system are in Government service. The position of the indigenous systems is very different. It is only very recently that a few indigenous medical institutions have received official support. As a general proposition it is still true that those systems are unofficial. They have in fact what Western medicine lacks, strong bodies of private practitioners, and therein they possess an advantage which must assist their welfare and healthy development if they are otherwise capable of it. Now if your scheme is carried into effect, will there not be danger of destroying, or at least of injuring, the private practice of the indigenous systems? I understand that you intend subsidizing a certain number of vaids and hakims, both by paying them salaries and by providing them with drugs at the taxpayers' cost. Will not these subsidized hakims and vaids lose the incentive of independence, and will not the remainder, whom you do not subsidize, be subjected to an unfair and undesirable competition which may ultimately eliminate them? You may tell me that your new dispensaries are intended only for the poor. But that is, and has always been, the intention in the case of all existing dispensaries; yet never in practice has it been possible to differentiate satisfactorily between those who are really poor and those who are not. Therefore, whatever may be your intentions, you may be certain that your new dispensaries will be attended by all classes, and not merely by those who really cannot afford to pay for treatment. Personally, I think that you will be wiser, if, instead of launching out into a scheme to cover the district with a network of indigenous dispensaries, a scheme which incidentally may well prove much more expensive than you imagine, you limit yourselves to an experiment with one or two such dispensaries. Observation of these will, in the course of a year or two, show you how far the apprehensions which I have expressed are justified. I ought to add that I have given you only my personal views, and that the 'well-considered scheme' of which you speak has not yet come before me.

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You are realizing that the new responsibilities with which you have been entrusted entail new burdens and difficulties. I can sympathize with you. I am not surprised, and certainly make no complaint, that you are disposed to seek the solution of them upon

new lines. It may be that you will discover new and cheaper ways of doing successfully what your officially-directed predecessors attempted in their own way. If that happens the Government will be first to acknowledge it. Meantime, I can only suspend judgment and wish you well, asking you, while you look forward to a brighter future, not to be unmindful of the perhaps sober-coloured, but not wholly uncreative, past.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S VISIT TO ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

November 2, 1923

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On behalf of the University of Allahabad, I, as Chancellor, beg to accord a respectful welcome to the first Visitor of the University whom we have been privileged to see in our midst.

Thirty-six years ago this University was established, with the motto which is still ours, '*Quot rami tot arbores*'. Its ideal has been throughout to minister to the intellectual needs of an ever-widening circle; and in no small measure it has lived up to its ideal, and it has justified its motto. It is the centre from which have radiated the younger sister universities of Benares, Aligarh and Lucknow. Its roots have struck across Rajputana, through Central India, right down to Berar; and it has served this vast area through a long period with a success of which we may be legitimately proud; and which, in parting company from us on the inauguration of their own University, the Central Provinces have generously acknowledged.

Our University has recently been reorganized. It is as yet too early to appraise the full value of changes and readjustments in the academic world, which this province has taken a leading share in effecting. We are still in a state of transition; and while we have the inspiration of long-cherished traditions, we have not wholly escaped from the dead weight of some old and antiquated beliefs. We have to build up new traditions; but in this task we are strengthened by the thought of the distinguished men who so devotedly served the University in days gone by, of many scholars whose learning reflects a glory on their *alma mater*, of the band of teachers whose lives have been an unfailing source of inspiration, of the daily stream of youths who preserve and refresh the vitality, the hopeful outlook, the eager vision, the passion for learning and scholarship, which are the true characteristics of a university.

Your Excellency, we are an institution which combines func-

tions of the examining, and also of the teaching and unitary university. This dual character of ours helps us in our efforts to direct along right lines the higher education of an extensive territory; but it also, inevitably perhaps, impedes the rapid growth of the infant teaching university to full maturity. Signs are not wanting to indicate that such a situation is attracting the earnest attention of the thinking public, but we desire to emphasize the wisdom of the old advice of hastening slowly. Like many other people, we need large funds. Many of our urgent schemes have have had to be postponed for lack of means to carry them out. We fervently hope that the time is not far distant when we shall be able to develop such sides of our University as are at present starving, or not even in existence.

It has been a great privilege to us to greet the Viceroy and Governor-General of India; we hope that it may be possible for Your Excellency to renew your visit to us. Our welcome will always be warm and heartfelt.

Having finished reading the address, Sir William Marris spoke as follows:

And now, Sir, if you will permit me, I wish to break away for one moment from the written word and speak one more thought that arises in my mind. During the past few days Your Excellency has seen various aspects of our provincial life. Some of those who have greeted you have, from force of circumstances, their eyes fixed upon departed greatness. Others have been men in the fulness of their strength, active in business or affairs, who are earnestly endeavouring to adjust themselves to changing conditions and to make the transition from the old to the new India orderly, assured and safe. I think it a good augury that Your Excellency's last public function during your present visit to the province should have enabled you to meet so many of the younger generation, whose gaze is bent upon the future, in whose hands will to a great extent lie the shaping of the destinies of their country, and whose capacity to shape them wisely will be so profoundly affected by the forces that go to mould them in a great centre of learning like this. Your Excellency has seen that the United Provinces has a fine historic past. I trust we

have shown you that we are vigorous and active in the present, and, with a scene like this before your eyes, I am confident Your Excellency will carry away a hopeful vision of the future.

CONVOCATION, ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

November 24, 1923

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You may think that, in my anxiety to avoid touching on local educational or political questions, I have chosen rather a remote subject for my address. But I certainly would not have chosen it if I thought it of merely theoretical or academic interest. It is just over five years since the greatest war in history ended in the victory of the right cause. It is worth while dwelling on that result for a moment, because human nature is very apt to take gains and benefits for granted, and to dwell on losses and difficulties, and, once a peril is past, is very ready to forget it. That the world is still gravely troubled we all know: we all feel a sense of depression and disappointment that no millennium has dawned. Yet it is the victory, and not our present disillusionment that is immeasurably the bigger thing. It meant that justice was not dethroned in the world. Brute force did not succeed in crushing the nations into one servile mould. The right of the weaker to exist and to live their own lives was secured. These gains were purchased by stupendous effort at appalling price. There were times when the task seemed all but impossible, when it appeared as if the dykes must break and all that was lovely and beautiful in life be swept away in a deluge. That catastrophe did not occur; and we ought all to be still capable of intense gratitude for our deliverance from it.

Now, there have been very critical times before now in human history. Think of the Greeks at Salamis; think of the Spanish Armada; think of France in the first flush of the Revolution; or the Americans after Yorktown, or Britain after Waterloo. These were all instances of men fighting in some great cause, which at one time seemed almost hopeless and yet in the end was triumphant. Read the history of the days which succeeded such triumphant effort; and, whatever shadows darken parts of the

picture, you cannot but see that men and nations were for some time, in the best sense of the word, 'above themselves'. They felt their powers in an unusual degree. They respected themselves more. The air was brisker, the sun was brighter, men trod the earth more lightly. There was a feeling abroad of untried possibilities, and a confidence that with effort nothing was impossible.

Why have we not that feeling now? The past peril was blacker, the past effort nobler than ever before. Human courage and endurance during the four years of war rose to a level of which we hardly thought it capable. Why has there been no brilliant and enthusiastic reaction? Why does the sense of exhilaration and confidence in the future of the world not follow? Why has there been no indication yet of a great literary efflorescence, or of great stirrings in philosophy or religion? Why are not men pressing on more vigorously to the conquest of the still unconquered tracts—of poverty, sickness, and class and race hatreds?

I can only offer one obvious reason: that, even after five years, we are still so near to the catastrophe as to be still stunned by the shock of it. We know that after the Napoleonic wars, side by side with a great flowering of thought and enterprise, there went a long period of high prices and acute economic distress. How much more must that be the case now, when the bottom has temporarily been knocked out of whole tracts of civilization? The destruction of capital, the load of debt, the incapacity to produce, the paralysis of trade, the instability of the exchanges, the incubus of unemployment—these are all the sequelæ of a grave world-sickness. We could feel happier about them if there were not reason to fear that the sickness itself were still persisting in the form of ill-will and suspicion between the nations.

This is not the occasion, nor certainly am I qualified to analyse the underlying causes of the world's discontents; to apportion responsibility, or to suggest remedies. Every rational man knows that the situation is very serious and that the remedial forces are still lamentably weak. I cannot think of anything that so well illustrates Walt Whitman's dogma—'It is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no

matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.' Civilization and justice have won the war; they have yet to win the peace. Yet, personally, I cannot doubt that in that four years' holocaust there crackled and went up in smoke some weeds that will not cumber the earth again, and that the ashes of their burning have enriched the soil to bear a worthy harvest. For if that be not true, then it seems to follow that the whole world must be heading to final ruin. That, to me, is simply an unthinkable alternative. We are bound to assume as a principle of conduct that sanity and reason have not departed from the human mind. I think that the nations must set about healing their wounds and addressing themselves to a better future; and once that happens, I believe that another period, such as followed on other world-crises, of growth and hope lies ahead; indeed, that many of those here will see it dawn.

In that hope, then, I have been looking for the right sort of charge to lay upon those to whom the opportunity may come. It is a great thing at any time to be young. It ought to be a specially great thing to be young in India at the present time. To an audience like this there should be no need to preach the values of effort, energy and adventure. These things are instinct in the young generation. The future is for them, and they know it. They feel the sap rising in them that is to make the new leaves bud. Therefore, perhaps the word of greatest value which an older man can speak is a word of qualification. Strength, energy, vigour, determination; yes, by all means and at all times. But if you are going to make anything of it, your effort must be ordered, directed, disciplined effort.

I believe it the greatest possible mistake to think, because the world of the last generation seems to have plunged into an abyss, that it has nothing of value for us, and that all its gods were false. Self-determination, self-realization, self-development are indeed a fine ideal. But they ought not to mean scrapping all the lessons of history, all the principles and values and standards which man has painfully hammered out since the Ice Age. They do not mean that each human being is to try and re-create the world for himself, so as to determine and realize and control his own destiny, irrespective of others. Nor do they mean

that he is free to develop his lower qualities equally with his higher. The truth is all the other way. If the war has any lesson for us, it is that the world must draw closer; that nations must regard each other's rights more closely; and to that high temper no nation can rise which is not itself compacted of members who thoroughly understand and generously regard each other's rights.

Now, if I were only qualified to do so, I should try to reinforce the moral of the continuity of human thought and effort, and the doctrine that the past still holds immortal lessons for the present —from your own ancient literatures of the East. Unfortunately, I cannot do that. Perhaps your learned Vice-Chancellor may some time be moved to take up the subject. Failing it, I want to suggest the same conclusion by dwelling briefly on the abiding value of the ancient languages of the West to the present problems of the East. If anyone wants to realize how deeply the thought of Greece and Rome has sunk into the consciousness of England, I recommend him to read a very sad but very sincere record, namely, the memorial notices published in *The Times* of those who died for their country in the war. Nor is it strange that the English as a nation should feel kinship with the Greeks and Romans. We owe them nearly all the best we have in life. We are intellectually and politically their children. Our very form of government is no more than a development, on a larger scale, of the assemblies and magistracies of these little city states, a development which the invention of the device of electoral representation made possible; and seeing that the first great step has been taken to shape India's constitution on similar lines, I do not think that what I shall say ought to sound entirely exotic or irrelevant. After all, my text is a very simple one: I can put it in two words—'Cohesion and discipline'. And I perhaps should add that I am not attempting to do more than touch the surface of a great subject; and that readers of the old European classics will probably smile at the audacious familiarity of my exemplar passages.

First, let me read you what Shelley says of the great Athenian epoch: 'Never at any other period has so much energy, beauty and virtue been developed; never was blind strength and

stubborn form so disciplined and rendered subject to the will of men, or that will less repugnant to the dictates of the beautiful and true.' Beauty, you see, is the first note which he strikes, and I should like to linger over it and recall, for instance, how Sophocles describes the dewy meadows of Colonus, where crocus and narcissus bloom and the nightingale sings in the laurel thicket, the haven of deep peace where, in his old age, the sorely troubled Œdipus is brought to die. But I must not stray into sidepaths: our concern is with conduct and action. Take, first, one picture from Homer. Hector, one of the most heroic figures in all literature, is bidding farewell to his wife and his baby son before the battle. (There is a fine translation of the passage in Kingsley's *Hypatia.*) Hector knows that the cause is vain and that 'the day will come when only Troy must fall'; but he 'would blush—

> To face the men and long-robed dames of Troy
> If like a coward I should shun the battle.

That is exactly the spirit of the Spartans who fell holding the Pass of Thermopylæ against the overwhelming masses of the Persian invaders. Their epitaph is almost too well-known for quotation. Out of many noble epitaphs in the *Anthology*, I will take instead one by Simonides upon those who fell in defence of Tegea. Tegea was but a small town, and the very occasion that is commemorated is now unknown; it may have been only a small skirmish; but the poet's lines stand as an eternal monument to dead warriors:

> If no smoke of burning to the skies ascended
> From the streets of Tegea, 'twas by these men's might,
> Who to leave their sons a city free and splendid,
> Chose themselves to perish, foremost in the fight.

That is the Greek soldier patriot.

Next, when we think of mature Greek citizenship, two portraits come to mind. Socrates, the most resolute and independent thinker of the old world, has been put on trial for what we may call high treason. He had been unfaithful, his accusers said, to his country, in that he had tried to demoralize her youth and had refused to recognize her gods. He made the wonderful defence which Plato has given us in the *Apology*, and after sentence of

death has been passed on him his last words to his judges are—'And now 'tis time to be going, I to die and you to live: but which of us goes to the better state of things is known to nobody but God.' Then his friend Crito, who has bribed the jailor, comes to him and urges him to break prison and escape. Socrates will not do it. He could not face the reproaches of the personified Laws. The Laws have given him all the benefits of civilized life, and by making his home in Athens he has contracted to obey them. But to disobey them would be much more than a dishonourable breach of contract: it is State murder, a worse crime than matricide, because our country is far more to us than a mother. This from the very man whose daily work has been to preach, even to the point of importunity, the supreme obligation of self-study and self knowledge.

The second picture is from Thucydides. Pericles is delivering the funeral oration over the Athenians killed in the first year of the Peloponnesian War. Listen to what he says: 'Let us draw strength, not merely from twice-told arguments—how fair and noble a thing it is to show courage in battle—but from the busy spectacle of our great city's life as we have it before us day by day, falling in love with her as we see her, and remembering that all this greatness she owes to men with the fighter's daring, the wise man's understanding of his duty, and the good man's self-discipline in its performance—to men who, if they failed in any ordeal, disdained to deprive the city of their services, but sacrificed their lives as the best offerings on her behalf. So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die; and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.' Surely there speaks for all time the true spirit of citizenship; the identification of the individual with the whole, and the recognition that the one must lose himself in the many.

Another characteristic of Greek life, not without its value in

these times of intellectual distraction, is the clarity and balance of their thought. They had both eyes open, and did not overlook good and beauty because they were able to see evil. There is a fine epitaph on a drowned sailor; fine, because it is also a message of courage:

> Here wrecked I lie, yet, sailor, get thee gone;
> When we went down, the other ships sailed on.

'Know thyself'—that is, realize your strength and weakness—was the rule of life laid down by one of their most famous sages. They tried to get behind words to realities. They endeavoured to see life steadily and see it whole, as Matthew Arnold says of one of their poets. And another of their precepts was 'No excess.' Exuberance, exaggeration, over-statement, verbosity—these things were hateful to them. They sought to put things in their right perspective and proportion. Much of the writing and talking on public matters to-day throughout the world (especially perhaps at election time), which seeks to sway the less critical people by violence and sensationalism of language, would have struck them as foolish and unconvincing. One of their favourite words was 'sophron'—temperate, chaste, moderate, restrained. All these seem to us dull, colourless words; but with the Greeks 'sophrosyne' was an active, living quality and implied the perfect balance of reason and emotion. The dying wife Alcestis adopts it as her highest praise, when she says to her husband that he may perhaps find a second wife more fortunate than she has been, but not more 'sophron'.

But it is time to pass on to the Romans. Not merely was Rome a great commonwealth whose history was full of courage and of romance, but to this day she exercises, through her language and laws, her system of administration and her general culture, an enduring influence upon the world. The Romans were dour, practical, and in some ways unlovely, people. What they most enjoyed was action, and what they judged by was results. Take Lucan's line on Cæsar:

> Nil actum reputans, dum quid superesset agendum.

'Thinking nothing has been done, so long as anything remained to be done.' There you have the ruthless purpose and the restless energy of the man who perhaps deserved better than Brutus to be

called the 'noblest Roman of them all'. Through much of Latin literature there runs a note of hardness. Virgil's sonorous lines which celebrate Rome's imposition of peace upon a subject world fall in these days on somewhat unresponsive ears; and yet the same poet who wrote them was capable of expressing the pathos of human life in lines that for their wistful appeal have never been surpassed:

Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi
Sunt lacrimae rerum mentemque mortalia tangunt.

The words are untranslatable, but perhaps James Rhoades version comes nearest:

Even here too honour hath its meed,
And there are tears for what befalls, and hearts
Touched by the chances of mortality.

But this was not the Roman's normal mood. What he admired was a figure like that of Cleopatra, disdaining to be led in triumph to Rome, and preferring to let the asp bite her and so die. You remember how Shakespeare makes her say:

Let's do it after the high Roman fashion
And make death proud to take us.

We get the same note in two comments on Cato's suicide: 'Everything on earth subdued save Cato's stubborn soul' are the words of Horace; and Lucan writes:

Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni

The gods preferred the winning side, Cato the losing one.' Another typical figure is that of Regulus, the Roman general, captured by the Carthaginians and sent back on parole to Rome, in the hope that he would persuade his countrymen to make a dishonourable peace. Horace never wrote anything more sincere and powerful than the verses which describe how—'with counsel such as man never gave before'—Regulus urges the Senate to fight on till the end; and then, knowing well that he will die a death of agonizing torture when he reaches Carthage, breaks through the crowd of friends and relatives who try to detain him, and sets out to meet his end as calmly as if he were a tired lawyer going off on his vacation holiday.

The Roman was never greater than in adversity. The temper of the people braced itself to the emergency. When Hannibal had invaded Italy and had beaten the Romans in a second battle, the news was broken to the citizens in a simple phrase—'We have been defeated in a great battle'. The magistrates knew that the fibre of the people was strong enough to stand the shock. Again, when they put their fortunes to the test a third time, and yet a third time the war genius of Hannibal triumphed, and practically the whole military strength of Rome was destroyed at Cannæ, there was no panic or outburst of popular passion; instead of the blundering general who had brought the catastrophe on them being lynched, the Senate met and passed a vote of thanks to him—'Because he had not despaired of the republic'. Again and again this note of serenity in danger is struck. I could easily weary you with more quotations; but Kipling has put the essence of the matter on the lips of the young Roman soldier serving in Britain when he speaks of 'Rome's thrice-hammered hardihood in arduous things'.

Equanimity, serenity, fortitude, toughness, self-control—these were the typical Roman virtues. In Henley's phrase—'Their head was bloody, but unbowed'. Whether you like them or not, who can refuse admiration to a people who could say with such a high measure of truth:

> We are the masters of our fate,
> We are the captains of our soul.

The chief legacy of Rome to the modern world seems to me that summed up in the Duke of Wellington's saying—'The King's Government *must* be carried on.' Order, security, law, justice—these are the very pillars of the state, and citizens and magistrates together must see that they are made secure through any storm. And in the domain of private conduct the moral is much the same. Temper yourself, discipline yourself; be strong to resist the stress when it comes, as come it surely will. 'What', says Juvenal, 'is a man to pray for? Many men pray for material blessings; but they are foolish to do so, for the gods know the best. A man is dearer to the gods than he is to himself, and it is best to leave it to them, and to let them weigh out, as from a

balance, the things that they know will be useful.' 'But we *must* pray for something.' 'Pray, then, for a sound mind in a sound body. Ask for a stout heart that has no fear of death, a heart that reckons the last lap of life among the gifts of nature, a heart that is strong to bear any toil, that is not easily provoked, that is without desire. A mind that reckons the sorrows and harsh toils of Hercules a thing more to be sought after than the lust and gluttony and feather-beds of an Assyrian king.' Then he concludes:

> Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare semita certe
> Tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
> Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia nos te,
> Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam coeloque locamus

That is to say—'I only show what you can give yourself. The one pathway to the tranquil life lies through the field of manliness. If you have prudence, you can do without a deity. 'Tis we, we men, who make thee a goddess, Fortune, and seat thee in the sky.' And with that typical utterance of the mind of Rome I will conclude. 'The fate of empires', says Aristotle, 'depends on the education of youth.' Rarely, I suppose, has that pregnant sentence been of greater significance than in India at the present time. I pray that in this institution of learning, of which I have the honour to be Chancellor, there may be pursued such a system of education, that in the hands of those whom it sends forth to the task, may be left safely the future destinies of this great and ancient land.

POLICE CEREMONIAL PARADE, MORADABAD

December 7, 1923

OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE UNITED PROVINCES POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL,—I recall how six years ago I had the honour of attending a similar ceremonial parade to this one, upon this same parade ground, when I was your Inspector-General. You can imagine what pleasure it gives me, therefore, to come to you again to-day as head of the province. I remember how I was impressed on that occasion with the smartness and steadiness of the force on parade. I am glad to be able to congratulate you again to-day upon the way in which you have maintained the same standard.

Your force has recently lost some officers of great ability and experience; but changes of this kind are inevitable in an official service. I congratulate you, indeed I congratulate myself and my Government, on the fact that you have now as Inspector-General an officer like Mr. Ashdown, who, in the past, as Principal of the Police Training School, has done so much solid, earnest work to improve the efficiency of the force, a force whose interest, as I well know, he has deeply at heart, and whose efficiency he and the picked officers who are his deputy inspectors-general will do everything they can to maintain and promote.

We all know how the police come in for a vast amount of vilification and abuse. I have often thought over the matter; and of this I am persuaded, that as time goes on there is less and less justification for it. It has become a tradition; but traditions will wither if they get no soil to feed on, and we must give them less and less. I thought it very significant that the other day when a picked detachment of the police of these provinces, after months of unremitting endurance and activity, delivered a whole countryside from the terror that had for a long time beset it, by the capture of some desperate and notorious dacoit leaders, how the people turned out to express their gratitude

and delight. That was a much juster estimate of the ordinary man's feelings towards the police than the conventional language of many public utterances. I bid you, therefore, to be of good heart, and to believe that public opinion will veer round more and more in your favour. It lies with you, especially it lies with the rank and file and the sub-inspectors of police, to accelerate that process. I bid you to be honest and considerate and patient, remembering that you are servants of the public and that the exercise of your duties must do them as little inconvenience or mischief as possible. But I bid you also to be fearless in the discharge of your duties. Believe that the Government trusts you and you can rely on its support when you are unfairly and unjustly attacked. I know that I speak for my honourable colleague, the Home Member, when I say this. There is still a great work before you. I am not sure that the task is not heavier than I have ever known it; but I know that if you feel you can rely on the sympathy and support of Government, the Government can confidently call upon you, if necessary, for even greater efforts.

POLICE DINNER, MORADABAD

MR. ASHDOWN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE INDIAN POLICE,—

* * * * *

December 7, 1923

I think I knew, even before the Inspector-General made it clear to me, that in coming to Moradabad I was coming among friends. The year and a half during which I had the honour to be Inspector-General of Police will always stand out distinctly among my memories of a varied service. Certainly no Inspector-General could have desired a more generous reception. You took it that whatever mistakes I might and did make, I meant to do my best for the force without fear or favour; and you gave me exactly the same help and backing as you would have given to a member of your own service. Well, I simply ask you to do the same for the Governor as you did for the Inspector-General. Government, as you know, is not quite the simple business that it was of old. We have the Finance Committee and we have the Legislative Council. Various forces exert themselves upon us, and as my friend, the Raja of Mahmudabad (whom we are delighted to see here to-night) will tell you, they have all to be considered. But all the same, I ask you to believe that I have not lost my interest in the police, and I am sure, speaking for myself and my honourable colleague, that the Government will always do their best to get fair play for them.

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I congratulate you on this very successful week. It was a sound idea to bring isolated officers together for exchange of views and renewal of friendships. I am sure you feel that you have profited by the discussions and conference of the week. I hope to hear more about them. I do not want to talk officially; but it would be absurd for me not to refer to one matter which, of course, has been in your minds. Serious crime has increased to an extent which I think no self-respecting Government can allow to continue. We are hardly giving the people in some

places that measure of the *pax Britannica* of which we boast, and which they are entitled to ask of us. I do not believe this is inevitable. I do know something of the difficulties. But I believe that, by resolute, intelligent and concentrated effort, we can get the figures down with a rush. I call upon you to do it. How exactly it is to be done Mr. Ashdown and his expert advisers will consider. Mr. Young and his men have already made a fine beginning. But I want to give you definite marching orders. I have thought over this thing and I speak deliberately. Bring down the figures for dacoities, particularly for armed dacoities, to one-half; and then I will say to you—'Well done, and now get them down to one-quarter.' Tell me what co-operation and assistance you need from other sources, and I will do my best to obtain it for you.

CEREMONIAL PARADE, COLVIN TALUQDARS' SCHOOL, LUCKNOW

December 12, 1923

MR. REES, MASTERS AND BOYS OF THE COLVIN TALUQDARS' SCHOOL,—I am glad to have the opportunity of being present this morning and of witnessing this simple but inspiring ceremony, which speaks to us of unselfish devotion to high ideals. Your school has a special character of its own. Many of its students are the bearers of great names, famous in the history of this province, and are the inheritors of large possessions and great wealth. When they leave the school the main problem that they will have to face will be not how to make a living, but how to live. Possibly that sounds to some of you the easier problem of the two. I think that it is really much the more difficult. I think it is a simpler thing to compete with other imperfect human beings in the struggle for existence than to strive against the baser tendencies of one's own character. Undoubtedly, one of the most important functions that this school can discharge is to teach its pupils the wise use of leisure and the right use of wealth. You boys are now being wisely trained here to endure bodily fatigue and to be capable of mental exertion; but unless you take good heed, there is a danger that when you are freed from the discipline and routine of your present daily tasks, you may be tempted to succumb to a life of idleness. Of some such it has been vividly said that they 'kill their time by tearing along roads at perilous speed, or do nothing at enormous expense'. You must not be of their number. You must keep your body and mind in good condition by healthy and regular exercise. When you go out into the world after finishing your studies here, there are plenty of worthy objects to which you can devote the training, the discipline, and the habits of corporate life which you have acquired in this school. Every day the field of activity offered to you in public affairs, local, provincial and imperial, is widening, and you can, if you choose, find rich opportunities of

serving your country and filling a distinguished part. And for the ordered balance of the various interests of this province, it is essential that a due proportion of you should be capable and willing to do so. Others of you will find your natural outcome in the management of large estates. The spirit of give-and-take which you have learned here should make you considerate to your tenants, and ready to realize that your highest duty lies in promoting the happiness of the countryside. I say to you, in all seriousness, that in these changing days it will not be enough for you merely to hold what you have received from your forefathers. You have to improve and develop your inheritance. Immense national tasks lie before the country, and it is for you, the young men who go forth from the Colvin School, to make a contribution to these tasks worthy of your high lineage.

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DINNER OF THE CAWNPORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

December 20, 1923

GENTLEMEN,—I am grateful to you all for your kind hospitality to-night, to your Chairman for the generosity of his language, and for the friendly manner in which you have received his reference to me.

Cawnpore is, of course, a place which no Governor or Government of the United Provinces is the least likely to undervalue. It is the provincial power house; the industrial centre of gravity of the province, a place that generates more horse-power and employs more thousands of workmen than all our seven other cities put together. I see that rumours have reached you, gentlemen, about two other cities which are not entirely agreed as to which of them is the real capital of the province. One relies on its historical title-deeds and its legal, academic and religious pre-eminence; the other on its central position, its wealth and social attractions, its parliamentary activities and the fact that, whether of accident or design, it has, under a succession of Governors, won itself a comfortable place in the sun. I am not here to adjudicate on such claims. I merely mention them as the cause of occasional embarrassment to the Governor, who, in coming to Cawnpore, at all events feels that he is temporarily reposing in a city which, secure in its own solid pre-eminence, can, as you say, afford to smile at the less substantial emulations of other places.

You, Sir, mentioned Hamirpur as my official starting-place in India. I am sure that you (or your clerk) looked up the History of Services of Gazetted Officers before you did so. You will realize that the last point upon the margin of civilization from which I went forth by Munna Lal's *dak gari* to that wilderness was Cawnpore. Here it was that I took the opportunity of securing some of the material necessaries of life in India. . . . I remember three red Cawnpore blankets which, on the sound advice of Mr. Faunthorpe, then Joint Magistrate, I purchased. I

am sure you will exonerate me from the suspicion of desiring to advertise any particular firm, when I testify to the excellent service those red blankets have since rendered.

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There was a moment later on when I was designated for the Collectorship of Cawnpore, and I actually came here in expectation of assuming charge from the friend of many of us, Mr. Tyler. But for the fact that different orders followed, I might to-night be speaking to you with far more intimate knowledge of your needs and problems. But of the great interest which my Government take in the well-being of your city you need feel no doubt. Three of us are here to testify to that. Do not think that we look upon Cawnpore merely as with the fond eyes of a dairyman regarding his prize milch-cow. We value your city as a great fount of energy and production; we admire the pioneer enterprise and applied skill that has called your massive industries into being; we acknowledge with pride the enormous effort you made in supplying material for the war; we remember gratefully the way in which Cawnpore has responded to any appeal made to it for financial support for a worthy cause. Indeed, one such cause finds embodiment in the fine hall, inaugurated seven years ago by Sir James Meston, where we are met to-night. But perhaps more than all we value what Cawnpore is doing to demonstrate silently to an agricultural India what can be done in the industrial field by practical men intent on practical results.

I come now to the matters raised directly in your Chairman's speech. I agree with you entirely in holding that Government, capital, and labour must all face the altered conditions of the world's trade intelligently. The Indian labourer, of course, is ignorant, and some of his advisers may not be very sagacious. I have heard something about their activities to-day. They would do well to take a lesson from countries where labour is more strongly organized, and intensely alive to its own true interests. The example set by labour men at home in accepting very heavy reductions in their wage returns, simply because they realize that the trades cannot longer afford to pay boom rates, is not without its lesson for the Indian labourer.

About the condition of your municipal water-works I spoke in July last to your city fathers in fairly emphatic terms. Since then we have, as you say, arrived at a working arrangement with the canals; but unsolved the question of distribution and extension still remains. The engineers' scheme is ready, and my Government are perfectly ready also to give the municipality a loan. I agree with you that the situation is serious and that delay is unwise. Not only are the benevolent operations of the Improvement Trust held up, but the health and industrial activities of the whole city are in some jeopardy. But before Government can take matters drastically into their own hands, it must be perfectly clear that the properly constituted local authority has failed in its duty. Now your Chamber can, if it chooses, do a great deal to arouse interest in this question and to stimulate the board to take action. It is for your representatives on the board to raise the question there and to thrust it to a definite issue; and if you are dissatisfied with the result, then come to us and make it plain to us that the margin of safety has been passed and the time for action has unmistakably come.

As for the operations of the Improvement Trust itself, all I can say to you is that for the present the Chairman expressed himself as satisfied with the provisions which we have made, and that for the future I am sure that we shall not agree to anything like false economy. We cannot stoke you up with fuel for full steam ahead; but we must find the means of going on with all schemes, the stoppage of which would be a positive loss.

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I suggest that the most unfortunate result of the political earthquake at home is that it leaves no responsible government in sight which is likely to make a decisive contribution to the crucial problems of foreign affairs; and yet it is in the distractions of Central and Eastern Europe that the root cause lies of much of our own difficulty. I sincerely trust that the hope, expressed by your Chairman, that the tide has begun to turn, has some solid justification. After all, in these matters, gentlemen, you and we, industrialists and Government together, are very much in the same boat. You and India as a whole have plenty of goods to trade, and what you want is customers. We, for our

part, cannot hope for any great development of our inelastic provincial resources, and for further progress on the large scale which we all desire, we must look to a reduction of our very heavy contribution to the central exchequer. But the Government of India—Sir Malcolm Hailey is here to assure you if you doubt it—have also their own troubles. They cannot afford to accept such reduction unless their own revenues expand, and they depend very largely on the prosperity of trade, which affects both their customs income and their railway earnings. The return of prosperity in trade depends on the improvement of the conditions in Europe. So the wheel comes full circle. I say, therefore, that we and you have equally strong reasons for praying that a sense of sanity may prevail in international affairs, and that the nations may soon begin to work together for the healing of the wounds of the world.

Gentlemen, it is almost a year since I assumed office. My Government have had their difficulties, and I have no sort of doubt that your Chairman was right in prognosticating that there are plenty more to come; but, looking round in all directions, I feel that there are some reasons for thankfulness. I think the feeling in the villages is better. I am sure that the financial position of the province is perceptibly brighter. Very likely these things have happened in spite of the Government, and not because of it. I am not out for claiming credit in the least. But one thing I should like to say, and that is that we—I and my colleagues—are grateful for the generous measure of support which we have had from many quarters. We mean to do our best to keep the province secure and contented, and to administer its affairs with justice to all and with partiality to none. As you know, we have just passed a definite landmark on the roadway of reforms, marked by the demise of the first of the reformed provincial councils. The elections to the new councils are just concluded. It may seem a rather sensational development that their ranks should be so largely filled by those who are pledged to use the opportunity of entrance for the purpose of wrecking the existing order of government. And yet I think there are some advantages even in that result. The issue between us and our opponents is clarified. They intend to undo; we are resolved to

maintain. His Excellency the Viceroy, in two recent utterances, has made the intentions of his Government so plain that all who run may read; and local Governments are grateful for his guidance. As for our own provincial Council, I will only say that I think we may be more fortunate than some of our neighbours. I have every confidence that the new body will play its part worthily. I know that my Government look forward to meeting it without misgiving and without alarm. And I take this opportunity of announcing that as soon as the elections were over my two Ministers, Raja Parmanand and the Nawab of Chhatari, in accordance with constitutional practice, placed their resignations in my hands; and also that, after consideration of the electoral results, I had great pleasure in inviting them both to reassume office. I am happy to tell you they have both consented; and I am very glad that the Minister for Industries, the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari, is present among us to-night. I should have asked you, if your applause had not already done so, to give him a friendly welcome on his reassuming charge of his portfolio.

I have only one more point to make. It is a mild attempt to turn the tables. I know, gentlemen, that those of you who represent the Chamber in the local Legislative Council are busy men who find it difficult to give much time to parliamentary duties; and yet in your own interest I ask you to take a long view, and to realize the importance of sharing increasingly and regularly in provincial business. If it be true that the British official is likely to become a gradually decreasing factor in the government of the country, all the more necessary is it that the representatives of British industries in India should be forward in public affairs; and that not merely for the purpose of protecting their own particular interests, but of bringing to the counsels of the country the right quota of British opinion and British way of thought, which are perhaps more likely to be acceptable to Indian opinion if they proceed not from any official governing class, but from men who are obviously out to advance the wealth and prosperity of India, and who have worked side by side in that great cause with Indian business-men. I am sure that you

realize that the proceedings of the provincial Council are bound to grow in seriousness and reality, and that the time has gone by when any interest, however momentous, can afford to look on them as an occupation of secondary importance. I am convinced that the more regularly and resolutely your representatives can play their part in our Council proceedings, the better will it be for the future of these enormous interests which mean so much, not merely to you and to your shareholders, but to India also.

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ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GHAZIABAD TAHSIL

December 27, 1923

MEMBERS OF THE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GHAZIABAD TAHSIL,—I feel that I do not come here entirely as a stranger, for I toured in your tahsil with Mr. Gillan twenty-five years ago, when he was settlement officer of the Meerut district. I have seen many of your villages and know something of the productivity of your soil.

I have heard with satisfaction the expression of your loyalty to the King-Emperor contained in your address. These expressions are no mere lip service, as has been proved by the record of your district, and your tahsil, during the great war. On the proud position attained by your district among the other districts of the province, and by your tahsil among the other tahsils of your district, I congratulate you.

You have referred in picturesque language to the situation of this, the headquarters town of your tahsil—on the royal road to Delhi; it has become one of the main gates to the imperial city, within the enclave of which some of your villages were included; and it has grown continuously in importance since, a short two hundred years ago, it was founded by Wazir Ghaziuddin. Those were leisured days; we now live in a busier and more hustling age, and it is a matter of regret to me that considerations of time have made it impossible for me to spend longer in your town.

I have seen enough, however, in passing through the country, and in my brief stay here, to recognize how peculiarly happy is the situation of your tahsil. There must be few areas more fortunate in the matter of communications. No less than three railways centre on your town, and these, fed in turn by an adequate system of roads, give a ready means of export for your produce (which the two great canals and their distributaries secure to you), and access to the great markets of Delhi and Meerut. And yet little more than a hundred years ago, when Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, requested your Collector to send 50,000

maunds of wheat to relieve distress in Delhi, the communications were so bad that it was almost impossible to send in any grain at all. Here again the times have changed.

But perhaps the most welcome change of all—and here you will understand that I speak generally of the change from the times when such sentiments were much less general than I hope they have become to-day—perhaps the most welcome change is that you should be able to include in your address the passage which I will venture to re-read to you:

'With just pride, we may say that we might style ourselves the representatives of the tenantry also. For not only is there no conflict of interests or estranged relations between us and the tenantry, but, on the contrary, our interests have always been identical, and it is a refreshing pleasure to note that, whatever dissensions might have happened elsewhere between the two classes, we have always stood shoulder to shoulder in a common cause.'

In these words you touch the secret of the principle which should govern the relations of all who have interest in the land; and that you should be able to claim that the relation between yourselves and the tenants is such as you have described is a matter of most justifiable pride. Without a stable, prosperous and contented tenantry no estate can prosper, still less can any agricultural country prosper, for the peasantry forms its backbone. Legislation cannot secure this. It is only by the recognition that the relationship of landlord and tenant implies mutual duties, and the avoidance of the perpetual insistence on rights—real or imaginary—that this end can be secured. Legislation may define rights, but the remedy of the law courts is intended to be invoked only when the resources of give-and-take and mutual good-will have been exhausted. Nothing is so destructive of good relations as litigation. If only people would talk over their disputes together, quietly and with good-will, before embarking on litigation, they would save themselves much harassment and expense, which often leave them nothing to show for it all but a man with a grievance. You have referred to your immunity from troubles which occurred elsewhere; and it is instructive to note that nowhere did evilly-disposed persons and fomentors of trouble find a

readier hearing than in some village where past litigation had left a legacy of friction. On the good relations subsisting in your tahsil among these two great classes, proprietors and tenants, you are most heartily to be congratulated, and the fact that, as I understand, many proprietors among you are themselves employed in cultivation must contribute to this happy result. It only remains for you to see that no outside influence may be allowed to sow dissension among you, which may disturb the harmony of your relations with each other, or change your sentiments to my Government. Should troubles ever recur, I feel that I may rely on you to do your utmost to prevent such a possibility.

The year 1923 is drawing to its close, I had hoped to add, in all respects happily. But yesterday I received with great regret the sad news of the death of my trusted and valued colleague, Raja Parmanand. He is a great loss to my Government and he is a great loss also to those agricultural interests which you represent. I know that you will share my sorrow at his unexpected and most regrettable death. But for this shadow we are ending the year happily with tranquillity, and with prospects of increasing prosperity in the coming year. For the coming year, members of the Zamindars' Association of the Ghaziabad tahsil, I wish peace and prosperity to you and to all whom you represent; to secure the fulfilment of the wish, I would add a second wish—may the relations of all of you, of whatever degree, who are concerned with the land show an ever-increasing harmony and good-will and cordiality.

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ALL-INDIA MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, ALIGARH

GENTLEMEN OF THE CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE,—

December 27, 1923

There are many business gatherings taking place in India during these Christmas holidays. There are not many others besides this one which would have lured me away from camp. But I did feel bound to accept your kind invitation to be present here, because on many grounds the cause which this conference represents makes a powerful appeal to me.

In the first place, your educational conferences are part and parcel of that movement for the uplifting and advancement of your fellow-religionists, of which this Muslim university stands forth as the most famous and conspicuous sign. In these precincts many eloquent tributes have been paid to the genius and character of the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, that broad-minded and far-sighted leader, who had the vision to look into the mists of the future, and the courage to withstand the opposition and obloquy of more short-sighted and conservative contemporaries, before his indomitable energy and enthusiasm won the battle of higher education for Muslims. When the history of modern India is written, his name will always have a secure and honoured place. And this educational conference is not merely a tribute to his memory, but an effective and much-needed means of carrying forward his work.

I do not want to talk politics; and I should be false to my principles if I said one word which could be construed as encouraging the strength of communal feeling. But two things I do want to say. I believe that the real importance of education as an essential element in India's political growth has never received candid and adequate recognition. There were those who from the beginning tried to plead that an immense development of education throughout the country should be thought ou

carefully, financed solidly, and securely launched, simultaneously with the political changes initiated five years ago; that two sets of separate foundations, as it were, and not merely one, should be well and truly laid together. Personally, I believe that that was the right policy. It may or it may not have been practical politics. At all events, in the pressure of the moment such views got but short hearing; and education on the grand scale, instead of being deliberately treated as one of the essentials for political growth, was given a few benedictions and kind words, and left by the arbiters of our destinies to the changes and chances of the future.

But if education on an enlarged scale, an expanded and improved and humanized education, is necessary to the sound political growth of the people of India as a whole, still more necessary must it be to those who, from one cause or another, find themselves in the position of a minority. I wish to guard against any suggestion that I imagine that the ultimate division of opinion in India will follow communal lines. There are some signs that that may not be the case. But it is certain that the abandonment of the communal position and of communal action can only come in proportion as the weaker communities feel that they can afford to do without it. Into that process other factors will enter, and among them will be the rate at which the dominant majorities learn tolerance and respect for the feelings of the minority; but at least one potent factor will be the growth of education and enlightenment, and thereby of political capacity, among the minority communities themselves. I know this, that if I were at the present moment either a Muslim or an Anglo-Indian or an Indian Christian, or a member of the depressed classes, I should feel strongly that political sagacity pointed to putting every ounce of energy I could into improving the education of my own people. That is exactly what Sir Syed Ahmad saw. Among some sections of your people in India the vision which he beheld has, I think, become temporarily obscured. As a result of the alarms and excursions in the Muslim world during the past ten or eleven years, the breath of popular excitement has dimmed the mirror. It is because I recognize in this Muslim educational conference an attempt to wipe the glass

clear, and to hold up to the Muslim world of India a true beacon-light, that I welcome its rehabilitation, and I earnestly wish it all success. All the more readily and unreservedly do I say so after learning that the exhibition has not been organized on a strict sectarian basis, and that many Hindu teachers and educationists are sharing in and benefiting by it.

The other reason why I am glad to be here lies in the intrinsic interest of the exhibition itself. I know that I am trenching upon a subject of which I am less qualified to speak than many members of the conference. As the President has told us, this exhibition is an attempt to bring together some of the results of the experiments and investigations which educational thinkers have made in connection with the whole great subject. Some of us are prone to fall into the error that the education of the child is, or ought to be, an easy natural process, as natural perhaps as ensuring that it gets fresh air and good food and that its limbs and muscles develop with sufficient healthy exercise. Perhaps that easy opinion is derived partly from the feeling—probably a mistaken feeling—that nobody ever cared very anxiously and thought very closely over our own education. They may have done so, but we were not aware of it. At all events, most of us are a little inclined to believe in our hearts that we are all born educators. It seems as if the process of education was simply passing on to the rising generation the accumulated experience of our own. But if we are rash enough to try and put our beliefs in practice, we soon realise that there is much more in it than that. A child's mind is not like a man's, and the ideas and the very language which come naturally to the man fail to convey their message to the child. And since education on a large scale must be a collective process, all the differences between child and child come also into play. A teacher on the one hand has to find a sort of highest common multiple of their intelligence, and at the same time he has to be perceptive and sympathetic with all the pupils who do not conform to the average on which he is working. A further complexity is provided in a country like India by the immense variations between class and class and the diversities of language that present themselves, from the lower classes of the preliminary

school up to the courses for a university degree. It is obvious, therefore, that the art of successful education (for an art I believe it to be, and not a science) is a skilled and delicate one. And an exhibition like this, which attempts to bring together the results attained by those who have thought most deeply over its problems and processes, is a valuable and welcome contribution to a great cause. I have seen it myself with much interest and I could have wished for more time to study some of its exhibits. I am sure that I express the sentiment of all my hearers when I say that it is to the enthusiasm and devotion of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan that we owe the privilege of witnessing it. So far as I know, this is a new move in the sphere of education in India, and we all, Government and educationists alike, are indebted to him for the trouble he has taken. I ought also to say a word of gratitude to the various firms or institutions which have helped him with the gift or loan of exhibits.

There is only one more thing, gentlemen, that I have to say—and it is a word of sorrow. I knew, when I was thinking over what I should say to you, that illness would prevent my honourable colleague, Raja Parmanand, from being at my side to-day. I could not foresee, and I had no fears, that his illness would have a fatal termination. He is a great loss to me and to the Government and to the province. In this educational gathering it is right that I should speak this word of regret and respect for my late Minister of Education.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES,—I have come here to welcome you cordially to the work lying before you, which will, I trust, be of abiding benefit to the interests of this great province. **January 9, 1924**

We have lost not a few of those who were outstanding personalities in the last Council. Some of these casualities have resulted from the ordinary vicissitudes of political life. We may hope that some old members of the Council, who are not with us now, may yet hereafter, here or elsewhere, play their part again in their country's affairs. I am thinking in particular of my two former Ministers, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narayan, gentlemen whose ability and devotion to duty I have good reason to know and to admire. And together with them it is right that I pay a word of tribute to the late Deputy President of this Council, Rai Bahadur Anand Sarup. I have it on the best authority that he discharged the onerous duties of the presidential chair with dignity, firmness and impartiality—the three ideal attributes of a parliamentary president; and, without incurring any suspicion of reflecting on whatever gentleman may be elected to succeed him, I may say that in these respects the Council cannot but be the poorer for his absence.

But, gentlemen, this new Council meets to-day under a sadder sense of loss. One of the first members returned to it, returned without opposition, a tribute to the respect in which he was universally held, has been removed by death from among us, a very few days after he had re-accepted office as Minister of Education in my Government. This Council will, if it sees fit—and I sincerely hope it will—record in proper terms its respect for the memory of the late Raja Parmanand. But for me—who was his colleague, who knew his deep and sincere love for his country, his desire to do right and to deal justly,

and to live on terms of peace and amity with all men—it is right that I should express here openly before you my grief at losing not merely a senior and valued adviser, but a personal friend. He died in harness, as he would have wished. There is some reason to fear that his end may have been accelerated by sheer devotion to the cause he stood for. None of us can hope to end better or more happily than that. Honour and peace to the memory of a worthy gentleman whom the province can ill afford to lose!

I have no new policy to expound to you. The aim of my Government will be in future, as it has been in the past, to maintain the stability of a great province and to promote the happiness of its people. With that aim, it is our hope to proceed, as soon as may be, with agrarian legislation, designed to remove outstanding grievances of both landlord and tenant, and to demonstrate the reality of the proposition, so often affirmed in speeches, that the interests of the landed and agricultural classes, who form the great industry upon which this province depends, are not diverse or opposed, but essentially one.

I am sure that I speak for my whole Government when I say that we welcome to this council the advent of a new element unrepresented in its predecessors. We are not going to take too much account of everything that may have been said all over the country either before or at election time, because a very slight acquaintance with the working of representative institutions all over the world compels one to the somewhat cynical conclusion that not everything that is said in party manifestos and electoral speeches is really meant to be pressed home. We as a Government will look rather to actions than to words. We are bound to assume that those who sought and obtained entrance to the Council, and have taken the oath of allegiance in so doing, have all equally, without distinction, done so because they recognize the fact of its existence and mean to serve it loyally to further the end for which it is devised. But to those members who are new to the Council I will say this: The Government and the older members have had three years' experience of the working of the new constitution as it has been pursued and developed by the first reformed Council. No intelligent and honest man who has had

that actual experience can possibly fail to realize the progress which was made. He knows that the reforms have been a reality and no sham. He knows that the influence of the Legislative Council has steadily strengthened and extended. Our hope is that members of the new Council will speedily come to realize the same truth, and will realize also that if the business of the country continues to be carried on in a reasonable and constitutional manner, there is nothing whatever to prevent further progress on the same safe lines. Rightly or wrongly, therefore, but in any case optimistically, Mr. President and gentlemen, my Government will face this new legislative body on the assumption that all its members by their presence here recognize that the path to self-government lies along the constitutional track which has been laid down. We believe that the car which carries the fortunes of the State can only move on solid, well-laid rails; that it will be upset if it attempts to plunge into the jungle. The line prescribed for us is the only line to which we as a Government can consistently with our orders adhere. We are called in our positions to play the game according to certain definite rules. We claim that we have attempted to be faithful to our orders, and we intend to be so in the future. We make an equal claim for the services and officers, European and Indian, under our orders. They, too, have striven loyally under great difficulty to work the new order of things according to the course laid down for them. Whatever may happen elsewhere, whatever may have been said outside this Council, we trust that the new body which has acceded to the high trust confided to it will show the same sense of responsibility, the same parliamentary capacity, for using its powers constitutionally for the safe and sound advancement of the province as its predecessor did.

In some respects I am happy to think that we set out with good auspices. The first Council under the reformed scheme started in a time of stress and strain. I do not wish to revive any unhappy controversies; but it is in the memory of all of us how in 1920–21 India, like the rest of the world, was still heaving in the after-swell and confusion of the war, and how perturbation and excitement swelled to its apex with results that stunned all sane and sober minds. But the wave crest has rolled

by, and now we are happily in a period of comparative peace, confidence and tranquillity, which it is our earnest desire to maintain. Nor is that condition merely the result of reaction and lassitude from fever and overstrain. To some extent that may be true of the villages; but among thinking men it is due also to the perception that much has palpably been accomplished in the direction of giving effect to Indian wishes. The new constitution has proved fruitful in results. Old-standing grievances have been remedied and adjustments, some of them overdue, have been made. My friends the Muslims know that their particular aspirations have been met, not merely with anxious consideration but also with substantial satisfaction. The economic condition of the province is better; the immediate agricultural outlook is excellent; and, although I must not anticipate what my honourable colleague, the Finance Member, will shortly have to tell you, I believe that our provincial finances are now in a sounder condition than they were a year ago These are aspects, therefore, in which we are entitled to congratulate ourselves on our comparative good fortune. We do start in some respects from a position of advantage which some of our neighbours lack. I know that a strong spirit of provincial patriotism animates the members of this Council, and when I speak of members of this Council, I speak of them all, without distinction. I trust they know also that exactly the same spirit animates the Government and its officers. We also belong to, and we also are proud of, the province whose salt we have eaten. We also are anxious to do nothing to belittle it or lower its dignity among the provinces of India. The extent to which we can succeed in doing so will lie very largely in the hands of this new Council. I ask its members, one and all, to remember this.

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have now to announce to you that Rai Rajeshwar Bali, one of the representatives elected by the taluqdars of Oudh, has accepted my invitation to assume office as Minister in the place of the late Raja Parmanand.

Gentlemen, I will now take leave of you, with the earnest wish that your deliberations may be directed with wisdom to the promotion of the interests which we all, without exception, have at heart.

BANQUET AT RAMPUR

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank Your Highness for the warm welcome you have given me here, and for the more than generous terms in which you have proposed my health. **January 16, 1924**

The high traditions of loyalty and courage, which have always characterized the House of Rampur, have been acknowledged so often by Viceroys and Governors that I feel it almost superfluous for me to attempt to add anything to what they have said. The friendly co-operation of the princes of this Rohilla State with the British Government dates from nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, when Your Highness' ancestor offered his cavalry to the British who were then at war with France, a power whom we hope never to fight again. In the mutiny Your Highness' great-grandfather stood staunchly by the Raj at great personal risk, and, to use Lord Canning's words, 'effected the safety and provided for the comfort of a multitude of Her Majesty's Christian subjects at a time when danger most pressed them'. The Rampur troops were again placed at the disposal of Government for the Mohmand campaign. During the great war we all know how all the resources of the State were put at the King-Emperor's disposal. Your Highness contributed liberally to every generous cause. Besides sharing in the provision of the hospital ship *Loyalty*, and besides contributing munificently to all the various relief funds, you provided a convalescent home for officers at Naini Tal. Your troops fought gallantly for three years in East Africa, and then garrisoned Madras in 1919 during the third Afghan War. I have heard from Your Highness' own lips an assurance that in certain contingencies you would yourself accompany your men to the field and send your sons after you.

Ladies and Gentlemen, that is a record which speaks for itself. The Government have good reason to be grateful for such well-proved friendship and acknowledge their obligation with pride. And in peace no less than in war Your Highness has stood by us and helped us. By pressure where it was needed, by persuasion

where persuasion was likely to be effective, and largely by your personal example and attitude, you have exerted your great influence on the side of peace and stability and against the forces of disorder. You have shown yourself ready to take decisive action, when needed, regardless of what detractors might say. I gratefully endorse all that my predecessor said a little more than a year ago upon this subject. Your shrewd advice and your unstinted support—given with the sympathy of one who himself carries heavy responsibilities, and yet with the measure of detachment that is so helpful in contributing a fresh element to sound conclusions—have been always, and I know will continue to be, of the greatest value to any Governor of the United Provinces in the difficult situations with which he is from time to time confronted. Anyone who knows Your Highness at all knows this one thing about you, that when your friendship is given it is given without stint or wavering. I acknowledge such friendship very gratefully.

Your Highness, we are all glad to think that this gathering has occurred at a time fraught with such happiness to the House of Rampur. It is a great thing to feel that with the birth of your first grandson in the male line the succession to the State is secured for two generations. We all wish health and a long and happy life to the small son of Your Highness' Heir-Apparent; we know with what solicitude and affection you will watch over his physical and moral upbringing; and we pray, and we are sure, that the boy will grow up to inherit the staunch characteristics of his grandfather and his grandfather's forbears, and to continue the fine tradition of loyalty and vigour which has been the heritage of this old Rohilla State.

I have touched upon the services of the State and its ruling House. I would like to say one word about the character of the Ruler. We respect Your Highness not merely as a great Muhammadan prince, but as a man to whom the faith and culture of Islam are sincerely dear. I have to-day had the pleasure of admiring for the second time the treasures of your famous library. Not only are you a distinguished patron of literature, art and music, but also, like your distinguished grandfather, an accomplished scholar and poet; and, as to-night's princely entertain-

ment of us all bears witness, you have the princely characteristic of generous and eager hospitality. As His Excellency the Viceroy well said a year ago, the arrangements which you make for the comfort of your guests have been marked by the personal touch of solicitude and interest which is the essence of true hospitality. In the name of all your guests, I thank Your Highness for a splendid entertainment.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health and happiness of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, our generous and illustrious host, and to the prosperity of his line and people.

MEMORIAL TO THE POLICEMEN MURDERED ON FEBRUARY 4, 1922, AT CHAURI CHAURA

February 6, 1924

MR. ASHDOWN AND OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE UNITED PROVINCES POLICE: AND GENTLEMEN OF THE RELIEF FUND COMMITTEE,—I speak to you under a heavy sense of responsibility. Anyone standing in my place to-day must realize that words uttered at Chauri Chaura will be read further afield. Two years ago—almost to a day—the name of this little known, this very peaceful-looking place suddenly became invested throughout India, indeed beyond India, with a hideous notoriety. As I recall the tragedy enacted here, I feel that it would be easy to make it the text of a political sermon, easy to emphasize in strong language the responsibility of those persons who, in the name of high-sounding causes, stirred up an ignorant and inflammable peasantry to deeds of barbarism. But I do not purpose to dwell on that aspect of the affair. There is no need, I think, for me to say to-day the things that it would have been my plain duty to say had I been speaking in 1922. You, gentlemen of the Relief Fund Committee, have, in your address, laid sufficient emphasis on the main lesson of the tragedy to make it unnecessary for me to do so. I trust that everybody, without exception, has sufficiently accepted that conclusion already. We are all surely wiser than we were. Chauri Chaura showed us all—as in a flash of lightning—what may happen if once the foundations of law and order are sufficiently loosened. For one bad moment it was as though the solid earth had opened under our feet, and we looked through into unimagined subterranean fires of passion and inhumanity. We suddenly realized what the condition of these fair provinces might be if such things occurred all over them. Let me remind you that within the memory of a few old men still living, the greater portion of the United Provinces —the province of Agra and the province of Oudh—actually saw what it meant to be without a government. That generation

looked upon anarchy revealed. It was not only the foreigner or the official who suffered. But once the forces of disorder were loosed, all the bad characters, all the broken men, all those who had private grudges to avenge, all those who felt strong enough and ruthless enough to do so, turned on the weak, and looted and tormented them. That is two generations ago, and still a few old people can remember it. I know we have had many blue books recording in complacent language—language natural to times of unsensational laborious effort—the material and moral progress gradually achieved since 1857. But it remains as true as ever it did that stability and security—abstract words which only mean that inoffensive men and women and children are allowed to live their lives in peace and happiness—depend essentially not on railways and telegraphs, colleges and hospitals, but on the minds and temper of men. That is the moral writ large by Chauri Chaura for all of us to read. It is a very easy thing to trouble the minds of the masses; but the reckless man who does so is playing with a mighty fire. For God's sake let us have no more of that in the United Provinces. In this respect let our name be our motto also. Whatever our political views, widely as we may differ as to methods of government, let us agree, let us be united in this, that no real lover of peaceful India can possibly wish to see her advance along such a bloodstained path as the one that was trodden in this place two years ago. At least, let this monument be a call to every man among us to withstand that.

I pass from the gloomy to the brighter side of the story. We are here this morning to commemorate the devotion of ordinary, modest, inconspicuous, brave men who tried to do their duty and gave their lives in the task. They were like many privates and non-commissioned officers in the great war. They found themselves in a position of great difficulty and danger, and they did not shrink from their duty. Their death is an example to their comrades, and it is right that we honour their memory. I am proud to come here to help to do it. I am proud also to hear that so much money has been raised by the people of the province for the immediate relief of the dependents of the murdered policemen, and to provide scholarships for their

children's education. I thank all those, non-official or official whose efforts have contributed to so good a cause.

The cenotaph which I am about to unveil bears a medallion on which appears the motto chosen by His Majesty the King-Emperor Edward VII for the inscription for the King's Police Medal which he instituted. The words are, 'To guard my people'. Those words fittingly express the prime duty of every police officer. They are the servants of the public, employed in the public interests to protect the lives and property of the public—their own countrymen. In some quarters there is a tendency to talk about the police as if they were an expensive and unnecessary excrescence on the natural body of the State. I hope it is not mere pedantry to remind such critics that the apparently dissimilar terms 'police' and 'politicians' are in origin and in essence one: that is to say, they equally go back to the ancient conception of a 'polity', a settled civic existence. But whereas the politician is a secondary product created by the polity, the police, as indeed their name shows, were thought of as identified with the very polity itself: the existence of a police force to ensure order was assumed to be an essential condition of all political life; a condition without which, as Chauri Chaura shows us, there would speedily be no politics and no politicians at all. In some countries this idea is quite well realized. In England the police are popular as the guardians of the public and protectors of the poor and oppressed. Whenever there is a special call upon the police people come forward readily and enrol themselves as special constables. In Australia, too, when there was a police strike, the man in the street rushed into the breach to take his place. I hope that we can see the beginnings of such a feeling in this country. You know how several of the northern districts expressed their gratitude to the police for delivering them from the long and bitter oppression of the Bhantu dacoits. I have been told also that many of the subscriptions paid by private individuals to the relief fund were really made a thank-offering for police protection afforded them at the time of the agrarian disturbances in 1921–22. This affords hope that in the not distant future the public in India will come to realize that the police are the natural protectors, not only in cases of oppres-

sion, but in the many difficulties which beset the daily life of the inhabitants of all countries.

There is one thing more that I feel bound to say. The news of this tragedy spread not only consternation, but very keen and very natural resentment throughout the ranks of the police in India. I call it most significant of the toleration and the sympathy of the police with the people that, in spite of the immense provocation received, neither in the country at large nor close by in Gorakhpur itself, has there been a single instance in which reprisals were taken by the police for the barbarities committed on this spot. Does not that speak well for the discipline and the temper of the force?

As future years go by, let us hope that this memorial will not only stand as an enduring testimony to those who lost their lives in the performance of their duty at the hands of a maddened mob, but that it will come to evoke astonishment in all who see it, that any body of Indians, however impelled, could have turned on a force whom all will then have learned to look upon as their trusted guardians and protectors. For when that happens, we can hail a growth of civic spirit, a sense of the overriding and imperative claims of the common weal, the dawnings of which we still discern only dimly to-day.

Now to the memory of brave men, and in the hope that their devotion to their country may inspire us all, I unveil this monument.

BANQUET AT BALRAMPUR

February 10, 1924

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have to give you one more toast —the health and happiness of the young Maharaja of Balrampur, in whose honour we are here assembled and whose hospitality we are enjoying.

Of the size and wealth of the Balrampur estate I need say little. Its area and population are equal to those of a district, and it is no exaggeration to say that to hundreds of thousands of people and to Government it is a matter of the highest importance that the Raj should prosper and be well administered. Kunwar Jasbir Singh has our good wishes in his onerous and responsible charge.

In the past the owners of this great estate have set a high standard. At a critical time Sir Digbijai Singh stood firm for the British Government against threats and inducements alike, and at a later stage in the history of this province he and Sir Man Singh, Maharaja of Ajodhya, represented the interests of the taluqdars in the long discussion which shaped the first revenue law of Oudh. The late Maharaja Bahadur, who was known to me for twenty-five years, was distinguished by his sincerity and generous liberality. He was known even longer and more intimately to my old friend, Mr. Burn, the Member of the Board of Revenue in charge of the Court of Wards, on whose great experience and kindly sympathy the Government will always rely in their dealings with Court of Wards estates. We both feel a strong personal interest in the welfare of this princely estate and of its young heir. Whatever we can do to prosper the estate and its tenantry and the moral upbringing of its future owner will be done. The rest lies beyond our hands. To-morrow's ceremony will mark another stage in the life of our host. In the hope that he may live to possess the high qualities of his ancestors and to add fresh lustre to the name of the Raj, I ask you to drink to the health, long life and happiness of the minor Maharaja of Balrampur.

BAR ASSOCIATION, BULANDSHAHR

GENTLEMEN OF THE BULANDSHAHR BAR ASSOCIATION,—I am greatly pleased to come here to-day for the formal opening of your new court. I congratulate you on having your long-cherished desire for a separate judgeship here brought to complete fruition in the equipment of your district with a fine and commodious civil court—a building which reflects great credit both on its designer and those who executed the work. It was in truth no very easy matter for Government to provide the three and a quarter lakhs which the project has cost, and I value your words of appreciation that we made a special effort to do so.

February 12, 1924

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As you probably know, I am not a lawyer and I have also to confess that I have never been a judge. So that it would be an extravagance on my part to attempt to speak to you on your own peculiar topics. But this I may say, that in these days, when nothing on the executive side of government is immune from scrutiny and overhauling, it is of interest to a mere executive officer to observe that investigation and inquiry are approaching even the sacred precincts of the law. One committee is sitting to determine whether the organization of your profession is as perfect as it should be; and another committee, more adventurous still, is about to explore the field which I think Hamlet for the first time called by the dark name of 'the law's delay'. Suicide, if you remember, was the only means of escape from it which Hamlet could envisage. But we will hope that Mr. Justice Rankin's Committee may find a less drastic solution.

To speak seriously, gentlemen, I hope you agree with me that the interests of the Government and the judiciary are essentially one. We are all servants of the public; we all desire to do our duty and to promote the happiness of the people. Here in Bulandshahr there are special reasons why your standards should be kept high. It is an area of great wealth and prosperity—with what I

may call a high capacity for civil litigation. The population also are relatively skilled in knowledge of their rights. I remember it being said to me years ago that 'even the Chamars know the law'. And, secondly, it is an area in which serious crime may at any time be heavy, for which reason the sword of Justice should be kept as polished as her scales. I am sure that the Bench and Bar of this relatively young judgeship will feel it a point of honour with them to win it a high place among the judicial centres of the province.

CO-OPERATIVE BANK, DEHRA DUN

March 7, 1924

GENTLEMEN,—I am very glad to come here and do what I can to help a good cause like this, which after two previous setbacks seems at last on the fair way to success.

Whoever drafted your address is a whole-hearted believer in the potency of the co-operative movement for good. I am sure that that is the right creed. The difficulties in the way of arousing the villager to a greater belief in himself and in the possibilities of his development are apparent. The pioneer co-operator is confronted by a great deal of ignorance, indifference and conservatism hard to overcome. It is wise, therefore, to go into action with a fine confidence that success is well worth the effort. I agree with a leading article which appeared opportunely enough in the *Pioneer* to-day. We give too narrow an aim to the movement if we regard it as seeking merely to provide cheaper credit for the agriculturist, and to rescue him from the toils of the usurer, who is often the cause of so such misery and economic distress. Let me read to you the wider view which the Registrar of the Co-operative Movement in the Punjab takes of his duties. Mr. Calvert states that the object which he and his colleagues have in view is the examination of the whole economic structure of the province, the study of the defects retarding economic progress and the discovery of factors which contribute to the comparatively low standard of prosperity. Having made these investigations, the aim is to devise schemes of rectification and amelioration. Thus: 'The mere reduction of indebtedness and the provision of cheap credit are not our objects; what we do aim at is the provision of sound, well-controlled credit for productive purposes, and the replacement of unproductive debt by productive borrowing. We would gladly see the debt of every co-operator doubled if the capital were invested in a source of profit and benefit to the borrower; cheap credit is only important inasmuch as many possible investments, such as in wells, land improvements, redemption of mortgages and the like, are only productive if the necessary capital can be obtained at a low rate

of interest.' Personally, I believe this to be a true saying. In short, the successful economic reconstruction of the province can be most surely secured by co-operation, and the co-operation will not be all of one pattern: the causes of poverty are varied, the measures taken to cope with it must vary in their design if they are to succeed. That is why there are many types of co-operative effort, from the central banks and the primary societies downwards. One such link in the chain is being forged to-day by the institution of this district bank which I am about to open. I trust that its inauguration will give a great impetus to the movement and that the gain which you, gentlemen, hope for not only to the income, but also to the character and capacity of the people of the Dehra Dun district, will be liberally attained.

The Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Sheikh Maqbúl Husain Sahib, is, I am glad to see, here to-day. He will be ready to afford you any technical advice that you may need and his experience may suggest. I will not attempt to deal to-day with technicalities. I will only emphasize one fact—that the movement is primarily a rural one. It may have its counterparts in the shape of urban societies and labour unions, for the same impulse can take many forms. But we are met together to-day primarily in the interests of the villager, the tiller of the soil, the man who, as you say justly, produces most of the wealth and the man-power of India. We have to work for him, and through him. I put it to you that if we are to succeed, earnest and sustained voluntary effort on the part of non-official workers is necessary. We want to see these societies run by the villagers themselves under the eyes of those who are naturally in touch with them and understand their needs. I see that the Punjab makes a point of it that the staff of the Co-operative department itself are drawn almost entirely from the cultivating classes, 'so that they are regarded not as officials, but as friends as they move about the countryside'. There seems to me force in that observation, and I will ask the Minister in charge of Agriculture to give me his views upon the matter. But what I ask you all to bear in mind is the great extent to which your assistance, the assistance of non-official gentlemen interested in

the land and the cultivation, can promote the good cause. I am very glad to learn from Mr. Ross that such willing assistance has been forthcoming.

LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

MR. WEIR, MISS CHICK, GOVERNORS OF LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE AND STAFF AND STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE,—

March 12, 1924

Rather more than a year ago I came here and spoke to you. From the point of view of the province, I am very glad to think that we can look back on the time that has passed since then without dissatisfaction. In times when money is short we cannot expect resounding achievements; we may well be content with the fact that we have escaped misfortune and had a period of tranquillity to allow of a certain amount of normal growth taking place. I gather that this College also has had a similar experience. You have had an uneventful year except for the floods, but there is every reason to believe that both your schools and scholars alike have gone on in steady growth.

I am glad to hear that the enrolment at the Boys' Martinière is satisfactory, and that the College has now been recognized up to the Intermediate examination. Your Cambridge examination results might have been better. The autumn floods afforded a striking test of the capacity of staff and students to rise to a very disagreeable if not actually a dangerous emergency, and I congratulate both on the spirit in which it was encountered. The difficulty in obtaining employment for the lads leaving school reflects, I fear, the existing depression in trade. It is, I realize, a very serious difficulty. There are, however, some hopes of a revival in business which may make it easier to find openings; and every boy who goes out from here with the Martinière stamp upon him and makes good does something to help his fellows to do the same.

I will not comment in detail on the report of the Lady Principal, beyond saying that if the pressure of the accommodation at the Girls' School is causing difficulty, it is at least matter for satisfaction that this proceeds from a record enrolment. The governors, I am sure, are giving the question their best consideration.

LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

I have had occasion to pay various informal visits to La Martinière during this cold weather, in company with His Excellency the Viceroy and other distinguished guests. I think that nearly all of them have been impressed by the same two outstanding facts. The first is that you boys of La Martinière are fortunate in your inheritance of this stately building, on which has been so strongly imprinted the character of its remarkable founder. Not only do you have before you in this massive pile an expression of General Claude Martin's indomitable energy and his grand manner, but in the ornament which he lavished upon its interior you have a wealth of delicate Italian decoration, refreshingly rare in the east, which must be of great value in training your eyes to appreciation, even if unconscious, of beauty in colour and design. The other circumstance in my mind is that fifty boys of this College were privileged sixty-seven years ago to take part in the immortal defence of the Residency, where they played their part like men, and have in so doing bequeathed to this College the legacy of an imperishable tradition of discipline and courage. One of the last survivors of them was buried a year ago in the Residency cemetery. How great the value of that tradition must be to a school like this even the most unimaginative of men must see.

It is no easy task, as you must realize, for an older man to find anything fresh to say to those who are still at school. His instinct is to go back to the time when he himself listened to such addresses with something like a feeling of impatience; and he wonders if the gap between speaker and audience of which he was conscious then may not have widened since, now that he finds himself on the other side of it. But he comes back inevitably, I think, to the old truths, which he remembers as addressed to him a generation ago, and feels that their importance must excuse their lack of novelty.

School remains, and always will remain, a preparation for the work of life. Your problems, your struggles, your successes and defeats are a rehearsal and a training for bigger things to come. The more you learn of concentration, of combination for the general good, of self-subordination, of generosity to a competitor, of modesty in victory and of self-control in defeat, the more will

these qualities help you when you encounter similar things on the larger scale. No one looking at the life of India with clear eyes can doubt that before many of you lads going out into the world there lies a period of probation and trial. I am confident that you have a most valuable, a much-needed, part to play in India's life, but more and more as the days pass will you find that you are required to make good on your own merits, and less and less allowed to stand upon any memories or privileges derived from the past. Therefore, to you who have still some school life before you, I say, Make the very best of it—lay up those habits and qualities of which I have spoken, for they will serve you well in the days to come. And those of you who are leaving now I congratulate on having had their time here. I am sure that hereafter they will always be grateful to and proud of the Martinière, and by their character and work will give the Martinière reason to be proud of them.

INAUGURAL DINNER, UNITED CLUB, ALLAHABAD

April 5, 1924

GENTLEMEN,—We are present to-night at the interesting but uncommon spectacle of a phœnix rising from its ashes. The United Club, which we are inaugurating, has had previous incarnations. It began life as a Students' Club in Stanley Road, and that good friend and well-wisher of Indian students, Mr. Selwyn Fremantle, was active in supporting it. Then your President of to-night, Mr. Justice Walsh, came on the scene and lent it a kindly hand. I understand that the Students' Club became in turn the Olympic Club and devoted itself to games; until, as its members grew to rotunder manhood and the lack of good premises kept slimmer recruits away, its members ceased to be sufficient to support it.

But there were those who felt that it was worth while making a resolute effort to save an institution which ought to be of real value; and the result of their endeavours is the present United Club. You start with good premises and fair equipment; a wide basis of membership, and the normal healthy aims of an association for recreation. What are the other elements of success? From what I know of clubs, I should be inclined to suggest to you that the health of a club depends partly on having a broad range of membership, and partly on the intensity with which its members feel a common purpose. From my own experience, I know that it is quite possible to err in either direction. I know of clubs which in their want of character and cohesion are nothing but hotels; and of other clubs which cultivate a particular atmosphere so exclusively that the guest entering their portals is made to feel like a pariah dog. But a good club ought to be like a university—representative of many interests and enabling its members to learn from one another. I take your name for a good omen. Union implies much: whether it is a case of the United Kingdom, or the United States, or the United Provinces. These are all cases of constituent elements jealous in some

measure (jealous, perhaps in no small measure as we in Allahabad know) of their own identity, and yet agreeing partly to sink their identity in a greater whole. So may it be with the United Club. Whatever your constituent elements be—age or youth, East or West, official or non-official, lawyer or layman—if your members can feel when they are in the club that they have to bear themselves mainly for the sake of the club, then your success is assured. Club life consists in giving and taking. The good clubman brings some store of his own experiences, manners, habits of thought into the common stock, and he takes away in return something from his fellows. It is a truism to say that a successful club of this kind can play a great part in enriching and ameliorating the life of the capital. It is almost a truism to add that the value of the work consists mainly in the difficulty of it. But it seems to me that this venture of yours is full of promise. As I look around me I see that the material is here. You have a good house. From my previous personal acquaintance with this particular bungalow, I have reason to affirm that an air of friendliness and cheerfulness ought to brood over it. And yet it may be that for full and ripest development you will need your own premises; and I commend that suggestion to those who have the disposition and means to pursue it. The management is in good hands. Let unity, cohesion, be your motto; let the name of the club be an inhibition of cliques or schisms inside its doors; and if you will listen to one who has himself served on committees and in office in no despicable club, you will be wise to make your members comfortable. For the true clubman is not only a gregarious, but a somewhat luxurious animal, and comfortable chairs, good books, good papers, good pictures and neatly kept grounds, clean servants and above all, out of consideration for your President, unwarped billiard cues—these are all factors not to be neglected in making a club a success.

Now I give you in all confidence the toast, 'Prosperity to the United Club!'

CROSTHWAITE GIRLS' SCHOOL AND COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

MR. JASWANT RAI, MRS. NAIK, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

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There are indications, both in the review which the honorary secretary has read to us, and in the departmental reports, that, in spite of its continued progress to higher levels, the college has gone through a period of difficulty. **April 5, 1924** There has been a falling off in the number of students in the intermediate college, and consequently in the number of boarders. The committee no doubt are alive to such matters. I am well aware that the college is a pioneer institution; and that, until the belief in female education is of stronger growth than it is at present in the United Provinces, it may be unwise to attempt to force the pace too much. Irregularity and unpunctuality of attendance is an inevitable difficulty, which nevertheless should be resisted as far as possible. Again, while you have a large staff of teachers—ample, I should say, for the number of students—I notice that the work in the lower classes is described as weak. Here, again, I would ask the committee to bear in mind the importance of laying a good foundation. I believe it to be often a true economy to entrust the teaching of the younger classes to the most capable instead of to the least trained hands. And I am sure that, in the true interests of the higher classes, the tendency to promote children who are not really fit to pass on should be withstood.

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The honorary secretary has touched upon the importance of the cause which this college represents; and on the tangible difficulties in its way. There is no easy way out of these. The only thing is to go on keeping up the pressure to the right point; and trusting that demonstrable results will arouse conviction. I am sure that there is no problem of greater importance to the happiness of India and her people.

CROSTHWAITE GIRLS' SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

I now turn to the delicate task of offering a few words of advice to the students who will soon be leaving this college. I would say to them that they will soon be charged with the important and difficult duty of maintaining race traditions and family customs. It will largely depend on them whether the coming together of Eastern traditions and Western ways, such as occurs in a college like this, is to prove a source of national strength and advancement, or whether it is to tend towards the evanescence of many cherished and valuable traits in Indian womanhood. There is no reason why that should happen if staff and students realize that the true end of education is the making of character. There are plenty of living examples of educated Indian ladies to show that it need not happen. But those who are going out from here in the near future will be watched with a critical eye, and on their success or failure will depend largely the popularity or the decay of institutions for the higher education of Indian women.

SRI BHARAT DHARAM MAHAMANDAL, BENARES

GENTLEMEN OF THE SRI BHARAT DHARAM MAHAMANDAL,—

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August 8, 1924

You touch at the end of your address on the economic side of cattle preservation. If I deal with this subject in some detail, it is because I know how great is your interest in it and also because I want to impress upon you the interest which my Government take in a matter so closely affecting the well-being of an agricultural province. I will take first the suggestion that the number of cattle is declining. It is quite easy to account for that impression, because the destruction of cattle is a process that strikes the imagination more than the normal and diffused process of their reproduction. But the facts were stated in the legislature last October and they do not support the common belief. We found that the number of bulls and bullocks in the provinces had increased by 43,000 between 1899 and 1920, that the number of cows had increased in the same period by 51,000, that male buffaloes and cow buffaloes had similarly increased by 55,000 and by 475,000 respectively. Again, young stock, in which term calves and buffalo calves are included, increased by no less than 685,000. It is perfectly true that during the war there was some definite cause for anxiety on this question, but by 1920, as you will see, the position was entirely favourable, whilst the great increase in the number of young stock holds out great promise for the near future. We do not claim of course that the figures are correct to the last unit; but we do believe that they are so nearly correct as to present the general situation accurately. Another cattle census is due next year: and its results will, I hope, further dissipate your fears.

GAYA PRASAD LIBRARY, CAWNPORE

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE GAYA PRASAD LIBRARY, CAWNPORE,—

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August 12, 1924

I remember hearing Lord Meston in an eloquent address delivered at the opening of the King Edward Memorial Hall congratulating the citizens of Cawnpore on the fact that, having like the people of Venice grown rich in commerce, they were wisely devoting some of their wealth to the purposes of culture and adornment. His words are in my mind to-day. It is surely of great importance for the advancement of general culture that public libraries should be established in important centres of population in this province. Good libraries are natural fountains of culture; they are the distributing centres of great thoughts.

We need more than ever before in this country alert and well-informed minds capable of forming sound judgments on the problems of the day, minds which do not take on trust easy and ready-made solutions. There is a danger at present of a monotony of thought—of only one idea holding the field, through the lack of opportunity and the neglect of the habit of consulting good books to see how the same problem has presented itself to different minds at different times. Familiarity with the experience of other times and places, and with the comments of critical and reflective minds upon them is of great help in forming sound opinions upon events. A library is one of the best means in our modern world of keeping thought vigorous and active, through unfettered commerce with the best minds of all the ages.

It is only in the fitness of things that in this great commercial centre, where its citizens have to lead such strenuous lives, there should be some place to which they can turn, after the wear and tear of the day, to spend a leisured hour in the company of good books. But I would say a word of warning against the danger of false books. A multitude of mean writings can do infinite

harm. You must exercise a wise discretion in the choice of books. I am glad to hear that there will be a representative library committee and that you propose to start with a fair nucleus of books. I note that you lay stress on the intention of making this a place of study. I hope that Reynolds and Harrison Ainsworth will not prove to be the most sought-after authors as sometimes happens in libraries in these provinces. The people of a place like Cawnpore ought to absorb a better mental pabulum than that. I trust that the public-spirited citizens of Cawnpore will contribute to make this library worthy of this city and worthy of the great citizen whose name it bears.

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PROVINCIAL MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, AGRA

August 14, 1924

NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD MUZAMMIL-ULLAH KHAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I realize that your object in meeting me to-day is to lay before me for consideration by my Government in a complete and considered form your views, the views of a representative body like the provincial conference, in regard to the educational needs of the Musalman community.

The memorandum accompanying your address certainly embraces in its thirty-four pages a wide field of educational policy and administrative practice, if indeed it does not go further still: it reached me not many days ago; at a time when the Minister for Education, the Director of Public Instruction and I myself were all on tour. I say this, not of course by way of complaint, but simply to explain why you must not expect me to give an answer to-day to all the large and difficult issues which your memorandum raises.

I gladly avail myself however of this opportunity of assuring you of my interest in the advancement of education, a cause whose progress, as some of you know, I have ere now had an opportunity of observing among the Musalmans at close quarters. Your community has played a notable part in the history of this country. They are the inheritors of a great civilization and of a memorable culture. No one can quarrel with you if you aspire to take in the government of this country a part worthy of your past. You realize fully now that to keep abreast of other communities you must seize every opportunity for advancing the cause of education among your people. But it required great effort, infinite patience and power of persuasion before that great statesman and pioneer of education among you, the late Sir Syed Ahmad, was able to induce your community to take kindly to Western learning. He had to face much opposition and misrepresentation—the common fate of all great reformers—before

he could make his views prevail. Yet all through the struggle his faith never faltered. His memory no doubt is an inspiration to you and will help you to overcome difficulty and doubt and to pursue a great ideal with courage and self-reliance.

It may be that recent political distractions have diverted the attention of some Indian Muslims from the pressing educational needs of your community; but now that you are free to devote your energies to domestic affairs you will be able more and more to make your voice and influence felt in the Legislative Council. But you must do whatever you can to keep the great cause of Muslim education off the eddies of communal and religious controversy. I am sure that in pressing your claims you will have due regard to the legitimate interests of other communities. No reasonable man can cavil at claims put forward in such a spirit.

It is essential for the peaceful and orderly development of this province that its two great communities should appreciate each other's point of view and should endeavour to remove all legitimate causes of mutual suspicion and misgiving. Ignorance is a fruitful source of misunderstanding; and I trust that the provision of fair educational facilities for all communities will lead to a better understanding among them and to a unity of effort and aim in the advancement of the true interests of this country.

Now, although I cannot enter into detailed discussion of your proposals, I will tell you generally the view which I am personally disposed to take of them. You will remember that I speak for myself alone, and not as the Governor acting with his Minister at the present stage. You ask that you may be especially given a helping hand at every stage of education, from the spelling classes of the primary school right up to the university; you desire special representation in all the various kinds of staffs and committees and governing bodies which contribute to the control of education; you ask for a special allotment of public grants, and for special authorities to administer them in a way which comes near to setting up a sort of communal diarchy in local bodies. It is clear that what you seek is a rigid protection for your minority community at every stage of education. You are disposed to claim that the measure of the necessary protection to be afforded to minorities should be decided by the minorities themselves.

In respect of some of the proposals by which you seek to translate these propositions into practice, I hope we shall be able to meet your wishes. Speaking for myself I should admit the proposition that a backward community has a claim to special consideration. In your case I hope that the position is not quite so serious as you describe it. The last educational report shows that the department is paying close attention to the question. I was glad to hear the acknowledgment in your address that Government have also shown you consideration. I see also that in university and intermediate colleges nineteen per cent of the total number of students are Muslim; while in schools in general the percentage is sixteen. I am far from saying that you should rest content with these figures. They do not indeed compare badly with the proportion of Muslims in the provincial population. But I admit that there is force in the argument that Muslims are urban dwellers in larger proportion than some other peoples. I would put it that though there may be ample room for further effort there is no ground for despair.

On the other hand I cannot myself subscribe to the proposition that it is for a minority community to determine the terms which it will accept. That is an argument which I have often encountered before. If it is applicable to one minority community it is applicable to others; and we should soon arrive at the absurdity of having to invent protection for the majority community. In dealing with this question I am conscious that what you have written and what I am saying applies to a much wider field than that of education. But I can only say that to me your proposition that the minorities should decide seems quite incompatible with the democratic ideal. I cannot think that its implications have been fully realized; and I would suggest that you consider further whether adherence to what you are here advocating does not really involve a reconsideration of your attitude towards the attempt to find a democratic solution for this country's problems.

I note that you refer to a certain clause in the Governor's Instrument of Instructions; but I would not have you interpret that as constraining the Governor to adopt your proposals. The Instrument has to be read as a whole and in the light of the existing constitution, by which education is a transferred subject and its

administration is in the long run controlled by the legislature. So long as we all subscribe to the existing constitution the measure of the concession to be granted in any one quarter must be determined in the main through the ordinary processes of government. That is to say we have all to remember that whatever is given to a special community is necessarily withheld from all others; and it is only by discussion between all parties, and a decision by assent, that a stable settlement can be attained. It is on this basis that my constitutional advisers and I myself will approach the complex questions which have been presented to us. And it will be for you, gentlemen, not to rest content with this representation which you have made to me. Personally I feel sure that we shall examine your requests with a real understanding and sympathy with your difficulties and apprehensions. But, even if we were able to take precisely the same view of your needs as you yourselves do—and frankly I doubt whether we should do that—we still have to play the game of administration according to the rules prescribed for us, and according to those rules you have others to persuade besides ourselves. It is for you to do what you can to get your views accepted by discussion and argument and advocacy in the Legislative Council.

Gentlemen, I wish to thank you again for your kind references to me and to assure you of my solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of your community, with which ere now I have had close associations and among which I am glad to reckon many old friends.

DISTRICT BOARD, JHANSI

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE DISTRICT BOARD OF JHANSI,—

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Your address embodies a desire for complete emancipation from all other authority in the sphere of local self-government. That such an aspiration is in accord with the spirit of the times I readily acknowledge. But in your address it is expressed in eloquent terms which lead me to wonder whether in your desire to be completely independent you have paused sufficiently to realize what that actually implies. In the first place, you are dependent for nearly fifty-eight per cent of your income on Government grants: and for another twenty-one per cent on money collected for you by Government. You actually collect for yourselves only twenty-one per cent of the money which you spend. Upon this ground alone the demand that you should be relieved of any sort of control strikes me as premature.

November 2, 1924

Nor do I think that you have considered how profoundly the question of external control was affected by the reforms of 1919. When the distinguished authors of the Reforms Report spoke of 'external control', I have no doubt that they were principally thinking of external control as it then existed, the control exercised by the district officer and the divisional commissioner. They would have been the first to recognize that when the subject 'local self-government' was placed under a Minister responsible to the Legislative Council the question of the extent to which local boards were to be independent assumed quite a different aspect. So long as local bodies are dependent on grants from provincial funds they must recognize the right of the provincial Council to give and to withhold; and the Minister must be in a position to assure the Council that the boards are making a wise use of their money, and also that they are doing their best to discharge the duties which the legislature has

assigned to them. It is not a question of diminishing the degree of popular control; but only of apportioning that control duly between the proper repositories. My conception of the right relation between boards and the provincial legislature is rather different from what I judge yours to be. I see the legislature and the boards not as antagonistic entities, but as co-operating parts of one administrative whole, the legislature being the senior partner and having an undoubted right to overlook the junior partner. So far from wishing to see the powers of the Minister and the legislature diminished in relation to the boards, I incline to think that the reformed constitution logically requires a closer approximation to, and not a further deviation from, English practice, according to which the powers of control exercised by the responsible Minister are in many ways more extensive than they are in the United Provinces—and are also actually more strict.

To pass, however, from questions of constitutional theory to more immediate concerns, I congratulate you heartily upon your success in balancing your budget, a feat which must obviously be the first aim of every sound administration and one which many other boards have found it difficult to achieve. But you feel that your financial difficulties press on you as heavily as ever, in the sense that you have so many schemes which you consider desirable but which you have not the funds to execute. Well, that is the position of every live and energetic district board in the province, and more or less, I hope, of every administration in the world. You know the poet says that

> *Ay, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,*
> Or what's a heaven for?

We are anxious to help district boards to the full extent of our power, but our capacity to do so has for the time being been seriously affected by the recent devastating floods on the Jumna and Ganges, and as regards most of your schemes I fear that the choice before you is limited to two plain alternatives, either definitely to forgo your schemes as beyond your capacity, or else to make use of your unused powers of new taxation. I know that this is a hard saying and that taxation is unpopular. Government themselves know that from actual experience.

Nonetheless other district boards are girding themselves up to the task; and I know of no reasons why the Jhansi board should be less courageous than they.

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You have taken over the district board roads hitherto maintained by the Public Works department. This will give the board a chance of showing how efficiently and economically it can maintain them. You express the opinion that district boards should be empowered to impose a wheel tax. This idea is very much abroad at present. I believe it is sound enough in theory, but there are practical difficulties. Motor vehicles would be easy to tax, but would bring in very little. Bullock carts are potentially a more fruitful source of income, but the trouble is to find a practicable method of taxing them which would not be oppressive or lead to evasion. If any workable scheme can be devised you will certainly have the benefit of it. I think we must not relax our efforts to find a solution. You adopt the current view and blame motor lorries for the deterioration of your roads. The motor lorry is a convenient scapegoat, but some of my advisers hold that except in places where lorry traffic is really dense it is at most only a slight aggravation of a more deeply seated trouble. The same amount of material and labour is not being put into district board roads as of yore, while the cart traffic is as heavy as ever, perhaps heavier. If every mile of metalled road had as much metal and labour put into it as formerly, less would be heard of the ravages of the occasional motor lorry.

Your remarks about enquiries being made by the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals seem to rest on some misconception. He certainly has made some inquiries, but not with the idea of obtaining private subscriptions for opening more dispensaries but upon a matter which concerns you only indirectly. In Madras they have a plan which seems to be successful there and under which young medical men are encouraged to settle in important rural centres by the grant from Government of small temporary allowances to tide them over the first year or two while they are working up a practice. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals

has been attempting to discover whether a similar scheme would have any chance of success in this province.

The Minister is summoning a conference of district boards at an early date to consider various important questions of common interest to them all. I hope that the District Board, Jhansi, will send its representatives. The Government are anxious to know more about the views and difficulties of district boards. Just as the boards do, they desire heartily to see the country traversed by a complete network of *pakka*, well-bridged roads; and education and medical relief brought within the means of the poorest and most remote dwellers. That may be an ideal which neither you nor I will live to see fully attained. But at least it is worth striving for; and every board which lays aside personal, party or political strife between its members and sets itself earnestly to find the means of promoting the welfare of its district is doing good work for which the country should be grateful.

CONVOCATION, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

December 15, 1924

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—There are many audiences which I should find it easier to address than this one. The Chancellor of a University, who is also Governor of a province, risks falling between two stools. If he speaks as Governor upon university education as it affects the life of the province, not only does he step out of the robes appropriate to the occasion, but also he is likely to incur some suspicion of trying to use his official position to deflect the course of a self-governing institution. On the other hand for me to address you as Chancellor at any great length on the work of your particular university seems to me something superfluous in view of the able review of it which your Vice-Chancellor, whom I am glad to welcome back reinvigorated from his journey to Europe, gave us a few months back.

Convocation speeches often deal with the ideals of the true university. On these lines it was that you were addressed at last convocation by that lover and champion of university education, that veteran and outstanding leader, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, whose untimely death all India since deplores. I hope that I also am an idealist; but I feel a kind of diffidence about putting into words visions which reason tells me are not soon nor easily to be fulfilled. Do not mistake this admission. It is surely good to see visions. 'Where there is no vision the people perish.' And there are times when it is right and wise to nurse and foster the vision, because by so doing you actually further its fulfilment. We were passing through such a time but a very short while ago when my great-hearted predecessor founded this university. He loved nothing better than to think of Lucknow as the Oxford of the East: to see this city, that was so dear to him, the home of a great seat of learning and culture: a city enriched with fresh colleges and halls standing about spacious courts on either side of the river, and linked together by a stately university bridge: a place which should allure the best youth of thirteen millions of

people, and invest them with a common culture and the serenity which comes with wisdom. All honour to Sir Harcourt Butler for his generous inspiration and the lead he gave us! Let us hold fast to the one, and follow the other. I know that this audience will be glad to hear that Sir Harcourt has accepted a proposal which I made to him; in pursuance whereof, I, acting as Chancellor, in virtue of the powers conferred on me by section 16 of the Act, hereby appoint him, in recognition of his great services to the cause of education, a Life Member of the Court of the Lucknow University.

But there are also times when we best pursue the gleam by looking closely to the ground under our very feet. I think that such a time is on us now. We have emerged from a period of crisis and new adventures and are beginning to realize that we have still some way to go. Money is short, though that is perhaps the least of our difficulties. Old prejudices and old errors die hard; and even education, with its sword of enlightenment, cannot instantaneously dispose of all the wild beasts that infest the pilgrim's path. It is a time for patience and organization and consolidation, for reviewing steps already taken in the light of experience so far gained, for listening to criticisms and determining whether they have substance, and for deciding whether there is anything that can be bettered within the limits of your financial resources. Such, I am assured, is the policy which the directors of this university have been pursuing. Of that I will say only that I am confident that for the present moment it is the sound policy in university as in other matters, and that courageously and perseveringly pursued it will eventually lead us to the dawn.

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So much, gentlemen, for what I have to say as Chancellor. But when I was at college, Convocation Day was above all Students' Day; and it is to the undergraduate students—not to those who have to-day received their coveted diplomas—that I am going to address most of what I have to say. They are, after all, the most important part of the university—those members of it who have still to win, and, also what is much harder, thereafter to wear worthily, the graduate's hood.

CONVOCATION, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

I want, if I can, to speak directly to the students as a student myself—not merely as one to whom it was of crucial importance, as it is to many of you, to pass his examinations rapidly under the necessity of earning a living: but as one who hopes to his dying day to retain some interest in new things, some desire to enlarge the borders of his knowledge, and some prejudices as to the most hopeful ways of doing so. For it is generally agreed that there are right ways and wrong ways of study. But though I may hope that I have occasionally found the right way after experience of the wrong, yet you will remember that I speak as a mere empiric; and if anything I say clashes with what your professional and lawfully-constituted advisers have told you, then I hope that you will forget my words as those of the untrained amateur.

What leads most surely at all to knowledge is perhaps something that is a gift of the gods. It is none other than the passion for knowledge. The true student is not merely a learner; he is not merely (though always he ought to be also) a disciple: essentially he is the pursuer, the one who desires; the real *tálib-'ilm*, the seeker after knowledge. Examinations, scholarships, degrees, and the income to which a degree may lead are really all incidentals: we cannot ignore them and at times they are dreadfully importunate; but yet the true student is he who, finding himself face to face with the mystery and richness of humanity, sets himself down to the heroic task of acquiring as much understanding of it as is possible in the span of human life with the mind and senses with which he is equipped and which he intends to train by the way. It is the hunger and thirst after knowledge—for her own sake, because of the charm and beauty of her—that makes the true student. The true student must be a true lover.

Such a one I can imagine, indeed I have known—sitting down as, for instance, Herbert Spencer does—to plan out the entire field of human knowledge as in a chart, and then to decide how and in what order he will explore the whole of it. He draws out the sciences in their relation to each other as in a genealogical tree, and he cons it over. While that high spirit of adventure holds him, he feels equally drawn to beauty and achievement whenever

he may encounter it—in the philosophy of the sages, the music of the poets or the drama of history, in the mysteries of the atom or in Einstein's theory; the grace of handiwork in some marvellous refinement of the natural kingdom, or the analogous beauty of some curve or series in pure mathematics. They all appeal to him, my ideal student. He gasps at the richness of the intellectual feast before him; and he sighs to think that life is all too short to conquer all these worlds, and that as a practical man he must begin to discriminate, to choose the main object of pursuit, even if he still makes others a recreation.

So he comes face to face with the question of an aim; and he will find the answer according to the bent he is born with, or some external impulse that is dominant with him. Each must decide the question for himself. With any answer that I may suggest others will disagree; and yet, putting myself in the ideal student's place, I would answer the question by saying, in the first place, 'The proper study of mankind is man', even if one disagrees with Pope's assertion that the range of study should be confined even to that immense target.

Not for a moment do I imply that the knowledge of one's kind is best attained along any particular line or set of lines. The astronomer, the mathematician, the bacteriologist, the physicist, the biologist, the engineer—there have been living examples of them all to prove that each of these callings may make a man as humane, as broad-minded, as tolerant, as brotherly a human being as any other course of study. But no one need shrink from affirming his own private convictions, and to me it seems that on the whole it is the course of human events and human capacity and character, as disclosed to us in literature and history, in economics, law, political science, and moral philosophy, that fits and trains a man most immediately to play his part in life as a citizen. In saying this I know that I am up against the critics, who assert, and assert with cause, that the bane of higher study in India has been its fanatical dedication to the 'humaner letters'. But there is no inconsistency in recognizing a difference of utilitarian and theoretic values. For the moment I speak as a theorist. I hold that the greatest service that education can possibly do to India is to make her sons good citizens. I

acknowledge the immense value of the training which science can contribute. Further, I concede the clear need for scientific and practical training to correct other tendencies. And yet if I stood here, one generation younger, in the place of one of you Indian undergraduates before me, desiring to play a part in the advancement of my country, and if practical considerations left me free to choose, I should, rightly or wrongly, prefer to pursue those paths of study which would tell me how other peoples passed through the travail of nation-making, and I should endeavour, in the language of the Psalmist, 'therefrom to suck out no small advantage'.

This is a digression. I was aiming at the proposition that the student should choose his sphere and choose considerately. Let him resolve to explore a specific field, and let him approach it in the right order, choosing his subjects so that each forms the right introduction to, the right basis for, the next. Such collocations of subjects for a degree as English-Persian-Chemistry, or English-Economics-Zoology, which used to be possible once under bad old academic regulations—though I am glad to know that they are possible no longer—were almost a denial of the cause of education. The men who adopted these ingenious combinations may very likely have found the easiest path to a degree; but they certainly did not get far along the road to an education.

Let us think of the qualities which we want to find in our citizens of the future, and consider what methods of study are likely to evoke them. India aspires to be a full member of the community of nations, respected by all the others not for her past memories, but for her present capacity and culture. But this is a competitive age, and there is little sentiment in international affairs. The men who are to sustain this country's reputation in the eyes of the world must be practical, cultured, exact, decisive people, knowing precisely what they think and why they think it.

I suggest that orderliness should be the first aim of our ideal student. Sometimes, as in logic or mathematics or Arabic, order is imposed upon him. Sometimes he has to find it for himself. In many subjects—whether it is constitutional history, or English literature, or a play of Shakespeare—there are certain salient

points which can be seized and occupied at the outset. The beginnings of Parliament, the destruction of the old nobles, the restoration of personal rule and its downfall under the Stuarts, the rule of aristocracy under the guise of Parliament, the Reform Bill and the broadening of democracy—these are the turning points of English history along one line: just as her severance from France, her disowning of the Papacy, her taking to the sea, her founding overseas dominions, her resistance to the domination of Europe by any single Power, her break with America, are the main points along another line.

Take, again, the story of the greatest war in history—what are the essential points for the student to make sure of? I suppose they are the invasion of Belgium, the battle of the Marne, the locking of the western lines, the battle of Jutland, the submarine campaign, and the entry of America. These I put first, not because they tell the whole story, but because they seem to me to lead most directly, unerringly, to the finale, more directly (though here I am on debated ground) than even the immense events in Russia, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia.

Or take a much homelier case: the common case of the non-mechanically minded man who becomes owner of a motor-car. Anxious to understand its working, he peers inside, and sees a mass of contorted metal viscera, black, oily and repellent. If he investigates them haphazard I am sorry for him. But suppose he says to himself, 'There must be method in this madness. This beast must have not merely a bony framework, but also an alimentary canal, a muscular system, a nervous system; why, it has even eyes and voice', then he is on his way to come much quicker to an understanding of the petrol-feed, the ignition, the engine, the transmission, the controls, the lighting and the electric horn.

What I have been saying about the taking of things in the right order is only one form of the doctrine of economy of effort. As you know, in American workshops this has been exalted to a science. Lecturers instruct workmen how to perform each movement of hand or foot with a view to the conservation of muscular energy. The trained athlete also knows something of the art. It is much the same in reading. Cultivate the habit of looking

for the essentials first, because that is the economic method of study.

Once get the main props of the building fixed firm and in the right relation, and it is easy to fill in the interspaces. Not all these are nearly of equal interest or value, and the wise student will concentrate on those which attract him most. But in any case, let him pick out for exact and accurate knowledge some special section, some outstanding detail of history, some particular investigation, or some passage of wisdom or beauty in a book, and make it his own to the last comma. We are warned against undue memorizing: and to memorize without understanding is in truth a sterile labour; but when you come on what you yourself feel is good for you, then by all means get it by heart. There is no way of possessing a subject without laying by the best bits of it securely in one's head. The possession of a dozen of the finest passages in Shakespeare or Shelley will do more for a man's culture than reading many commentaries on these writers.

Next in order I suggest come accuracy and thoroughness, qualities more difficult to cultivate in another language than in one's own. It is the peculiar gift of natural science, mathematics and logic that they insistently impose accuracy of observation and closeness of reasoning on us. But with literary subjects it is different. Words are of all things the most deceiving: and never more so than when they seem familiar and we have forgotten to watch them closely. What we need is to make sure that words correspond to things; never to let ourselves be dominated by symbols, phrases, catch-words; but to look through these and behind them to reality. This is by no means easy. I believe the best help lies in writing. Here comes in the value of original expression. It is all very well to be made a full man by reading; but it is writing (says Bacon) that maketh an exact man. We can only be sure of our understanding of a matter when we begin to put it out for ourselves. Commentaries and paraphrases of an author have their use; but it is better to expound him for oneself and to blunder in the process than slavishly to follow other men's expositions. It is better to try and to fail, even to fail badly on one's own account, than not to try at all. What Browning says about 'the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin', strong saying as it is, has a biting moral for each of us.

One word as to the manner of exposition. If I had to teach writing in an Indian university I should insist *ad nauseam* on the value of simplicity. The more simple and the more direct you are, the better will your words express your thought; and the effort to find the right short word will do much to clarify thought. It was unlucky for India that she began to model her expression on the great writers of English at a time when they themselves were so charged with classicisms and ornamentation, traceable to the influence of that highly ingenious and elaborate writer, Sir Thomas Browne. We never have recaptured in this country the clean, brief Saxon speech. And I confess with regret that our own official language has done much to stereotype bad habits of English. There are many honourable exceptions. But I believe that more than half the written output of our offices and secretariats is expressed in a weak and wordy jargon. We are vague when we ought to be definite: we inveterately prefer the abstract to the concrete: we fill out sentences with needless and meaningless padding (like 'having regard to all the circumstances of the case'); we love mechanical and otiose adjectives and adverbs; we slither into deformities of syntax which will not bear inspection; we glorify the commonest of wayside objects (like railways or forests or joint stock companies) with capital letters; and above all if we can possibly convey our meaning in the passive rather than the active voice, that is if we can recoil from a positive convincing affirmation, we do so: all of which things are wrong and of bad example. I am not sure how all this has come about; partly perhaps from our having inherited insincere models, possibly from some desire to sustain the artificial dignity of diction of the Moghul court; but mainly I suspect from indolence or fear of making mistakes through trying to be too precise: in fact from lack of concentration. Listen to what Henry James said about the changes which he saw happening to the English language in America twenty years ago. 'The note of cheapness—of the cheap and easy—is especially fatal to any effect of security of intention in the speech of a society; for it is scarce necessary to remind you that there are two very different kinds of ease; the ease that comes from the conquest of a difficulty, and the ease that comes from the vague dodging of it. In the one case you gain facility,

in the other case you get more looseness.' A commentator praises that phrase of his 'security of intention,' as shining like a searchlight, as clarifying and intensifying the argument for the coherent culture of speech. There is certainly not enough 'security of intention' about our official writing; and both for our own sakes and on account of the bad example we are setting I hope that it is not too late for us to amend our ways.

And here I would add—do not be afraid of revising. Rarely one dulls and stales one's work by over-elaboration. Much more often one does not take care enough. There is often so much to be said that the manner of saying seems to matter little. It really matters much to the reader and even more to the writer. There is always something better in you than you have put forth in the first free easy movement. There is much to be learned from looking at the manuscripts of great writers. Seldom are their emendations—their second or third thoughts—wrong. And remember also this: there is no material so easy and plastic to work in as words—words so long as they are in manuscript, *kachha*, unprinted; but once you bake your language into type, once you print and publish, once even you sign a letter, words are of all things most intractable and rigid. Is not that a reason for taking much care with them?

One more point. I spoke of accuracy and thoroughness. You remember that fine poem called 'A Grammarian's Funeral'. The scholar who gave his life fanatically to the smallest minutiæ of scholarship is carried for burial to the lofty mountain top, because the intensity of his devotion showed the loftiness of his spirit. I do not hold him up for universal imitation. But there is wisdom for us all in the lines:

> That low man goes on adding one to one,
> His hundred's soon hit
> This high man, aiming at a million,
> Misses a unit.

Genius, command, fame and glory, these are not in the reach of every man. 'Always keep in mind the weight that your shoulders can bear', says Horace. Better modest achievement than ambitious failure. If a man sticks to it steadily and earnestly, 'precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little', there

is no fear of his failing. The image of the true learner that comes readiest to my mind is a picture of the bricklayer (it occurs to me belatedly that the image has some unhappy associations), I mean the good bricklayer, not worrying about styles of architecture or letting values, but setting well-baked brick on brick in good tenacious mortar, and giving the whole of his skill to the task, until the complete house solid and four square emerges from his hands. That is the way in which many of our best scholars have worked.

I expect you have been waiting to hear me utter that ominous word—'discipline'. I know it has no grateful sound in students' ears, because they seem to regard it as merely equivalent to saying 'Don't do that!' But really this view is not quite fair to the word: archaically it means 'learning,' ordinarily it means 'ordered learning,' and only incidentally does it connote correction or punishment. Those who preach discipline generally dwell on the moral benefits which it confers upon those disciplined. I too believe in those; but I am not going to labour the point, because you have probably heard enough of it already. I want you to think of discipline not as a matter of external restraint but of internal grace, indeed as a necessary factor in any worthy achievement. Co-ordination, evenness, unity, economy of time and effort for actual results—these are the fruits of it. Let me cite two witnesses whose words ought to carry weight with you. When Mr. Chintamani, who was afterwards Minister for Education in these Provinces, came back from England about 1919, I remember his telling me how immensely he had been impressed by the self-imposed discipline of the people as making for efficiency. My other witness is the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu. I was standing alongside him on the deck of a cruiser during the war, and I shall never forget how he broke out in words of admiration as the blue-jackets went smartly to their posts and put the ship in fighting-trim the moment she left harbour. You do not get high efficiency like that by any system of repression and punishment. The sense of the value of discipline is deep-seated in the men themselves. It is just the same with a university. Teachers cannot give, nor can students receive, up to their full capacity without it. Therefore I say

cultivate discipline, if for no better reason, as a most valuable ingredient in success.

When I ask principals and lecturers whether their pupils are industrious and work hard I am confidently assured that they work very hard indeed. I will not let the fact that they always seem ready to ask for holidays outweigh that assurance in my mind. I believe that there is no reason then for me to say 'be diligent'. I will rather say 'do not work too hard'. Do not overtask brain and eye. You have got to keep a reserve of strength, and vitality wherewith to grow. University days ought to be in India, as they are elsewhere, one of the happiest times in a man's life: a time of cheerfulness and expansion when one makes new friends and is conscious of new stirrings and new capacities, and realizes the pleasure of living. Exercise and games are as necessary to the healthy student as meat and drink. I am not thinking entirely of games which encourage combination and exalt the cause above the prize, though every one knows the virtue of them. But as an American public man pointed out the other day, games are good because as the saying goes 'they take it out of us'. What they take out is something of that impulse to conflict which is strong within us all from the cradle. If that old instinct cannot find a safe outlet, it will break out in restlessness and unhappiness, in quarrels and useless violence of thought and action. Debates are another healthy way of working off the same impulse. But when we have summed up all that the class-room, the hostel, and the playing-field can provide—the interchange of views, the talks with tutors, the development of wind and sinew as well as of mind, there is still room for the individual to treat himself. It is wise to have some private diversion of one's own. I notice that people who can go and watch little birds through field-glasses or who collect flowers are generally quite happy about it. There is much to be said for photography; something to be said for keeping a diary; something even to be said for collecting postage stamps, if only you are keen enough. One innocent and useful recreation is to keep that despised thing, a commonplace book, and to record as you meet them the striking events or sayings of the hour. There is always so much worth garnering by the wayside which we let go for want of method.