to the Empire during the war, will generously seek a modification of the constitution of the Imperial Conference, so as to admit the properly accredited representatives of India to sit

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side by side with them at the Imperial Council table on terms of equality. I rejoice in this matter to leave India with high opportunity before her to take her place, a just and proud place, in the Empire.

You may remember that a year and a half ago I made suggestions for the consideration of Hon'ble Members for the settlement with Colonial Governments of certain emigration questions which had become acute in connection with the case of the *Komagata Maru*. I have not pressed you for your answer to my suggestions during the course of this war, as I have been anxious to eliminate as much as possible all controversial questions from our midst. These questions will, however, inevitably arise when the war is over, and I feel sure that the Dominion Governments, realising more forcefully than ever before that India is a living unit of the Empire, will approach all such questions at issue in a broader and more generous spirit than heretofore. But from what I have, on certain occasions, both heard and read during the past year, I do feel that a word of caution is necessary, and that people in India should remember that however desirable the realisation may be of the proud ideal of equal liberty for all those who can say *Civis britannicus sum*, the Dominions have also their own ideals of self-development, and the Dominion Governments are masters in their own houses. In matters such as these which are largely, but not altogether matters of sentiment, they are amenable only to persuasion and not to compulsion. I feel some anxiety lest the people of India may not fully realise the actual standpoint from which the Dominions should be approached, and lest, in striving to grasp the shadow, they should lose the substance. Where interests are held to clash, the principle of reciprocity often affords

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a basis for a practical solution which would be vainly sought in the assertion of theoretical rights

I wish also to say a few words to-day on the subject of the new Capital. As you all know the building of the new city was ordained by the Royal and Imperial word of our King-Emperor, in the presence of the Princes and representatives of the people of India at the Coronation Durbar of 1911. During the past 3½ years, and in fulfilment of His Majesty's commands, plans have been prepared, ground levelled, roads laid out and much necessary spade work has been done. Had the situation been normal, more could have been done during the past twelve months, but in consequence of the war I felt it necessary to curtail expenditure to the lowest possible limit consistent with the avoidance of loss. Nevertheless the walls of the Government buildings are steadily rising, and I have no fear that the time that has been lost will not be easily made good later on. I may mention that the King-Emperor takes the greatest interest in the progress of the new Capital, and has often referred to it in the letters with which His Majesty has honoured me. The lay-out of the new city and the designs for the Government buildings are on a noble scale befitting the importance and dignity of an Imperial Capital of India. For such an enterprise the estimated expenditure is not excessive, and I see no reason why, with intelligent supervision, it should be exceeded. It may take longer to complete than at present reckoned, but what I would urge upon you and the people of India is that no unworthy considerations and petty ideas of parsimony should ever induce you to consent to any curtailment of the future glory and beauty of the new Capital of India, which I am convinced will some day be a source of pride to you and your children's children, and will stand forth in the future as a monu-

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ment to the progress and national development of India. Sufficient time has now elapsed, and the test of war has sufficed to prove that the move to Delhi has resulted in no loss of efficiency to the Government of India, while the advantages of having the Capital in a central position equally accessible to all, and in a position of detachment from provincial connections, is beginning to be fully realised by all, and by none more than by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. It is to my mind an integral and essential part of a great national policy of political self-development which must commend itself above all to those who hope some day to see India hold a position of equality amongst the sister nations, of which the British Empire is composed. At the same time it is a source of pleasure to me to know that Calcutta, the premier city in India, has never been more prosperous than it is to-day.

It only remains for me now to take leave of my Council, and I do so with a pang of regret at the thought of how little more I can do to help and to serve the people of this land. Still I am full of hope and faith in the future, and it is with a deep sense of confidence that I shall in a few days' time relinquish the helm to my successor Lord Chelmsford, whom I regard as a man of noble ideals and of generous sympathy. India will, I know, trust him as India has trusted me.

In arriving at the close of this session we have arrived also at the end of the extended term of this Council. I remember well the occasion when I first presided over this Council in Calcutta on the 3rd January 1911. I then stated my hope and belief that a frank expression of opinion might assist us to understand each other and to appreciate one another's point of view. There have been many changes in my Council since then, but throughout these years my hope and belief have been

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more than justified, and I think I can say, from experience gained in different parts of the world, that this Council is second to none in the dignity of its proceedings and the good feeling that animates its Members. We have been Colleagues in this Council for the past 3½ years, and some of us for 5½ years, and surely if anybody has a right to call you his friends it is I, for you have always treated me with invariable friendliness and courtesy, and I think I may say that, during these past years, although we may not always have been in full agreement, I have never known a discordant note in my Council. Further, you and the people of India, whom you represent, have shared with me my joys and my sorrows, and, although the latter have been heavy, I have also had joy which has helped me to bear them. For I have felt that it has been a great joy and at the same time a priceless privilege that I have been able to dispel many illusions and false impressions, and to display not merely to England, but to the whole world the intense and patriotic loyalty not only of British India, but of all the Ruling Princes and Chiefs to the British Crown and the Person of the King-Emperor, and the sacrifices that Indians of all classes and creeds have been ready to make in defence of the Empire and of Right. Whatever the future may bring forth, this will always be a glorious page in the history of India.

It would be idle for me to pretend that, in taking official leave of you to-day, I am not deeply affected by the thought that our days of co-operation have now almost closed, but I wish to express to you, Members of my Council and to the people of India whom you represent, my very warm appreciation of the confidence and trust that you have always displayed in me and my administration, and to thank you again for your ever friendly help. I wish also to acknowledge with gratitude

Unveiling busts of the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in Imperial Legislative Council Chamber, Delhi.

the help that I have received from the Members of my Executive Council, the Heads of Governments, Secretaries, and the officials, who have done so much in India in the past of which they may be justly proud, and who are now shaping themselves to meet the changed circumstances of advancing representative institutions. I am the second of my family to hold the highest office under the Crown, and I leave India with an inherited love increased manifold by personal experience of the sterling qualities, the kindness and the sympathy of the people of India. I can honestly say that I have given of my best for India, and that she will never be absent from my heart and my thoughts. I shall continually pray that the peoples of India may be blessed in all those things that make life brighter and better worth living.

In wishing this Council steady progress and development on safe and sound lines, I now declare this session closed and bid you all farewell.

UNVEILING BUSTS OF THE LATE SIR JOHN JENKINS
AND SIR GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON IN IMPERIAL
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER, DELHI.

[Before the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 24th March, His Excellency the Viceroy unveiled the above Busts. 1916.]

In inviting the Viceroy to unveil the bust of Sir John Jenkins, Nawab Zuñfikar Ali Khan said —

My Lord.—In these days when multifarious and most pressing duties of Your Excellency's high and exalted office claim Your Lordship's constant attention, Your Excellency has graciously consented to perform the ceremony of unveiling the marble bust of the late Sir John Jenkins. And for this act of great kindness I, on behalf of the non-official members of Your Lordship's first reformed Council, have the honour most cordially to thank Your Excellency. In the history of the Imperial Council this perhaps is the first occasion on which the presentation by the non-official members of a bust of an ordinary member of Your Lordship's

Unveiling busts of the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in Imperial Legislative Council Chamber, Delhi.

Council has been made. The reformed Imperial Council has made it possible for some of the best intellects amongst the Indians to come in close touch with those gifted Civil Servants who are selected to occupy responsible and high positions in the Government of India. Their common labour in the service of this great country affords those desirable opportunities of association with each other which are calculated to promote and foster mutual appreciation and respect. The bust which I have the privilege to present to the Council Chamber in this Imperial City on behalf of my late colleagues is the material manifestation of this spirit. That this spirit shall find wider circle not only in India but in the whole of the mighty Empire of Great Britain is the devout prayer of all well-wishers of this country. The late Sir John Jenkins, whose memory we wish to perpetuate in the form of this marble bust, was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. For a period of twenty-eight years he served in the presidency of Bombay and for two years was a member of the Bombay Council. In 1910 he was appointed an ordinary member of Your Excellency's Executive Council. It was in this highly responsible position that his great experience and remarkable capacities found full scope. Your Excellency's own appreciative words pronounced at a meeting of the Council after his sudden and unexpected death bear an unperishable testimony to the distinguished record of his eminently meritorious services. In 1911 at the great Coronation Durbar in this Imperial Capital he was made a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. His appointment to the Council of the Secretary of State for India was an additional recognition of his conspicuously successful work but the hand of fate did not permit of his talent being utilised in this position and his lamentable death deprived both England and India of a devoted and loyal servant.

My Lord, the Indian Civil Service has produced many a brilliant administrator and statesman to whose untiring energy and ability we owe the wonderful material progress of the present day India and the enlightenment of its people. There is much self-sacrificing and thankless work done by them, and many honourable services rendered to the public of which the public never hears. All honour is therefore due to them. My Lord, conscious as I am of the extreme shortness of time at Your Excellency's disposal and having already ventured to detain Your Excellency too long, I hasten to request that Your Lordship may be pleased to unveil the bust.

Unveiling busts of the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in Imperial Legislative Council Chamber, Delhi.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It is a pleasure and an honour to carry out this little ceremony that you have invited me to perform. It was only during the last year of Sir John Jenkins' life that I had the privilege of his acquaintance and, I am proud to add, his friendship, and, in the whole of my career, I have met few people who combined so much ability with so many endearing qualities, and above all with such utter sincerity. Few men had served India so well as he, and when I came out to this country it was a great advantage to find at my side, in the office of Home Member, a man of such strong character, high ideals and broad sympathies, while his powerful intellect gave him an unrivalled grasp of the problems with which he had to deal. He was one of those who never used words to conceal his thoughts, but, outspoken as he was, the kindness of his nature won him the real friendship of the Members of my Council and of all those with whom he had to work. To me personally his premature death was a grievous loss, for the wealth of his knowledge and experience and the generous liberality of his ideas were quite priceless.

To-day, as his familiar features are disclosed to our view, I am sure our hearts will all go out to the gracious lady, who, after so many years of companionship, still mourns his loss at home, and I trust it may give her some small pleasure to think of us gathered here to-day to pay this little tribute to one whose memory we, with her, so dearly cherish.

[In asking the Viceroy to perform the same ceremony for the bust of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis said :—

Your Excellency,—It is a matter of genuine satisfaction to us non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council that the bust has been completed while Your Excellency is still in India and that Your Excellency has been pleased to accede to our request

Unveiling busts of the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in Imperial Legislative Council Chamber, Delhi.

to unveil it before laying down the reins of your high office. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson was associated with the Government of India mostly during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty, and Your Excellency had ample opportunities of judging for yourself of the services rendered to the State by him. Your Excellency could not have failed to observe also with approval of the cordial relations Sir Guy maintained throughout his Indian career with the non-official members of the Legislative Council. I do not analyse his public acts, but it may be broadly stated that Sir Guy's administration of the finances of India was marked by a breadth of outlook and sympathy and an earnest desire to help on the cause of Indian progress which made a deep and lasting impression upon the people. We have also reasons to believe that Sir Guy exerted a wholesome influence upon the general administration of the day enabled as it was by Your Excellency's high statesmanship and enlightened policy of trust and advancement. Sir Guy deserved well of the country for all that, and will always be remembered by the people. We non-official members of the Legislative Council share the warm feelings of appreciation of the general body of our countrymen; but we had special reasons for admiration. Sir Guy's personal relations with us were uniformly pleasant. Be it as Finance Minister or as Vice-President, he was always a genial force in the Council, and by his personal magnetism even more than by his intellectual force he made friends of all of us. And when Sir Guy retired from office we the non-official members started this movement for a permanent memorial to mark our appreciation of his Indian career. I would have been happy if all the non-official members of both the present Council and the previous Council could be present here to-day, but I regret their engagements elsewhere have prevented them from enjoying the pleasure, while one, the most prominent and the greatest of Sir Guy's friends, Mr. Gokhale, has been taken away from us by the cruel hand of death. But it is idle to indulge in vain regrets. We who are present must proceed to do our duty, and I, on behalf of the non-official members of Your Excellency's Council, beg now to request Your Excellency to unveil the bust of our good friend Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. Your Excellency and the assembly will soon have the opportunity of judging how faithfully the lineaments of Sir Guy's genial face have been reproduced in marble by the skilful sculptor, Mr. Herbert Hampton. We are thankful, my Lord, Your Excellency has allowed the bust to be provisionally placed here, and for the promise that it will be removed to New Delhi and will occupy a similar

Unveiling busts of the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in Imperial Legislative Council Chamber, Delhi.

prominent position in the Ante-chamber of the Legislative Council there when it is built. I now request Your Excellency to unveil the bust.

His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I readily accede to the request that you have made that I should unveil the bust of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. The kindly remarks that Sir Gangadhar has made bear eloquent testimony to the stronghold that Sir Guy was able to establish upon the affection and respect of the Members of my Council by his friendly and genial attitude towards them; and that attitude was no mere make-believe, for I think I am justified in saying that he was sincerely animated by the most liberal and friendly feelings towards India and Indian aspirations. I have never had any doubt in my mind that his feelings towards India were heartily reciprocated by India; and India did not hesitate to give full expression to the warmth of her sentiments when he took his departure from these shores.

Speaking for myself I always found Sir Guy a helpful colleague. As Finance Member he certainly had not quite the same heavy burden of anxiety and responsibility to bear as the war has brought upon the shoulders of the present holder of that high and honourable office, but he guarded our money bags with a keen sense of duty and brought to the solution of the knotty problems with which the Finance Member is so constantly beset an acute and versatile intellect. In the public eye a Finance Member must be largely judged by his budgets, and the budgets of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson were a series of personal triumphs.

Finally, let me not forget to mention that, during the two months when I was incapacitated by illness, a far greater portion of anxiety and responsibility than usual fell to the lot of my Council; as Senior Member of my

Farewell address from Taluqdars of Oudh.

Council and Vice-President of my Legislative Council Sir Fleetwood Wilson's share of the burden was not only the heaviest, but came at a time when the preparation of the budget is a sufficient task to engross the energies of any ordinary man; but he rose to the occasion, and with the loyal co-operation and assistance of his colleagues he faced the additional labour with a courage and endurance beyond all praise.

It will bring a glow of pleasure to the heart of Sir Guy to know that his friends out here have taken these means to keep his memory green, and equally will it be a source of happiness to his friends out here to be able to refresh old memories by gazing at his friendly and familiar lineaments.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM TALUQDARS OF OUDH.

25th March
1916.

[On the 25th March the Viceroy received at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, a deputation consisting of 25 members of the British Indian Association headed by the Maharaja of Balrampur, who read the following address —

May it please Your Excellency.—We, the Taluqdars of Oudh, approach Your Excellency to bid you farewell at the close of one of the most eventful administrations in Indian history. It was during your Viceroyalty that for the first time our King-Emperor and Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress came in person to celebrate their coronation and gladdened the hearts of the people of this country at the historic Durbar at Delhi. 'Your Excellency's administration will ever remain memorable for the recognition of the principle that Indian interests should be of paramount importance in the government of the country, for the successful working of the constitutional changes, for the liberal grants towards education, for the founding of new universities, for making such territorial changes as were in consonance with the real feelings of the people and for the recognition of India's right to share in the councils of the Empire by the admission of her representative in the Imperial Conference, which we earnestly hope will lead to the recognition of the general principle that India will, in all matters Imperial, be treated on an equal footing with the rest of the British Empire. We have, moreover, to be specially grateful to Your Excellency

Farewell address from Taluqdars of Oudh.

for strongly urging our just claims to be treated as British subjects in His Majesty's self-governing dominions and for the privilege of standing with our fellow-citizens of the British Empire to defend the right for which our Sovereign drew the sword. We take great pride in the fact that the Indian troops have justified the confidence which Your Excellency placed in the sons of India in the various battlefields with other sons of the Empire, and we believe that this comradeship in arms will lead to a better understanding and a more mutual sympathy within the component parts of the Empire.

In this province in particular, we are specially indebted to Your Excellency for your strong support of the Executive Council for the United Provinces. We trust that the realisation of our hope has been deferred only for a short time. As representatives of the aristocracy of Oudh we feel it our duty to express our gratefulness for the enunciation in public by Your Excellency of the great principle that greater freedom of action and larger responsibilities should be granted to the ruling chiefs in the administration of their territories, and that the natural leaders of the land or territorial magnates should have the fullest recognition of their importance and position in the body politic. But above all it is for the spirit of understanding, kindness and sympathy which has been characteristic of Your Excellency's administration, and with which Your Excellency's illustrious name will ever be associated, that we wish to express our deepest gratitude. The heart of India is sad at Your Excellency's departure from her shores, but we wish once again to assure you that we will ever cherish the memory of Your Excellency with feelings of the greatest esteem and affection and we wish Your Excellency a long life of usefulness, happiness and prosperity.

* In reply His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Taluqdars of Oudh,—Four years have passed since I last had the pleasure of meeting you as a body at a splendid entertainment which you gave in my honour in the Kaisarbagh at Lucknow. In replying on that occasion to your cordial address of welcome, I used the following words:—"Whatever the future betide, whether it be sunshine or storm, I feel sure that the old tradition of loyalty and good faith, which has so long been a bond between yourselves and Government, may be relied upon as one of the strongest

Farewell address from Taluqdars of Oudh.

assets of British rule in India." At the time these words were spoken neither you nor I could have foretold the terrible storm which 2½ years later was to disturb the peace and progress of the entire civilised world. But it is to me a matter of the deepest satisfaction that I have been able to see my words so amply justified, and that I am able now, after more than a year and a half of war, to leave India perhaps more peaceful and tranquil than she has been for many years past. This happy result I attribute in no small measure to the wise and loyal influence exercised by the great hereditary landholders throughout India, the reputation of which class you have most worthily upheld in the United Provinces. Nor have your efforts been confined to the use of your influence on behalf of Government; you have also, headed by your President, the Maharaja of Balrampur subscribed most generously towards objects connected with the war, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging the liberality of your contributions.

I thank you for the kind words, which your President has just spoken, and I am very grateful for the appreciative way in which you refer to my humble efforts on behalf of India. I can only tell you, Gentlemen, that these efforts have been prompted by a sincere affection for India and for her people and by a conviction that the only successful policy in this country must be one of trust and confidence in India's essential loyalty to the Empire, to which she belongs. You have referred in your address to your hope of obtaining an Executive Council for the United Provinces. It is not necessary for me to state my personal views on the question, and I would only say that the decision now rests with the British Government. You may confidently rely on their taking a broad and statesman-like view of the question, and I am sure I need not ask you to accept their decision with loyalty and good feeling.

Farewell address from Delhi Municipality.

I was also very glad to see that you recognise and appreciate the policy of Government which has tended in the past, and will tend in the future, to increase your importance and responsibilities as members of the landed aristocracy. You have behind you proud traditions handed down to you by your fathers, which will sustain and strengthen you in worthily supporting these responsibilities. Moreover, if you are to play your part in the public life of the country, you must continue as hitherto to take an intelligent and active interest in such important political questions as may arise. In doing so you will be able to help in creating a higher tone in the political life of India, and by avoiding internal dissension you will add to your prestige and honour and increase the weight of your influence with Government.

It is with very real sadness that I feel this to be the last occasion upon which I shall meet you as a body. I have been deeply touched by the affectionate words in which you have bidden me farewell and have assured me that you will always remember me with esteem and affection. I thank you most warmly for this assurance and for the good wishes which you have bestowed upon me for my future prosperity. I can only tell you that I shall always remember with gladness my cordial friendship with the Taluqdars of Oudh, and in bidding you farewell I wish all success to your organisation in the future.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM DELHI MUNICIPALITY.

[His Excellency the Viceroy received a farewell address from the Delhi Municipality on the 25th March, the text of which was as follows :—

25th March
1916.

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the President and Members of the Delhi Municipal Committee, beg to express our appreciation of Your Excellency's kindness in permitting us before you leave Delhi, on laying down the high office of Viceroy and

Farewell address from Delhi Municipality.

Governor General, to come before you with a few words of gratitude for the great services which Your Excellency has rendered to India and, more especially, to our famous City.

The years of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty have been an era of exceptional progress throughout India—a progress which we recognize as being due in a special degree to Your Excellency's wisdom and judgment, and to the great sympathy which Your Excellency has shown in the interests of India and her people. We realize full well, that Your Excellency's burdens have been increased by private sorrows, followed by a period of most unusual public anxiety.

The citizens of Delhi have special reasons to be grateful to Your Excellency. For it was during Your Excellency's term of office that Delhi was raised once again to the position of an Imperial Capital. moreover, Your Excellency's Government by its liberal assistance has enabled this Committee to cope with the new responsibilities entailed on it, and to embark on many new schemes of Municipal improvement.

We assure Your Excellency that that improvement will continue so that should Your Excellency establish a new precedent and return to India in years to come, as we sincerely trust you will, in order to see the result of your labours in the splendour of the New City, we are confident that you will find that old Delhi has improved in no small degree, and has made herself worthy of the high honour which she now enjoys.

It only remains for us to wish Your Excellency a happy holiday in your English home.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—In a very few days I shall be taking what in all probability will be my final departure from Delhi, and a few days later I shall lay down the high office in which I have endeavoured to do my duty for the last 5½ years. Mingled with the feeling of relief at being freed from my heavy burden there will be no little regret at the thought of how much still remains undone of the work which I had hoped to accomplish before leaving India. There is much especially that I had hoped to see completed before leaving Delhi, and it is with very real pleasure that I turn to consider for a few minutes the improvements that have been made both in

Farewell address from Delhi Municipality.

the appearance and in the administration of your ancient and historic city.

In the course of the kind and friendly words which your President has just spoken, you have referred to the liberal assistance by which my Government has enabled you to cope with the new responsibilities entailed by your new position as an Imperial City. I appreciate your gratitude very warmly and should like to assure you at the same time that I fully recognise the difficulties which have beset you in the path of municipal progress. Of these difficulties finance has undoubtedly been one of the most important, and here, as you have said, the Government of India have been able to come to your aid with liberal subventions for sanitary and other purposes. I am glad, however, to see that you have not been content to depend entirely on this aid in order to meet the increased expenditure, which is now necessary, but have also steadfastly applied yourselves to the solution of the problem by remodelling your system of taxation and by introducing economies in your administration wherever that has been possible. The step which you have taken in replacing the octroi tax by a terminal tax is a bold experiment, and one which I join with you in hoping will produce not only an increase in revenue, but also an increase in the prosperity and contentment of the commercial classes in Delhi. Another most promising feature from the financial point of view has been the success which has attended the sale of sites beside the fine road, which you have recently constructed near the Lahore Gate. I understand that the sales already effected have more than repaid the original expenditure on a scheme, which was in itself most desirable from the sanitary and æsthetic point of view. In any case the improvements that one sees each year in Delhi on every side are a remarkable testimony to the efficiency of the Municipality.

Farewell address from Delhi Municipality.

The difficulty of financing your schemes for improved sanitation is by no means the only one and perhaps hardly the greatest that you have had to face. In a city as old as Delhi it is but natural that the citizens should cling with some tenacity to the habits and modes of living to which long usage by themselves and their fathers has accustomed them. It is but reasonable that they should regard with some suspicion and even dislike the idea of surrendering perhaps a little privacy in order that they may obtain in return more light and air in their houses, or the thought of buying their food in Municipal markets rather than in the little shops near their homes, which they have always frequented. Such prejudices must exist, and the removal of them is a task which can only be attempted by the exercise of much tact and patience on the part of Indian Municipal Commissioners. The most striking testimony to the good work which you have accomplished is the very marked difference which is now apparent in the cleanliness of your streets and their freedom from obstruction as compared with what they were five years ago. In the bringing about of this result you have received most valuable aid from your Health Officer, Major Cook-Young, whose place in his absence on active service is being ably filled by Dr. Sethna, and also from Mr. Salkield, your Engineer, who has served you loyally and ungrudgingly for the last 10 years.

You refer in your address to the possibility of my visiting India again at some future date. Much as I should like to do so, it is difficult to say now whether such a visit would be possible, but should it ever come to pass, I can assure you that I would not fail to renew my acquaintance with the old city of Delhi, and in any case I shall always retain an affectionate regard for your welfare.

Farewell address from All-India Committee.

I thank you, Gentlemen, very warmly for the appreciation and sympathy which you have given me and also for your good wishes. It has been a great pleasure to me to have this opportunity of bidding you farewell and of wishing to you and the citizens of Delhi, whom you represent, all good fortune and prosperity in the future.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM ALL-INDIA COMMITTEE.

[A farewell garden party was given to Lord Hardinge by the 25th March 1916. non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council at Metcalfe House in the evening of the 25th March. It was attended by all the civil and military officers of the station and a large number of leading Indian gentlemen who had come from different parts to join in the deputation which waited on His Excellency and presented to him an address. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee read the address, which was in the following terms:—

May it please Your Excellency.—We, the members of the All-India Farewell Committee, beg to approach Your Excellency with this address on the eve of your retirement from your exalted office.

My Lord, we find it difficult to give adequate expression to the feelings which are uppermost in our minds in taking leave of a Viceroy who loved the people of India so well and who knew no higher duty than to serve them and to promote their well-being. Scarcely recovered from the effects of the dastardly outrage of the 23rd December 1912, which called forth universal indignation, Your Excellency was pleased to observe in addressing the members of your Council: 'I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years. I will not waver a hair's-breadth from that course. . . . My faith in India, its future and its people remains unshaken.'

Your Excellency's term of office is about to close to the great regret of the people of India, and history will endorse the verdict, which contemporary opinion has pronounced with unequivocal emphasis, that Your Excellency has pursued with undeviating firmness the beneficent policy which will for ever be associated with your honoured name, and that events have justified the faith which you placed in the people of India. Conciliation and co-operation have been the guiding principles of Your Excellency's administration. 'Sympathy with Indian aspirations,' observed Your Excellency in reply to the address of the Indian Community at Simla, 'has in very truth been at the root of my policy. . . . and my efforts

Farewell address from All-India Committee.

have been directed to govern the country as far as possible in accordance with the wishes of the people.' Truly the salient feature of Your Excellency's policy has been that in all that you have done, you did not rest content merely with dealing with the ordinary administrative problems such as you found them, but you also looked ahead with the eye of a true statesman to the India of the future.

It was in pursuit of this policy that the partition of Bengal was modified and Bengal was conciliated. It was in pursuance of the same policy that the Cawnpore mosque controversy was terminated by a peaceful settlement. The same beneficent policy prompted your noble efforts in advocating recognition of the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects in the self-governing Colonies. And the country will ever remember with gratitude Your Excellency's successful advocacy of the abolition of indentured labour.

Lord Ripon looked forward to the time when public opinion in this country would become the guide whose co-operation the Government would seek and whose lead the Government would accept. Your Excellency's policy which has been inspired by the same ideal, has helped to strengthen Indian public opinion and to make it a growing power in the land. We venture to say that this policy has materially contributed to the further consolidation of the Empire.

India will ever feel grateful to you for the decision of Your Excellency's Government to secure for her the great boon of provincial autonomy as foreshadowed in the memorable despatch of the 25th August 1911. It will be the first definite step towards securing for India her place as a constituent part of a self-governing Empire. 'I look forward,' said Your Excellency at the United Service Club dinner, 'when India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire and not merely as a trusty dependent.'

My Lord, to-day when the Empire is passing through a severe ordeal, the crowning achievement of Your Excellency's administration is visible in a peaceful and loyal India. There could be no more memorable triumph of the policy of trust in the people than that to-day the people of India stand united as one man, resolved to fight and die side by side with the other children of the Empire in the defence of the Empire. My Lord, looking back through the long annals of British rule in India, we can well say that to no Viceroy was reserved so glorious an achievement. You honoured us with your confidence by sending our Indian troops for the first time to fight for the Empire on the battlefields of Europe. We regard it as a practical recognition of our status as equal fellow-

Farewell address from All-India Committee.

subjects of the Crown and India feels proud to think that the trust reposed in her has been fully justified by the devotion of her children in the service of the Empire.

We now bid Your Excellency an affectionate and a regretful farewell. We salute you as the greatest Viceroy since the days of Lord Ripon. We recall with grief the terrible ordeals you have passed through in the performance of your arduous duties. The quick and deep sympathy of a nation followed Your Excellency in those troubles and tribulations. While we feel assured that you will continue to take an abiding interest in the people of this ancient land whom you have loved and served so well, we deeply regret that you are leaving us and that Your Excellency's official connection with India which will form such a bright chapter in her history will soon cease. May your days be long and prosperous, and may the Giver of all Good shower upon you and yours His choicest blessings!

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you very warmly indeed for the address you have presented to me.

Once or twice in the past when receiving addresses of welcome I have had occasion to express my gratitude to those presenting them, because they have abstained from demanding from me the solution of difficult problems or pressing upon my attention insistent demands. This address of farewell that you have presented to me possesses the same happy characteristics.

There was no special reason why representatives of All-India should have come forward in this way to bid me a courty farewell, but they have elected to pay me this unique compliment, and in doing so they have used language of appreciation of my small services to their country that leaves me almost overwhelmed.

But I should be deaf indeed if I did not recognise that your address means something more than a polite adieu. I cannot but note the skilful way in which you have picked out actions and phrases of mine that have been fortunate in conception or happy in effect; you have pieced them together with dexterous fingers and

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prepared such a raiment wherewith to clothe my personality, that one who did not know me, but gathered his impressions from your language, might think he had at least found a man of no faults and no failures.

But I am, I can assure you, only too keenly alive to my own shortcomings; and all that I can claim is that I have tried hard to follow the guidance of our King-Emperor and to live up to that high standard that His Imperial Majesty has the right to expect from his representative in India. It has been my endeavour to fulfil the dream of my boyhood, the ambition of my manhood—not merely to be Viceroy of India—but to follow in the footsteps of the procession of the great men who have gone before and to leave India happier, more self-confident, more prosperous and higher in the scale of nations than I found her.

That must be the ambition of every Englishman true to the traditions of his country, whose lot is cast in India, and I rejoice to think that the great majority of those, who give any thought to the matter at all, accept this doctrine as the root from which all theories about the relations between India and England must originate.

You have reminded me of a speech I made in this city three years ago when I said that my faith in India, its future and its people remains unshaken. That was my feeling then, and how glad I am to-day that I did not fail to give expression to it. For has not my faith been justified? I do not deny that there have unfortunately been in one or two areas outrage and crime committed by irresponsible and hare-brained individuals who care not a jot for India's fair fame, but if you look at India as a whole and think of the terrible crisis through which the Empire has been passing, I maintain before God and man that she has more than fully justified that declaration of faith.

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It was a proud moment for England when His Majesty's Indian forces marched through the streets of Marseilles in all the panoply of war ready to take their place in the Empire's fighting line. It was a prouder moment still for India, for then for the first time she found herself shoulder to shoulder with the mother-country in the battlefields of Europe standing for a righteous cause and cementing by the blood and the sacrifice of her sons a brotherhood in arms not only with the mother-country, but also with the allied nations of Europe. The Indian soldiers have fought nobly, and the greatness of Germany's disillusionment and bitter disappointment is the measure of India's glory.

Turn your eyes, too, to the munificent contributions and offers of personal service that have poured in unceasingly, ever since the war began, alike from prince and peasant; look again at this vast country, with all its variations of creed and race, where the mass of the people have continued in their ordinary avocations through these stressful times with a quietness and peace that betoken a strong desire to cause no additional embarrassment to Government in the midst of the great struggle, and a serene confidence in the righteousness of the Empire's cause, the strength of her arms and her ultimate success.

I would not say that either in the public press or upon the public platform the ventilation of public questions or the voicing of grievances has absolutely ceased, nor would this be reasonable or even healthy, but I can honestly say that there has been a general desire to treat contentious matters in a moderate and reasonable spirit, while in the Legislative Councils the sound of controversy has been almost hushed.

You have referred to the increasing influence of public opinion upon the policy of Government. You have legitimate grounds for making that claim and it is

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indisputable. For my own part I have noticed that, even during the comparatively brief period of my sojourn in this country India has been growing up, public opinion has grown wiser and more responsible, and moderate opinion stronger. India is not so easily carried away by catchwords and phrases, she does more thinking for herself and is more critical of the arguments placed before her. Public opinion is more inclined to concentrate upon really important issues and less disposed to diffuse itself in verbiage over innumerable questions of unequal importance, and I venture to think that it has become more weighty in substance as well as more restrained in expression. This is all to the good, and I trust that those of you, who are called upon to take part in public affairs, will set before you the thesis that a public opinion created by sound arguments and a true presentiment of facts will have far more weight and prove far more durable and effective than one that owes its existence to rhetoric or special pleading or appeals to prejudice.

It is curious that you should have referred to paragraph 3 of the despatch of the Government of India, dated 25th August 1911, for it was only yesterday that I told my Legislative Council that I adhere to its terms and still regard it as the right line of advance on the road of political development. I will not repeat more of what I then said, for many of you were present on that occasion. I stand by what we wrote and will only ask those who are interested to read into it neither more nor less than its plain meaning.

It only remains for me to thank you once more—and I do so from the bottom of my heart—both for the friendly feeling that has prompted the idea of this address from representatives of all India, and for the more than kindly language in which you have couched it.

Laying foundation stone of Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbiya College at Delhi.

The distant provinces of the Indian Empire, and many of the most important associations of this vast country, have united to do me this great honour, and I see before me old friends from far and near, some of whom have travelled long distances in order to be present on this occasion. I cannot thank you properly. I can only say that I am touched beyond measure, and ask you to give back to that India whom you represent a message from me of affectionate interest in her future progress and happiness, a message of deep regret that my close association with her of the past 5½ years is so soon to cease and an assurance that I shall never fail to serve her interests so far as in me lies.

I bid you good-bye, Gentlemen; and my heart is too full for more.

LAYING FOUNDATION STONE OF AYURVEDIC AND UNANI
TIBBIYA COLLEGE AT DELHI.

[The Viceroy laid the foundation stone of the new Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbiya College, Delhi, in the afternoon of the 29th March 1916, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of Indians and Europeans, including the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock, the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, the Hon'ble Mr. Malcolm Hailey, the Maharaja of Nashipur, the Hon'ble Pundit Malaviya, the Hon'ble Mr. Achariar, the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, the Hon'ble Ram Rayanagar, Sir James DuBoulay, Sir James Roberts, Major Beadon, Rev. Mr. Thomas, Haziq-ul-Mulk Ajmal Khan and Rai Bahadur Lal Shoo Parshad.]

The new institution is situated on a fine piece of open ground to the west of the Saddar Bazar. The address read by Haziq-ul-Mulk Ajmal Khan, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, shows that a large sum of money has been collected, and that the prospects of the institution are bright. The subscriptions include half a lakh from the Nawab of Rampur, Rs. 40,000 from the Nawab of Tonk, a quarter of a lakh each from the Maharaja of Patiala, the Begam of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Gwalior, and Rs. 10,000 from the Maharaja of Indore.

Laying foundation stone of Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbiya College at Delhi.

His Excellency spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—It is now nearly four years ago that my friend Hakim Ajmal Khan Haziq-ul-Mulk first asked me to lay the foundation stone of the proposed Tibbiya College at Delhi.

I confess that I felt at first some little diffidence about complying with this request, as I have been brought up in the traditions of Western science, and the Government of India, as you all know, are committed to the support of schools, colleges, hospitals and dispensaries based entirely upon Western methods of medicine and surgery.

I gave the matter my very best consideration, and though my opinion as a layman is entitled to very little weight, I came to the conclusion that our Western system, however much it may strive after perfection, has not attained it yet. Its theories are constantly undergoing change and development, and its ideas of the causes and best methods of the treatment of cholera, malaria and plague to take some striking examples have undergone remarkable transformations within quite recent years. I may add that it has borrowed some of its best known drugs from the East, where the study of medicine was kept alive through the dark ages.

If then our own system of medicine is to some extent empirical, it certainly does not become a mere layman like myself to pass any sweeping condemnation upon the empiricism of its Eastern counterpart, and when I remembered how many millions in India are beyond the reach of the medical aid provided by Government; and how many of those who have means of access to our best doctors still prefer to be treated in accordance with the indigenous systems, I came to the conclusion that I should be wrong to throw discouragement upon the scheme the

Laying foundation stone of Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbiya College at Delhi.

Haziq-ul-Mulk has so much at heart and which aims at the improvement and development of this branch of medicine on safe and sound lines. While I do not myself rely upon the Ayurvedic and Unani systems, I cannot but recognize that there is good in them, and it is far better for the large masses of people, whom Western science cannot for a long time reach, that these ancient systems of medicine should be modernised as much as possible to meet present-day requirements, and that they should have their benefit rather than have no medical treatment at all.

So I sent a message to the Haziq-ul-Mulk to say that, on the understanding that his object was to raise the standard of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems, to develop what is good in them, to eliminate what is bad and to discourage quacks and quackery, I would be very pleased to lay the foundation stone. I also ventured to suggest the teaching of surgery and anatomy on Western principles, this science not being, I understand, combined with the teaching of these indigenous systems.

I received satisfactory assurances on these points from the Haziq-ul-Mulk, and since then I have looked forward to perform this ceremony as soon as all was ready.

The moment has now come for me to fulfil my promise, and I gladly accede to the request that has been made that I should lay this foundation stone. I warmly appreciate the kind thought that has prompted you to call by the name of Lady Hardinge one of the wings of the new college, and I am glad it is one where girls will be taught, for it was her dearest wish to raise the status, brighten the lot and alleviate the sufferings of Indian womanhood.

And, in conclusion, I hope that, as the years roll on and scientific knowledge throws more and more light upon the various pains and diseases wherewith poor humanity

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is beset, the studies pursued in this college, and in our Western colleges following their several lines of development, may find themselves drawing closer and closer together in the region of ultimate truth. I wish the college all success.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE.

3rd April 1910. [His Excellency the Viceroy arrived in Bombay on the 2nd April, and although his arrival was private large crowds had gathered to greet him and His Excellency was given a splendid reception.

On the 3rd April the Viceroy was presented with farewell addresses at Government House, the first of which was that of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. This address was presented by the Hon'ble Mr. Wardlaw Milne and was as follows.—

May it please Your Excellency,—On the eve of your departure from India and of your laying down the reins of office as Viceroy and Governor General, we, the Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, desire most respectfully to approach you with an expression of our appreciation of your distinguished services to this country and of the able and courageous manner in which you have discharged the arduous duties of your high office.

This is the third occasion upon which we have had the honour of addressing Your Excellency, and two years ago we had an opportunity of placing before you some of the more important matters of commercial interest which at that time claimed our attention. To-day, in this farewell address, we desire in the first place to express to Your Excellency our sincere and hearty thanks for the courtesy and consideration which you have invariably shown to the representations of the Chamber when we have had occasion to address Government upon matters of public or commercial interest.

Your Lordship's administration has been marked by special activity in agricultural and railway development and in commercial legislation of an important character. Recent commercial demands have proved the urgent necessity for pressing on with railway extension throughout the country and for the still more complete equipment of the existing lines to enable them to deal successfully with increasing traffic requirements.

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We rejoice to think that the enlargement of the facilities of the port of Bombay has been no unimportant factor in carrying out some of the operations connected with the war, and we trust that before long it may be possible to put forward for the favourable consideration of Government new proposals for a further extension of these facilities.

In the near future, it will be our duty to place before Government the necessity for urgent consideration of the measures required to safeguard and expand our trade after the war, and to prevent the unscrupulous methods of our enemies gaining for them even a temporary advantage by any unreadiness in this connection on the part of the British people.

During the term of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty we have had occasion to record the gratifying progress of trade and of the internal well-being of the country, and although to-day it is but natural that some of our interests are to a slight extent overshadowed by the necessities of the measures required to bring the great war now raging to a speedy and successful conclusion, it is with satisfaction that we can also record the innate prosperity of India and the steady awakening of its peoples to the trading and agricultural possibilities of their own country. In a transitory period such as that through which India is now passing, it is but natural that there should be signs of impatience and even of irritation at the slow rate of development at which alone progress is possible on sure and safe lines. It has been one of the triumphs of Your Excellency's administration that your wise counsel, deep sympathy and broad outlook have enabled you to lead these entirely natural tendencies into safe channels and to leave the people of India with confidence in themselves and in the future on the lines of steady constitutional progress.

We have mentioned that to some extent our interests are temporarily overshadowed by the necessity for carrying the war to a conclusive termination, and we need hardly assure Your Excellency that in every measure necessary to achieve this end, we have given and will give Government every assistance in our power. We look forward with full confidence, not only to the eventual triumph of the cause of the Allies, but also to a new and greater development of trade in India and in the Empire in days to come. We trust that the expanding commercial activity which will follow the war will be guided by our rulers along the line of greatest progress, firstly within the Empire itself and thereafter between the Empire and our Allies to the exclusion of our present enemies. In this development of trade, we feel confident that India will play no unimportant

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part and that she may look to Your Excellency's influence supporting her from a distance in every question affecting her political, commercial and industrial life.

Called to your exalted position with a great reputation and with your name a household one in the circles of diplomacy, India looked with the utmost confidence to find in Your Excellency a statesman of deep sympathy and great insight and she did not look in vain. To the numberless new and urgent political problems which the ever-changing conditions of this great dependency give rise to, Your Excellency has indeed given the most careful and detailed consideration, pursuing steadily the path which you believed would bring honour and esteem to India and happiness, peace and security to its many million inhabitants.

The special trials and responsibilities inseparable from the life of a Viceroy have been Your Excellency's to a marked degree and the darkness of deep private sorrow has fallen over your life in India. May we be allowed to express the hope that you may find consolation in the assurances of respect and gratitude which follow you home and in the satisfaction of an example given of singleness of purpose, self sacrifice and devotion to duty to which history alone will do full justice.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,— I thank you very warmly for your courteous desire to take this opportunity of bidding me farewell, and I appreciate very deeply the generous language you have used in your address.

What strikes me as very significant of the strength of our position is that, in the midst of the most terrific struggle in which the Empire has ever been involved, the commerce of Bombay should find itself so little discomposed that it should be quietly pressing for further railway extension and improved equipment of existing lines.

I may remind you the Government of India had, prior to the outbreak of war, made a determined effort to approach more nearly to the standard of £12½ million for annual capital outlay set by the Mackay Committee on Indian Railway Finance, but as the mileage of open railways extends, and demands for efficiency increase,

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expenditure upon existing lines consumes an ever larger proportion of the capital sums available. So that, in spite of largely increased expenditure, during the period from January 1st, 1910, to March 31st, 1915, the new mileage constructed from Imperial funds was only 1,821, though, thanks to the stimulus given to company construction by the offer of more liberal terms, to the increasing interest taken in railway development by Native States and also by Local Boards in British territory, the net addition, including all gauges, has aggregated 3,795 miles.

You are well aware that the exigencies of the Empire have necessitated a drastic reduction in our capital outlay, but I would point out that it would be of little use to provide the money at a time when the whole resources of the Empire are organised for the effective prosecution of the war, and the production of railway material for the purposes of peace has given place to the manufacture of guns and munitions of war, and feel sure that no one will accept these inconveniences of our great struggle for liberty and honour with greater equanimity than the gentlemen of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

I shall not be here when the railway programmes of the future come to be framed, but I feel that the policy of Government is set in the direction you wish, and when the war is over and expenditure resumes its normal dimensions, I doubt not that the special procedure we recently devised with the object of introducing greater elasticity into the system of indenting for railway materials from Europe, will prevent those large lapses in the capital grants for railways which have been a disappointing feature in the past.

When I visited Bombay a few months before the war broke out and had the proud privilege of opening your new Alexandra Docks, I little thought what a splendid asset they were so soon to prove themselves to our military

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resources. In their absence the difficulty of organising the transport of India's armies and war material across the seas would have been almost insurmountable, and we all owe a debt of gratitude to the far-seeing enterprise of Bombay which provided facilities that were destined to be so indispensable in that emergency.

It rather takes my breath away, and yet does not surprise me, to learn that you are already contemplating further extensions of your dock accommodation, but so far every forward step you have taken, and every enterprise you have carried through, has been more than justified by the results, and though I shall not be here to take any part in your further developments, I feel safe in assuring you that your past record of wise and prudent foresight will secure the most sympathetic attention to any schemes you may submit in the future.

I am glad to hear that you are already bending your thoughts to the consideration of the commercial policy to be adopted after the war is over—for I think there is but little doubt that, from the moment peace is declared, our present enemies will devote their utmost energies to regaining the throttling grip that, before the war began, they were tightening upon the commerce of the world. You will doubtless remember that the policy of India in such a matter must take account of wider issues than those which concern India alone; and must fit in not only with the policy of the Empire as a whole, but also with the policy of our Allies. We have recently seen in the papers suggestions that *pour parlers* are already being entered into by the Allies among themselves, and I have taken pains to assure myself that India will be consulted before anything is finally decided. I trust that, when the time comes to consult you, you will be ready with your suggestions. The fact that your late President, Sir Marshall Reid, is on the Council of the Secretary of

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State for India should make it easier for the voice of Bombay to be heard.

The view you have taken in your address regarding the innate prosperity of India and the stirring of India herself to realise and seize her opportunities are, I need hardly say, shared to the full by my Government; the recent debates in my Council bear eloquent testimony to it, and I think they have also demonstrated that my Government has stepped into the breach and has not been backward to help. But may I tell you that it has given me the keenest satisfaction to note the broad sympathy of your attitude towards India's efforts to stand upon her own feet and her aspirations towards steady constitutional progress.

Those words of yours are worthy of you, they will resound throughout the country, and I believe they will have a wonderful effect in abating prejudice, removing suspicion and reconciling sore feelings. I rejoice that you have uttered them, and I consider that in doing so you have rendered a great service to the Empire, and especially to this country of your adoption.

I know well what difficult times India has been passing through in matters of trade and commerce, and I should like to take this opportunity of testifying to the hearty co-operation and assistance that my Government has steadily received from the representatives of India's commerce not only in Bombay, but also in Calcutta and elsewhere. I certainly had no reason to expect anything else, but it is a great pleasure to me to be able to say, without reserve, that your patriotism has risen to the occasion, and that never in past times have there been so great harmony and co-operation between official and non-official representatives in the prosecution of the common interests of the Empire, as there is at the present moment.

Farewell Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

It only remains for me to thank you once more, Gentlemen, for the kind words you have used regarding the work I have tried to do in India during the 5½ years that have gone. I do not believe that a body of business men, with the reputation of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in their keeping, would use such language merely in order to flatter the susceptibilities of a departing Governor-General; I know that you mean what you say; and I can tell you in reply that your good opinion gives me the deepest satisfaction, and that I shall treasure it among the highest compliments that have been paid to me. I thank you with all my heart.

In a few hours I shall have left India behind me, and in bidding you farewell I wish to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and all that it represents prosperity and success and to each of you a happy future.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER AND BUREAU, BOMBAY.

3rd April 1910. [Mr. D. E. Wacha, Chairman of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, headed the deputation from that body. The address was as follows:—

*May it please Your Excellency,—*We, the President and Members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, respectfully beg leave to present to Your Excellency this valedictory address on the eve of your retirement from the Government of this country, which, by universal testimony, you have so brilliantly and successfully administered during the term of your exalted office.

To us it is a matter of profound regret that the emergencies of the British Empire have made it necessary for your departure at this juncture, when all fervently wished and prayed that you might have remained longer at the helm of the State with a view to bring to fruition some of the most important problems which have to stand over by reason of the unfortunate war which has been going on for the last twenty months and which has led to the upheaval of all that contributes to the wealth and happiness of millions of people. But whatever our regret from India's standpoint may be

*Farewell Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and
Bureau, Bombay.*

in this matter, we readily recognise the Imperial necessities of the British Government that have demanded your presence elsewhere at this grave crisis. We are confident that in whatever sphere of public activity your valued experience and undoubted statesmanship may be called upon, you will be able to render such service to the Empire at large as may redound not only to its own glory but reflect even greater lustre on Your Excellency that what you have already derived from your successful administration of the great and responsible trust which you are now about to hand over to your successor. It is impossible that His Majesty's Indian subjects of all classes and races could ever forget the sagacity, serenity and judicious diplomacy with which since the declaration of the great war, so unprecedented in the annals of the world, you have shaped the foreign policy of your Government. Neither can history fail to place on record the admirable method and manner in which you have unostentatiously directed all the military and other requirements of the British Government and its Allies for a successful prosecution of the great titanic struggle. To the people of India, the despatch of Indian Troops to fight for the first time on the battlefields of Europe side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the forces of the Imperial Government and of the British colonies has afforded the highest gratification. To us in common with all the other communities of India interested in their respective activities, it is a source of unmingled happiness to be able to declare without hesitation that you have achieved, in the most arduous and responsible task of the administration of this country, as much success by your exceptionally penetrating political insight, as by your high administrative statesmanship combined with deep and abiding sympathy for the people. You have proved in your person and government the fundamental maxim of polity that a close knowledge of the sentiments and wishes, as much as requirements of the people is the unerring index to sterling statesmanship. Whether we survey the history of legislation of Your Excellency's Government or the solution of many grave problems of economy and finance, specially those which have been brought to the surface by the terrible war or the many Imperial resolutions on education and sanitation, co-operation and local self-government, advancement of commerce and the development of industries and all other questions affecting the weal of millions, subject to the sway of His Britannic Majesty you have uniformly displayed those high talents, that broad experience, that tact and wise discretion, which distinguish the statesman from the mere administrator. But it is not only in

*Farewell Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and
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the domestic affairs of the people that you have greatly endeared yourself to them. Equally remarkable and highly gratifying is the policy which characterised your Viceroyalty in relation to the Foudatory States, large and small, whereby the bonds of unity have been more closely knit together, ample evidence of which has been demonstrated by those States by rallying round the standard of the Empire in its hour of the greatest need and vicing with each other in placing their respective services at the foot of the Throne, apart from the signal acts of personal devotion and bravery by their many princes and chiefs. In short we can affirm without any fear of contradiction that Your Lordship has realised for the Indian people all the high and pleasant expectations, that were formed at the date of the assumption of your exalted office.

At the very outset of your career, it fell to your lot to fully carry out in practice, those great reforms which the combined statesmanship of Lords Morley and Minto so happily inaugurated and though those reforms are neither complete nor fully meet the requirements of a progressive people, they have been pronounced to work satisfactorily.

Next, we need hardly refer to the visit of Their Imperial Majesties the King and the Queen of England to proclaim their Coronation at Delhi and the transfer of the capital to that historic city and the enormous satisfaction which the people of Bengal and India generally felt at the rearrangement of that province in harmony with their long cherished traditions and sentiments. Nor is it necessary to refer at length to Your Lordship's sympathetic response to the appeal of His Majesty's subjects residing in this country on behalf of their oppressed countrymen in South Africa by bringing on the Government of the Union your high influence and spirit of justice and equity to mitigate the many severe hardships and disabilities from which they had been suffering many years before, and though such disabilities and sufferings have not yet been completely removed, the country acknowledges with the deepest gratitude what Your Excellency was instrumental in achieving through your accredited delegate, Sir Benjamin Robertson. That act of justice and deep sympathy which you displayed in that unhappy affair will be cherished with deep thankfulness, for many a generation to come. The Indian Trading Communities acknowledge, with approval, the policy which your Government adopted in consequence of the stress of war in connection with some of the staple commodities of export, specially wheat and cotton, and we,

*Farewell Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and
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of the Indian Merchants' Chamber cannot refrain from expressing our high satisfaction at the manner in which the Finance Minister ably dealt with the threatened cotton crisis and the specific measures of a sagacious character taken to relieve it along with all other trades from the then prevailing embarrassments, while fully bearing in mind the interests of the poor cultivators, and generally it must be freely admitted that the policy, with which many an ordinance which the political necessity demanded in reference to trade and shipping, has been carried out with the least hardship and as little dislocation of the normal trade as possible.

India will cherish, not only with gratitude but with the happiest memories, your Viceroyalty which has proved so encouraging and so vivifying.

In conclusion, we venture to say that since the days of the beloved Lord Ripon, India has had not the good fortune to be ruled for over five years by a Viceroy so full of beneficent intentions, of such warm and active sympathy, such sincerity and solicitude, such wisdom and righteousness as Your Excellency in spite of burdens of heavy domestic sorrows.

Your Lordship, I am desired by my Committee to refer, as a Post Script to this Address, to your two memorable utterances delivered since this Address was submitted to Your Lordship. Nothing has given more whole-hearted satisfaction to the people of this country than the proposed abolition of Indian indentured labour adumbrated in Your Lordship's last great speech in the Imperial Legislative Council. Equal satisfaction has been also felt at the appointment by Your Lordship's Government of a Committee of investigation for the further evolution of Indian industries on independent lines, the report of which all India will await with the keenest interest. Memorable as Your Lordship's administration has become, my Committee are of opinion that it has been made even more so by the two events just referred to.

Lastly, my Committee beg to offer to Your Lordship their most hearty congratulations on the conferment on Your Lordship of the dignity of a Knight of the Garter, the highest honour which it is in the power of our Gracious Sovereign to bestow.

With sentiments of profound esteem and affection, we bid Your Excellency farewell and pray that by the grace of God, you may long be spared to serve your country with greater honour and that the welfare of India may always have a prominent place in your warm and generous heart.

Farewell Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay.

His Excellency replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your very kind congratulations. You held out to me a very friendly hand of welcome when we first met 5½ years ago; and later on when I visited Bombay, after half my course was run, I was pleased to find from your address that I had both retained your friendly feelings and gained your confidence.

Now the time has come to say farewell, and you have said it in language of so much kindness and appreciation, that I hardly know what word of gratitude to use to express my feelings. In such case the simplest phrases are the best, and I thank you with deep feeling. How little did we think when we last met together, and you discussed the events of the past years, that then seemed so strenuous, that we stood on the brink of a precipice down which the civilised world was within five short months to be hurled by the over-weening arrogance and ambition of a single nation.

The past years had indeed been strenuous, but they were as nothing to the years that were yet to come, and I am proud that I should have fulfilled to your satisfaction the anxious task of piloting the ship of State through the stormy seas, upon which she has been tossed. I cannot but feel that you have dwelt with kindly insistence upon those acts of myself and my Government that have commanded your approval, while you have tactfully evaded all mention of any sins of omission or commission.

In any case it is clearly your intention to send me away from India happy in the consciousness of India's good-will towards me, and you have succeeded to the full. It has been my endeavour through the past years to show my own good-will towards India by my actions, and to the last day of my life I shall always think of India with

*Farewell Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber and
Bureau, Bombay.*

warm affection, and shall use such opportunities as I may have to forward her interests to the utmost of my power.

From a commercial point of view the war has completely dwarfed the normal development of trade and commerce, and as you know well enough the exigencies of the situation have necessitated Government interference or control to an extent hitherto unheard of in many directions. We have had to take powers of a drastic character to prevent munitions and supplies of various descriptions from reaching our enemies; the urgent needs of our gallant troops have forced us to commandeer merchant ships with a disregard for other interests that has at times caused a woful inconvenience, and as you have mentioned we had actually ourselves to undertake commercial transactions on an important scale in connection with the export of wheat, and to take unusual measures with regard to the supply of many other commodities. The generous admission that you have made that our policy in these matters has been carried out with as little hardship and as little dislocation of normal trade as possible is extremely welcome to me, and coming from you in this spontaneous fashion constitutes a very high compliment to the Departments of Commerce and Industry and of Finance and to the various officers who have shown so much versatility and industry in their treatment of the novel problems that they had to face.

Out of evil some good has come, and it is not a small matter that India should have had the opportunity of displaying her magnificent loyalty, and should have so superbly risen to the occasion. She will always be able to point proudly to the fact that her sons have given their life blood in far distant climes for the great Empire to which they belong, and the memory of the noble gifts of wealth and personal sacrifice that have come pouring

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in a constant stream will be a goodly heritage for future generations.

I shall always be glad and proud that I was here when these generous impulses coursed through the blood of India, and that it should have fallen to me as representing India to place these services at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

You have referred in approving terms to the part that I played in the remedy of Indian grievances in South Africa, and though I was criticised in some quarters for the warmth with which I spoke at Madras on this topic, I can say honestly that I never had any serious twinges of conscience on that account.

It was a moment for plain speaking, and I spoke what I felt, and if I did not measure my words with absolute nicety the strength of my feelings and the excellence of my cause must plead my excuse.

Closely connected with this is the general question of indentured emigration. This is one of the many problems I should like to have seen absolutely solved before I left your shores, but from the recent debates in the Imperial Legislative Council you will have learned that my Government have not been idle in this matter, but have succeeded in persuading the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government that the system at present in force is bad, and have obtained a definite promise from them that, within such reasonable period of time as will allow of alternative arrangements being introduced, it must be abandoned, thus closing for ever a page that has spelt individual suffering and general demoralisation of those involved, and has implied a stigma upon India as a whole.

There are many other topics I might mention did time permit, but I will confine myself to one that has been

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very near my heart, and I have good reason to think will engage the most active interest of my successor, whom you will so shortly greet. It is the subject of industrial development, and I can only say that it has been a very great personal pleasure to me that, within a few days of my departure, my Government should have been able to announce the constitution of a Commission for the investigation of this question, from whose labours I anticipate the most fruitful results.

The time has now come to say good-bye. Only a few hours remain before I shall see your beautiful city receding beneath the horizon, but if the links that have so long and so closely bound me to India have suddenly to be snapped, they will, so far as I am concerned, be replaced by invisible bonds of comprehension and affection, intangible but strong to endure to the end.

CONFERMENT OF HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS FROM BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

[A special Convocation of the University of Bombay was held in the evening of the 3rd April at the University Hall to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Lord Hardinge. The hall was filled to overflowing with Ruling Princes from all parts of India, representatives of the city and the presidency, the University colleges and schools, and there were present a large number of European and Indian ladies. The front rows of seats were occupied by the Ruling Princes, some members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and other dignitaries. 3rd April 1916.]

A great outburst of applause greeted the entry of Lord Hardinge. Lord Willingden, as Chancellor of the University, presided. Doctor Mackichan, Vice-Chancellor, in an eulogistic speech introduced Lord Hardinge to the Chancellor, who presented the degree amid loud and prolonged applause.

The Rev. Dr. Mackichan, Vice-Chancellor, said :—

Mr. Chancellor and Members of the Senate,—We are assembled this evening to do honour to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy

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and Governor General of India, by conferring upon him, on the eve of his laying down his great office, the only distinction which it is in the power of this University to bestow.

The Syndicate and Senate, responding to a desire which had spontaneously arisen in all sections of the membership of the University, resolved by a unanimous and enthusiastic vote to confer upon His Excellency the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws and His Excellency has graciously consented to receive this honour at the hands of the University.

The terms of the resolution passed by the Senate set forth the grounds on which it was resolved that the Degree should be bestowed, and in presenting His Excellency to receive it from the hands of the Chancellor it is not necessary for me to do more than restate, with the brevity that is demanded by the circumstances of this meeting, the reasons which have moved us to seek this permanent association of the name of Lord Hardinge with the University of Bombay.

I can recall a scene similar to the present when 32 years ago this Degree was conferred by this University on one of His Excellency's distinguished predecessors, the late Marquis of Ripon.

On that occasion the Vice-Chancellor traced in great detail the career of the Viceroy through all the stages of his parliamentary and administrative service. I do not propose to follow that example. The public career of Lord Hardinge would furnish abundant material for a similar record, but the " eminent position and attainments " which the Universities Act requires in those, on whom the Honorary Degree shall be conferred, need no other illustration than that which stands out conspicuous in that portion of His Lordship's career which, to the regret of all India's people, is now nearing its close.

We desire to do honour to the departing Viceroy as one of India's great pro-consuls, as a Viceroy who has interpreted to India the highest mind of his country regarding the peoples entrusted to its rule and has succeeded by his enlightened statesmanship and sympathetic administration in wedding India to the mother-country in bonds so unbreakable and so enduring that they have been able to resist the pressure of a crisis that has shaken to their foundations the nations of the world.

When the late Marquis of Ripon stood in this place he was congratulated on what he had accomplished in a day of universal peace. To-day we commemorate the achievements of Lord Hardinge

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in a period of widespread war. India will not forget nor will his own countrymen forget the wisdom and the strength of the hand that has guided it through these anxious days.

In the action which it now takes the University is convinced that it is expressing the united mind of educated India. The educated and thoughtful classes in this land have long recognised in the administration which Lord Hardinge has inspired and guided the evidence of a resolute purpose to meet and to fulfil the just aspirations of a re-awakened people. Whence the desire that found expression in every part of India for an extension of His Excellency's term of office? It arose from the widespread conviction that had taken hold of the educated mind of India that it had found in him a ruler into whose hands it was prepared to commit its future with the full confidence that in his hands the true interests of the people of India would be secure.

Those who know the people of India best are aware that the idea of personal government is deep-rooted in their political consciousness. They are able to appreciate and understand the excellence of an enlightened system of administration; but the most perfect administration will fail to touch their imagination unless it is embodied in a personality or personalities which can call forth the loyalty that is based on affection. His Excellency's progress from Delhi, the seat of his Government, to Bombay, the city from which he embarks, has been marked by demonstrations of affection that fall to the lot only of such as have won a nation's heart and the memory of these demonstrations crowned by the unprecedented reception accorded by the citizens of Bombay will, we cannot doubt, be cherished by His Excellency as not the least part of the reward earned by years of unremitting toil in the service of the people of India.

To all this affection a depth and intensity have been given by the impression made upon the heart of India as it witnessed Lord Hardinge's courage in the hour of a sudden and unlooked for danger, his fortitude in suffering and magnanimity after suffering, a magnanimity that refused to be turned aside from lofty purpose by experiences that would have discomposed the plans of the majority of men. When, in addition to all this, there came the shock of the heaviest sorrow that a man can be called to suffer, India's love for its afflicted, yet undaunted, benefactor reached its highest point; for to the deeper heart of India victory over suffering has always appealed more powerfully than the victory of action.

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It was a happy coincidence that, when Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress visited their Indian Dominions with their message of hope, the interpretation of that message fell to His Excellency. How faithfully he has striven to give effect to His Majesty's parting message to this country India with one voice proclaims to-day.

In all this the personality of Lord Hardinge has been an outstanding influence, awakening both confidence and hope. The most ideal system of government will meet with nothing better than cold acquiescence, may even result in alienation, if it is not embodied in administrators who are in sympathy with its highest purpose. The spirit of British administration would be hopelessly lost if the actual administrators were not themselves true to the British spirit. It has been the great good fortune of India that, when the time came which was to try all men and all nations, Lord Hardinge was at the helm of its affairs. To him it has been granted to be the instrument of welding together India and the British Empire in solid unity and happy co-operation in the great struggle in which our Empire has been called to bear the brunt of an awful conflict on so many of its frontiers in different regions of the world. In this stern struggle India and Great Britain have stood side by side as never before. India believes, and we believe, that this welding is not merely for the day of struggle; it is for all time. When the pen of the future historian relates to a coming age, the story of the consolidation of the British Empire accomplished in the age in which we live, the name of Lord Hardinge will occupy an important place in the record as that of the Viceroy who found for India a place by the side of Great Britain in the great world-war as a preparation for still greater united achievement in an age of world-peace.

It would be a serious omission were I not to refer to Lord Hardinge's relation to the question of Indian education, and more particularly of the higher education associated with the Indian Universities.

A generation has passed since some of us assembled in this hall to honour a departing Viceroy. The Indian mind was then haunted by the suspicion that higher education was in danger. The Education Commission, for which the Marquis of Ripon was responsible, had revealed the fact that nothing was further from the official mind than any intention to retard the progress of higher education.

When a later Viceroy instituted the Universities Commission, the same suspicion again found loud utterance. These suspicions

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were again allayed by the recommendation of the Commission that Government should aid University education by greatly enhanced grants on this behalf, and the enactment of the Universities Act two years later was accompanied by a most liberal vote of money to the Universities of India. The liberal policy thus inaugurated has been extended by successive Viceroys, and it has fallen to Lord Hardinge to take a large part in this development, not only by encouraging the existing Universities by subsidies which have proved most fruitful and have given them a new and larger outlook, but also by the creation of additional Universities of a type new to India. University projects, arising out of Hindu and Mahomedan aspiration and enterprise, have received his ready and most generous support, and one of His Excellency's most recent public acts has been to lay the foundation-stone of the Hindu University buildings at Benares. Probably no Viceroy has been so much engaged in University creation as Lord Hardinge, of whose manifold activities in the department of education these Universities will be a permanent memorial.

The memory of Lady Hardinge is enshrined in the great Medical College for Women in Delhi which bears a revered and much-loved name. The same name is attached to the great War Hospital of our city, and when after the wounds of the war have been healed, the large public building near us reverts to its original destiny, it will not be possible to sever from it the name of Lady Hardinge which it now bears, even though it may no longer serve the purposes of a hospital, but those of the Museum of Bombay.

Thus the name of Hardinge is bound up with institutions for the promotion of the higher learning and for the ministration of healing to the sick and suffering, India may well feel convinced that its fears regarding higher and professional education are groundless. Let the age of assured confidence and hope now begin. The interests of higher education lie near to the heart of the Government of this country and Lord Hardinge proclaims his belief in its value by inscribing his distinguished name in the roll of the graduates of this University.

I have said that we are met to do honour to Lord Hardinge, the departing Viceroy of India. This is only half the truth or only one side of the truth. We desire also that honour should be done to the University by its association with an honoured name. May that name inscribed on our rolls continue to be an inspiration to all others to whom, in succeeding years, the same honour may be accorded,

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and may it increase the honour and the dignity of this University in the eyes of the multitudes of aspiring youth who, from year to year, will come to receive the honours which they are able to claim at the hands of their Alma-mater as the rewards of strenuous study and intellectual achievement.

In connection with every high office there are two moments of supreme significance, that of the taking up and that of the laying down. The one is burdened with the anxieties of a great and untried responsibility; the other is as often filled with misgiving and concern arising from the sense of tasks uncompleted, promises unfulfilled. It may be that His Excellency has felt the weight of all this concern in laying down the highest office of territorial administration which is in the gift of the Crown. The approbation of his Sovereign awaits him, and higher honours are doubtless in store for him; but greater than these and next to the approbation of the Great Ruler of All under Whose eye he has discharged his weighty task, must rank the consciousness of the affectionate and enduring gratitude of the whole nation whose affairs he has guided through these troublous years; and to this expression of a nation's gratitude this University now desires to make its respectful contribution.

Mr. Chancellor.—I now present to you His Excellency Lord Hardinge, and pray that he be admitted to the Degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Law.

Lord Willingdon, in addressing the Convocation, said:—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen of the Senate of the University of Bombay.—Though the purpose for which this Convocation is assembled is not entirely without precedent in the annals of the Bombay University, it is hardly on that account the less conspicuous, since it is more than thirty-two years since the University, then for the first time, conferred an Honorary Degree upon a retiring Viceroy. To you, My Lord, I trust that the extreme rarity of the occasions, on which the Senate has so determined to confer the greatest honour which it has in its power to bestow, will be sufficient testimony of our profound admiration, entertained with one mind and expressed with one voice, for the eminent services rendered by Your Excellency to India and the Empire.

The labours and responsibilities of the high office, which you are about to resign, must, in the most favourable circumstances, be arduous, unremitting and exacting to a degree hardly to be con-

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ceived by those who have not themselves sustained them. It has been your destiny to undertake them in such times of storm and stress as were never experienced by any of your illustrious predecessors and to this incalculable enhancement of the normal burden of care and anxiety there has been superadded other circumstances, of which I shall only say that they have evoked profound and universal sympathy.

I cannot, in the interests of the Empire, which at this hour is more than ever in need of her highest examples of courage, devotion to duty and statesmanship, congratulate you as one entering upon a period of well-merited repose. Great tasks, I doubt not, lie before you, great as have been those you have discharged. But as this life affords no higher cause for congratulation than duties well and nobly done, on these, in the name of the Senate, I do most heartily congratulate you. Though the storms of war are raging with undiminished fury in distant lands, you leave behind you an India enjoying almost all the benefits of peace, more united than ever, after more than a year and a half of war, in loyalty to the Throne of the King-Emperor, and united also in paying to you on your departure from her shores the homage of heartfelt gratitude and affection.

The Senate in its resolution and the Vice-Chancellor in his address to-day have more at large expressed the reasons which determined the University to receive as well as to confer honour by inscribing a distinguished name in the roll of her honorary graduates. I have discharged my office in endorsing their words and in admitting you, My Lord, to what I am confident will not be the least valued of the many honours which have fallen to your lot. But I am moved to add that, in discharging this office, I have a special personal pleasure as one who, having served under you for the past three years, knows by experience the sincerity of your friendship and the wisdom of your counsel.

I welcome you, My Lord, to the franchises and privileges of a University which, if it cannot claim antiquity, has yet a tradition—a tradition which will not permit it to yield to any other however renowned and ancient a foundation in the recognition of courage, magnanimity and wisdom devoted to the service of the Empire and of humanity.

In reply His Excellency said :—]

Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,—It is with deep emotion that I have listened to

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the words of your Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, and I do not think it would become me to remain the silent recipient of the very great and rare honour that the Bombay University has been pleased to do me; and though my efforts to express my thanks and appreciation can only be halting as compared with the feelings that overcome me, I trust that you will make excuse for me and believe that my gratitude is profound and heartfelt.

Your University is and always has been a most distinguished seat of learning. It has counted among its Chancellors such men as Sir Richard Temple, Lord Reay and Lord Sydenham; and among its Vice-Chancellors (to mention but a few) there have been men such as Sir Alexander Grant, Sir Raymond West and Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar. It is to me a great honour to be brought on to the rolls of a University which has been under the control of men so distinguished as these. I consider it a very especial distinction to be classed in the roll of your Honorary Doctors of Law, for I find that this Honorary Degree has, since the University was founded, been bestowed on five persons only, and it is a great satisfaction to me to find myself in so select and so eminent a company of remarkable men as the Honorary Doctors of Law of the Bombay University.

Among these is one but lately passed away, whose memory is treasured by India, I mean the late Lord Ripon. It was my privilege to enjoy his friendship and to know at first-hand something of that sagacious outlook, and wise and kindly heart that earned for him in India the love of her people and at home, after his retirement, the confidence and affection of his Sovereign and of those entrusted with the highest positions of power and responsibility in England.

Upon him two and thirty years ago it pleased your predecessors to confer the same high honour that you have

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just, with so much demonstration of kindly feeling, conferred upon me, and my heart is indeed filled with pride that I should have been able to follow in his foot-steps in securing the same distinction, the same token of approval at your hands.

I am grateful for the all too flattering words that have fallen from the mouth of that veteran educationist, your Vice-Chancellor.

Dr. Mackichan has told you that he was present here 32 years ago, and his name has been a household word in Indian education for generations of Viceroys. Fourteen years ago he was selected by one of India's greatest Viceroys as a member of the Universities Commission, his evergreen youth finds him now once more your Vice-Chancellor, and I hope that his services may be retained by India while many another Viceroy comes and goes.

Nor is it a small matter that I should have been admitted to this honourable Degree by my old friend, Lord Willingdon. I know how beloved he is by the whole of this Presidency, and I cannot tell you what a help and support it has been to me, through the past years of storm and stress to feel that I have been able to rely with absolute confidence on his abounding enthusiasm for all the highest interests of Bombay and of India, and upon his thorough loyalty of co-operation with myself and my Government.

In my estimation the highest function of a Viceroy is to listen with sympathetic ear so as to understand India's hopes and aspirations and translate to England's King and England's people the throbbing heart that beats beneath India's placid breast, and in the same way he must strive to make clearer to India the kindly feelings of earnest good-will and the sincere desire to do what is right in the sight of God that animates the less impulsive heart of England. And I should like to believe that, in

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the genuine sympathy I have felt and expressed throughout my time in India, India has been able to see and realise England's real mind and heart towards her and has learned that it is good and true.

And if the claim that Dr. Mackichan has made is justified that, in this action which your University has taken, it is expressing the united mind of educated India, I feel that I can leave your shores happy in the consciousness that I have been a successful intermediary between two countries that I love so well—my own dear country, and this India which has so tightly wound itself around my heart-strings, not only by her wonderful response to every call that I have made upon her, not only by her never-failing kindness towards me, but also by her deep sympathy with me in those private sorrows which God's providence has called upon me to bear.

Your Vice-Chancellor referred to the suspicions that have, from time to time, haunted the Indian mind that higher education was in danger; and if the charge be ever made that the Government of India have failed in their duty towards that aspect of India's aspirations and ideals, I shall turn to his speech as a judgment of acquittal.

I do not wish to enter into any detailed review of the recent educational policy of the Government of India, though I may mention that, during the past quinquennium, the annual expenditure on education has risen from about four and a half to seven and a half million pounds and the number of pupils by over a million and a half, while so far as University education is concerned, the number of students in arts and professional colleges has increased from under 30,000 to over 50,000, and the expenditure from 60½ lakhs to over 91 lakhs. But this is not nearly enough. More Universities are urgently

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needed and more qualified professors and teachers are required for colleges and schools, and if real progress is desired these must be adequately remunerated. It seems to me that the educational issue in this country is entirely dependent upon finding the necessary funds to cope with the demand for learning, both literary and technical, and this financial problem will require to be grappled with as soon as our present preoccupations are removed, and I believe that any additional burden required for the successful dissemination of learning will be gladly borne by the people of India, whose thirst for education is one of the happiest auguries of the future.

The ceremony I so recently performed of laying the foundation stone of the Benares Hindu University gave me an opportunity of declaring the faith that is in me regarding higher education. No one can deny the necessity for greater and more extended facilities, no one can dispute the importance of greater elasticity or doubt the wisdom of experimenting in new directions, and I think everyone will give us credit for realising the urgency of improving the environments in which the students prosecute their studies. Here in Bombay you have been in the van-guard of the advance, and I can congratulate you most warmly upon the completion of your scheme for the establishment of a Royal Institute of Science in this city, and the opening of a College of Commerce, while the sums that have been spent upon the Bacteriological Laboratory at Parel will enable it to function also as a Post-graduate School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.

I shall not attempt to go into further detail, but I will only add that it was for me a piece of real good fortune which brought to birth a new Department of Education at the moment of my arrival, and the happy choice that placed at its head so versatile and able a Member as Sir Harcourt Butler.

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The charge of that Department is now committed to the trust of my friend Sir Sankaran Nair, the ablest Indian I could find for the purpose, and whatever temporary slowing down of the pace may be necessitated by the exigencies of finance owing to this devastating war, I feel confident that, in his hands and under the guidance of your new Viceroy, who has earned such a well-deserved reputation in educational circles at home, the interests of education are in the safest possible keeping for the next five years. During that period much progress will, I trust, be achieved in education as well as in the political development of this land. I often feel that, when I return to England, one of my chief endeavours should be to make the British public appreciate the pace at which India is developing both socially and politically, and that it is vain and useless to regard India from the standpoint of what India was ten years ago. When I look back upon the past 5½ years, I am struck by the fact how much bigger India looms in the world than before, how she has grown in stature and in wisdom, and how her political progress and social regeneration have advanced, and are already bearing fruit with the prospects of an abundant harvest. The Morley-Minto reforms, in conceding to Indian politicians a larger share in the control of their own affairs, have opened a door to political progress that can never be closed so long as the advance is made on sure and safe lines. That the situation has immensely improved through the closer co-operation of the Government and the people is undeniable, and nowhere is this more appreciable than in Bombay, and there is no reason why with moderation and responsive sympathy this improvement should not be maintained. But it must be recognised that India cannot, and will not, remain stationary, and that it is the task of the Imperial Govern-

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ment to guide her development and to help her to attain her just and legitimate aspirations.

There is but little more for me to say, but as I look back on the joys and the sorrows and the strenuous labour of the past 5½ years, I am filled with a deep regret that the moment has come for me to close the book that has been of such enthralling interest.

It has pleased my Sovereign to express his approval of my work, and I have received from every quarter innumerable tokens of affection and esteem, and it almost overwhelms me that you, who have the right to voice the feelings of educated India, should have thus bestowed upon me the highest compliment that it is within your power to pay.

The inscription of my name upon the rolls of your University is one of the proudest incidents of my life, and to my dying day I shall treasure the memory of the wonderful reception you have given me and the warmth of kindly feeling wherewith you have clothed the gift of this great honour. I cannot tell you how highly I prize it.

In bidding you good-bye let me once more express to you my feelings of profound gratitude and let me assure you that, whatever fate the future may have in store for me, the boyish interest I ever had in India has grown to be a tree of strong affection. And that I shall not be backward to seize whatever chance may come my way to serve her interests to the utmost of my power. My last word to the University of Bombay is a prayer that God may speed you in your task of spreading the light of true culture and uplifting the people whose soul and spirit is so largely committed to your care.

Finally, may I make a still further claim on your patience while I address from these academic precincts a few words not only to the students of this University

Addresses from Representatives of Districts in Bombay Presidency and Sind.

in which I now hold an honoured position, but also to the students of all India, in the welfare of all of whom I take the deepest interest. I wish to give them this parting message from a true friend:—

“In a few hours’ time I shall have left you, my work in India being over, but I shall carry away with me memories and interests which will endure throughout my life. Above all, I shall carry away with me high hopes for the future of India, of which the fulfilment rests largely with you students who will soon be the manhood of your country. I have to bid you good-bye and God-speed in solemn times which are putting to a supreme test not merely the military organisation and material resources, but above all the character of nations, their capacity for self-discipline and self-sacrifice. Herein lies the lesson of the war which I would commend to all the young students of India. It is character, it is the capacity for self-discipline, for self-sacrifice, that build up and preserve a nation. Cultivate those qualities steadfastly, patiently, unobtrusively, while you are pursuing your various studies, and you will then be able to acquit yourselves as men in after-life, and to do each of you your share in building up a nation worthy of India’s past traditions and future greatness. You will often be in my thoughts, and I trust you will also remember me as your sincere well-wisher.

God bless you all and help you through life.”

ADDRESSES FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF DISTRICTS IN
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY AND SIND.

3rd April 1916. [On the conclusion of the ceremony in the University Hall Lord Hardinge was entertained by the citizens of Bombay at a garden party in the University gardens. Lord Hardinge, accompanied by Lord and Lady Willingdon, the Hon’ble Diamond Hardinge and Captain the Hon’ble A. Hardinge were received by

Addresses from Representatives of Districts in Bombay Presidency and Sind.

Sir Jamsetjee Jijibhoy, President of the Reception Committee, the Sheriff of Bombay and other members of the Hardinge Memorial Committee. Among notable visitors were the Ruling Princes who came to Bombay to wish His Excellency farewell. They included the Nizam, the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Jamsahib of Nawanagar, Maharaja Sir Partab Singh of Idar, the Maharaja of Jodhpur and many others.

His Excellency and party were conducted to a picturesquely constructed dais where he received addresses enclosed in ornamental silver caskets from the representatives of some twenty-four districts of the Presidency and Sind. The first casket presented was from the citizens of Bombay.

His Excellency in acknowledging the presentations spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—I have made three speeches to-day, and I understand that I am to make another one to-morrow; so I am sure that you will forgive me if I do not say more than a few words of thanks for the extraordinary demonstration of kindly feeling in which you have all just taken part, and will acquit me of any discourtesy in my inability to receive and reply to each of these farewell addresses separately. Time has not permitted the reading of all these addresses, but through the courtesy of some of the Associations that are presenting these I have been permitted to see advance copies.

From them I gather that it is the general desire of the Bombay Presidency to express regret at my departure, and gratitude for the small services I have been able to render to India during the past $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, while the various addresses dwell some upon one and some upon another feature of the events of that period.

Those events have been summarised, so far as the administration of India goes, in a document containing over one hundred and twenty pages, and if I should attempt to reproduce such a review to you now, I should be still standing talking to you here some hours after the departure of my ship to-morrow.

*Addresses from Representatives of Districts in Bombay Presidency
and Sind.*

I think you will agree with me that when so many representative bodies have surveyed the outstanding features of my administration in eulogistic phraseology it would hardly become me to question their judgment. These are the functions of the future historian, but if his verdict is at all favourable to me and if he should cast about for some explanation of any small success I may have had as Viceroy, I will give him this hint. I have trusted India, I have believed in India, I have hoped with India, I have feared with India, I have wept with India, I have rejoiced with India, and in a word I have identified myself with India. India's response has been a wonderful revelation to me, and sometimes I feel as if she had in return confided her very heart to my keeping.

I should like to take this opportunity of saying one word about the energy and generosity shown by Bombay in the work of alleviating suffering caused by the war. Immediately on the outbreak of war steps were taken, under the able guidance of His Excellency the Governor and of Lady Willingdon, to organise a Bombay Relief Fund and with the money freely subscribed by all classes in the city and Presidency of Bombay, to prepare for the supply of comforts to our soldiers in the field and for the reception of the wounded on their return to India. It is owing to the forethought and untiring labour bestowed upon these preparations that the hardships and sufferings of many of our gallant soldiers both in the field and in hospital have been reduced to a minimum. Both money and personal service have been most freely and generously given not as a duty, but with a ready desire to do all that is possible to secure success for our arms. The public spirit of Bombay has indeed been splendid. In thanking Bombay most warmly for all that she has done, I should like specially to mention Lady Willingdon, whose personal popularity and capacity for organisation

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have been of the greatest value in producing these great results; and to express my appreciation of the self-sacrificing labours of all those ladies and gentlemen of all communities who have so unsparingly seconded her efforts.

This little ceremony, in which you have all so graciously performed your several parts, means, if it means anything, that you wish to assure me that, in your opinion at any rate, I have not betrayed my trust. To-morrow I take my farewell of Bombay City, and to-day in bidding good-bye to the Bombay Presidency let me thank you with all my heart for coming, some of you so far, to prove your good-will towards me, and for sending me home, sad indeed at severing my connection with India, but happy in the consciousness that India feels kindly disposed towards me, and gives me credit at any rate for having tried to do my duty. No words can adequately express my gratitude to you all for this most friendly demonstration on the eve of my departure. I thank you all from my heart.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION.

[Lord Hardinge bade farewell to India on the 4th April amid many manifestations of regret. He had a splendid send-off and was visibly moved as he stepped from the Apollo Bunder into the R.I.M.S. launch which conveyed him to the S. S. *Arabia*. 1916.]

The route from Government House to the Apollo Bunder was thronged with large crowds anxious to get a glimpse of the ex-Viceroy. He was lustily cheered.

He was escorted to the Apollo Bunder by the Governor of Bombay's Bodyguard, a detachment of King George's Own Central India Horse and a detachment of mounted police.

The shamiana on the Bunder was filled to its utmost capacity, and among those present were thirty-five Maharajas and Chiefs, including the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Maharaja of Kotah, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Maharaja of

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Dholpur and the Maharaja of Gwalior; the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies Naval Squadron, the members of the Bombay Executive Council, the judges of the Bombay High Court, the members of the Bombay Legislative Council, various political officers attached to Native States, all the foreign consuls at present in Bombay and the members of the Municipal Corporation.

Lord Hardinge inspected a guard-of-honour provided by the Bombay Volunteer Rifles and the escorts. He then received and replied to a farewell address from the Bombay Corporation. And farewells were said to those present and, finally, he bade good-bye to Lord and Lady Willingdon.

Lord Hardinge was accompanied by the Hon'ble Diamond Hardinge and Captain the Hon'ble Arthur Hardinge. As the launch moved from the Bunder a salute was fired from the batteries and loud cheers were given, accompanied by cries of "Long live Lord Hardinge."

The address was as follows :—

May it please Your Excellency,—We, the President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay desire to convey to you our regretful farewell on the eve of your departure from these shores.

When Your Lordship landed in this city, nearly six years ago a stranger indeed to us, but one whose reputation as a diplomatist of renown and as a valued servant of the Empire had preceded him, we felt convinced that the administration of the country would be safe in the hands of so experienced a statesman, while the name you bore was one of happy augury. The Governor-Generalship of your illustrious grandfather was marked not merely by the extension of the British power through victories under arms, but by its firmer establishment on the surer foundations of peace and sympathetic administration. We cannot forget the fact that he gave powerful support to the first proposals for the construction of railways in India and thus afforded ample evidence of his far-seeing statesmanship. The problems of Government during Your Excellency's term of office have been far more complex than those of a previous generation, but Your Lordship has dealt with these problems in a manner which has commanded the admiration of all the races of this country. During the not untroubled period of peace, Your Lordship may be said to have achieved success as far-reaching as many which are gained in war; and when a world-wide conflict finally broke upon us, Your Excellency's work during the time of peace

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went far to ensure the loyal and effective share of this country in the struggle of the Empire.

We feel confident that in the fulness of time history will not fail to confirm the verdict which your contemporaries have already pronounced on the beneficent character of Your Excellency's administration. We need here only briefly allude to the happy external relations which Your Excellency maintained with the neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan, and with the tribes on our far-stretching frontier. It must, we may suggest, be a peculiarly gratifying thought to Your Lordship that the labour you expended on improving the relations between the British Dominions and the great Russian Empire should have led to such happy results. As regards internal administration we may refer especially to your courageous defence of the rights of Indians in South Africa as only one out of many examples of your sympathy with the aspirations, sentiments and susceptibilities of the people of this country. We gladly acknowledge that the liberal spirit which pervaded the administration of your distinguished predecessor has been continued and extended during Your Lordship's tenure of office. Not even the most discouraging occurrences, though they entailed great personal suffering upon yourself and might well have seemed to warrant, if not a policy of repression, at least a diminution in your personal sympathy, have in any way altered the policy of conciliation which has been the keynote of your administration. The increased sentiment of fellow-feeling which has so widely spread among the varied population of this country is very largely a direct consequence of your statesmanlike policy.

We regard it as indeed a Providential dispensation that when the storm of war burst upon the British Empire, Your Lordship should have been at the helm of the Government of this country, which forms so important and so indissoluble a constituent of that Empire. It is, we feel, largely due to the inspiration of your guidance that this country has taken so worthy and so loyal a share in the great conflict: a conflict, the issue of which, though long postponed, can we feel sure be in no way doubtful. When the time comes to settle the problems arising out of that successful issue, we are confident that your statesmanship and experience will be of the greatest service to the Empire in general, and this country in particular.

This is not the time to recount the measures for the material and educational progress of the country adopted during Your Lordship's period of office. But we may be pardoned for recalling

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that that period has been one of almost unbroken prosperity for this city, and this has been largely due to the attention given by Your Lordship's Government to commercial and railway matters. That prosperity has been hardly checked even by the war, however severely individual trades may have been affected. We anticipate with confidence a great period of development when the war is over; and we do not fail to realise that this will entail on us as a Corporation still heavier obligation for the welfare of the inhabitants of this city: obligations which we shall endeavour, as we have done in the past, worthily and diligently to fulfil.

We feel that we need not further particularise in this place the most prominent features of Your Lordship's administration which have given such heartfelt satisfaction to the country. It is sufficient only to echo the universal sentiment that in your person Indians have realised the ideal of what a great, progressive and sympathetic Viceroy should be. The Viceroyalty which you have made so memorable is certain to leave behind a name which will be cherished with regard and affection for many a generation to come and India fervently wishes that she may have the good fortune to possess in the future a long succession of Viceroys of your warm sympathy, generous instincts and progressive statesmanship.

In bidding farewell to Your Lordship we cannot refrain from a reference to the personal losses which Your Lordship has had to endure. Grievous indeed they have been, but the people of this city, and of India in general, will not forget the fortitude with which you have borne them, and the exalted sense of duty which you have displayed in refusing to abandon the great task entrusted to you.

In conclusion we bid you farewell and Godspeed. Our earnest wishes for your health and happiness will follow you wherever the path of duty may lead you in the service of your Sovereign and of the Empire.

His Excellency in reply said:—]

Gentlemen,—It is sad to feel that in a few minutes' time I shall have left these shores, and that this address, that has been presented to me, is the last that I shall receive from my many friends in India, but the warmth and friendliness of its tone help to soften the pangs of regret that I feel in leaving India and so many kind people of whom I can have nothing but grateful and affectionate remembrances.

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You were the first to welcome me to India, and I well remember how very cordial I thought your welcome was, and how I hoped to be able to retain your kindly feelings through the strenuous years that I knew lay before me. You are the last to bid me farewell, and you have made me feel, on each of the two later occasions that we have met, that your friendship towards me has been growing steadily stronger and warmer. I need hardly say how heartily I reciprocate such feelings and how highly I value the approval of such a far-sighted and distinguished body as the Municipal Corporation of the most progressive city of India.

It is the common lot of every public man to be criticised, and even misrepresented; and no public man should attach too much importance to these things. But not once or twice, but many times when I have been the subject of such misunderstandings I have noticed in the public opinion of Bombay a restraint of criticism and a willingness to believe that my Government and myself have not been actuated by unworthy motives nor influenced by utterly unreasonable considerations. And though I do not think I am more sensitive to criticism than other men, I tell you frankly that your friendly confidence and support have been a great help to me in difficult times.

You have spoken of me as a diplomatist,—a character in which you also welcomed me. I confess I had my doubts at the time whether my experience as a diplomatist was likely to commend my selection to your favour, for it is not far from the truth to say that, in the general estimation, one of the highest qualifications of a successful diplomatist is the skilful use of words to conceal his thoughts. That however is not, and never has been my idea of how to succeed in diplomacy; and at any rate whatever my failures may have been, there is one little

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bit of credit to which I lay claim, and it is that throughout my time in India, whether in public speeches or private conversations I have always endeavoured to say what I have really felt and what I believe to be the truth alike to India and about India, and I have always aimed at taking India into my confidence,—and here let me add that public speaking in the case of a diplomatist is almost regarded as a crime, and if I may make a confession to you, it is that the making of speeches has been one of the heaviest burdens that the lot of a Viceroy brought to me.

You have, with a consideration for which I warmly thank you, referred once more to the work of my grandfather in India, and if words mean anything, I am justified in thinking that in your opinion at any rate I have fulfilled the ambition with which I set out for India—that I might be able at the end of my time to feel that I had done nothing to bring discredit upon his name; for, indeed, it has been no small thing for me throughout my life, and especially here in India, to have had before me the bright example of his courage and chivalry.

The second time upon which I had the honour to receive an address from you was in the Town Hall just two years ago, and it was an occasion that for many reasons I can never forget. The warmth of the reception that you gave on that occasion to me and to her, who is no longer with me, made an ineffaceable impression upon me, while I shall ever treasure those words of the address in which you referred to her example of sympathetic and courageous womanhood as a priceless tribute from Bombay to her memory.

Let me also in this connection express my very warm and grateful thanks for the splendid and most generous contributions from the Ruling Princes and the people and citizens of Bombay Presidency and City to the Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital for Women at Delhi, an imperishable monument to her love for India,

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This is the sixth time that I have visited Bombay, and the third address that I have had the privilege of receiving from you, and I should like to say that I miss a friendly and familiar face amongst you, that of your great citizen, Sir Pherooshah Mehta. It is a little more than a year ago that he came to see me when I was staying at Government House on my way to the Persian Gulf, and I feel for Bombay in their loss of this distinguished citizen.

A Viceroyalty which saw at its beginning the visit of Their Majesties to India and their wonderful Durbar at Delhi and at the end this monstrous and horrible European war can never go down to history as uneventful; and I sometimes wonder what the historian will select as the most striking fact relating to India that has occurred during that period.

Do you not agree with me that the spectacle of India sending forth the flower of her soldiery to fight the battles of the mother-country on the far off field of Flanders—in the desolate places of Irak, in East Africa, Egypt, and elsewhere—not by brigades or divisions not even by Army Corps, but literally by the hundred thousand—Do you not think this glorious spectacle will arrest the attention of those who write the record of these years when the heat of controversy and the dust of battle have subsided?

To me it will always be the proudest reflection of my life that mine were the honour and privilege of showing to my Sovereign, to my country, and the whole world, that the loyalty of India was no mere form of words. England has trusted India, and India has nobly responded, and her sons—alas! how many!—have sealed her loyalty with their life blood. You have been kind enough to suggest that my work during the preceding period of peace had something to do with this splendid result, but I claim no credit in the matter beyond this.

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that I was sure in my heart of hearts that India was sound, that I never hesitated to proclaim that assurance and to act upon it, and that India—ever quick to respond—has given me and my Government, and my King and country, confidence for confidence and trust for trust in overflowing measure.

You, Gentlemen of Bombay, will hardly expect me in these last few moments to refer in any detail to the history of the past few years, though the past must weightily influence the future, and it is to the future that the eyes of India are hopefully turned.

You know how deep my sympathies are for her aspirations, and with that knowledge you will let me say one word. Do not be too impatient. Development is already taking place with phenomenal rapidity, and even in the 5½ short years that I have seen, there have been great and far-reaching changes of attitude and outlook.

Remember, too, that progress and reform can only come with any advantage and any permanency to those that deserve such good things; you must see to it therefore that your public men, your public opinion, your public papers are all worthy—and here in Bombay I can use such words without offence, for if the sanity of your public life, and the earnestness and ability of your public men, your respect for law and order, and your business enterprise were faithfully reproduced in all quarters of this great Empire the path of progress would be far easier than it is. The key to peace and contentment of the people can, in my opinion, be found only in a spirit of sympathy and confidence between them and their Government, and I am quite certain that that spirit will be found strongly developed in my friend Lord Chelmsford. At the present stage of her development India is not a difficult country to govern, provided she can realise that Great Britain is in sympathy with her legitimate aspirations. To do this, and to maintain the confidence of India, concessions must

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be gradually made to political progress. In this manner, India, whose characteristic is to trust without reserve, when she recognises true sympathy, will be satisfied and led gently along the path of progress, developing an ever-closer understanding between herself and Great Britain, and an ever-growing loyalty to the British Crown.

The sands are running out, and it now only remains for me to take leave of you all, to thank you once more, and to ask you to believe me when I say that I shall never forget Bombay where, from every side and from the day of my first arrival, I have received nothing but kindness and encouragement. I leave India with a deep feeling of respect and affection for the citizens of the Gate of India who, I hope, will always remember me as their true friend and a devoted friend of India and her people. May God bless India and prosper those that dwell in this land is my fervent prayer

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