In particular I beg you, cherish the amusing things: there is great virtue in laughter, and a store of humour will be a help to you when things go wrong.

This brings me to my last point. I believe that my honourable colleague, the Minister for Education, is absolutely right in saying that we do not give beauty its due place in education. Certainly if I had the money and power to complete this university in brick and stone, I would give you not merely laboratories and class-rooms, but art and music too. One sees that the need exists. It is the hunger after colour and form that is partly responsible for the prints which hang in hostels and common-rooms. I do not wish to criticize them; but who would deny they might easily be much better? I would like to see the walls of university rooms furnished with really good photographs of the great Indian monuments: the Taj Mahal and the Kutb Minar; the Black Pagoda and the Kailasa Temple; the stupas and carvings of Sanchi. There should be casts of all the finest statues, and good prints in colour of the great Ajunta frescoes and the best work of the modern artists. And I would like to see these multiplied in smaller reproductions so that they should find their way first into students' rooms and so gradually into the better class homes of India. Taste is formed by dwelling on beauty, and with a sense for beauty comes a happiness that is certainly not of earth, but as it were a gift of the gods. It seems to me that here, and by no means beyond our reach, is a way of enriching the intellectual life of our young men which some benevolent philanthropist might readily pursue. Perhaps after we have seen the exhibition of Indian art which, thanks to Rai Rajeshwar Bali's initiative, is shortly to be opened in this city some one may be moved to act upon the idea. At all events, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I hope that the university authorities will encourage your students to see the art exhibition and to attend the musical conference and so to familiarize themselves with the best that India has produced in the two worlds which satisfy the eye and ear.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am grateful to you for the way you have heard me at this length. Students of the Lucknow University, your intellectual Mother—young as she is to have nurtured so many sons—has done much for you. You are under an obligation

to maintain her good name. That you will do best by striving constantly to be strenuous, courteous, broad-minded, self-controlled, hopeful and brave. Struggle, effort, disappointment there must be; these are the pains of growth. Perhaps we officials do not always realize as vividly as we might some of your handicaps and difficulties. But you may be sure that we have had our own; and what matters more than the character of the trial is the spirit in which it is met. Never was the right message to youth better uttered than in the words of a poet whom I have quoted twice already—why, I do not know, unless I feel instinctively that he affords the right medicine for our times—but in any case they are brave words:

> Then welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
> Be our joys three-parts pain!
> Strive, and hold cheap the strain,
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

POLICE DINNER, MORADABAD

December 21, 1924

MR. ASHDOWN AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your warm hospitality to my staff and myself and I am deeply obliged to you for the kind manner in which you have just drunk my health. This is the third time that I have come on police business to Moradabad, once as Inspector-General and twice in my present office, and on each time you have kindly made me welcome. Moreover it happens, a matter that is probably of more interest to me than to you, that to-day marks very nearly the end of the second year of my office as Governor. As I look back over these two years I realize that in many things I have been very fortunate, fortunate in the first place in having good colleagues who have always sought to give me wise advice and help in difficulty, and one of whom, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, I am glad to see present now. His coming here is only one more proof of the deep interest which he takes in all that pertains to the welfare of the police. I feel that I am fortunate also in the fact that the province has regained its good temper and sanity, and that the old friendly relations between the people and officers again subsist; fortunate, because our Legislative Council has dealt fairly with us and has not attempted the sort of sabotage which has been practised elsewhere; fortunate certainly on the whole in this, that the province has had healthy seasons and good crops; but above all fortunate in feeling that my Government have enjoyed the trust and loyal support of all its officers, and none more so than the officers of the Indian Police, whose Inspector-General I had the honour to be for a brief space. I shall be lucky indeed if I can retain all these assets during whatever period I may have still to serve.

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If in the presence of my honourable colleague the Home Member, I may reveal secrets of policy, I want to tell you that we are trying to find a solution of one police problem which I know has vexed every good officer who cares for the well-being

of his men, I mean the problem of the miserable condition of police stations and quarters throughout the greater part of this province. Whether we shall succeed I do not know; but if we do few successes will please me more.

Mr. Ashdown and gentlemen, I am sure you all know that the Government of the United Provinces expect great things of their police officers. They know how largely the task of keeping order lies in your hands; and speaking for them I thank you for the way in which you have served us hitherto, and I wish you all success in the years before you.

ALL-INDIA ART EXHIBITION, LUCKNOW

January 8, 1925

MR. CHAIRMAN, RAJA SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—An old friend of mine has just been elected President of the Royal Academy. I wish that Sir Frank Dicksee were here to open this exhibition, and to deliver this presidential address. I am sure that he would have much of interest to say about the way in which Indian paintings strike the eye of a Western painter of the school of Leighton and Poynter.

When I agreed, at the Minister's request, to preside to-day, I was attracted by the pleasure of being associated with an occasion so important as that of the first representative exhibition of Indian art. I did not sufficiently reflect upon my lack of equipment for the task of addressing you upon æsthetic matters. Generally I know what I admire in painting and sometimes, but not always, can define why I like it. If I name in one breath half a dozen of the Western masters whose work I most admire—Botticelli, Raphael, Tintoretto, Rembrandt, Constable and Turner—I daresay it would puzzle any one to say whether such preference follows any canon of judgment, any love of particular qualities, or is merely capricious. None of my favourite Western painters certainly seems to help much towards an appreciative understanding of Indian art. But taste formed on a basis of Western art has possibly coloured one's choice among Indian artists too. Within the narrow limits of my acquaintance I am prepared to confess that in my heart I really admire the Ajunta paintings more than anything that follows them in Indian art; more than the old story pictures, vigorous as they are, of hunts and battles, or the fine delicacy of Mughal portraiture, the rich detail of scenes in palaces and gardens, or the romance and mysticism which characterizes the modern and yet indigenous Calcutta school.

Controversy, we all know, has been aroused ere now by some European judgments on Indian painting; but I hope that nothing which I shall say will arouse it. Let me try to say how I approach the matter. I know that some critics, for example the

late Mr. William Archer, have questioned the value of Indian achievement in terms that must be irritating in their implications. I need not summarize his arraignment. At the same time I suggest to you that the defence has sometimes been at least as arrogant as the attack. I have read diatribes which impute the crassest incompetence, if not indeed a certain moral obliquity. to those who withhold their admiration from oriental art. I have encountered enthusiasts who claim not merely that Indian artists are entitled to their own peculiar conventions and symbols (for if *that* were all, surely judicious people would readily admit the claim), but that Indian artists have found the way to interpret the things of the spirit in a finer, nobler, purer, more quintessential manner, than all the painters or sculptors of other times or races. Such a proposition as that strikes me at least as less the outcome of reasoned judgment than of ardent, honest zealotry. It seems to me a little like what the Americans call 'boosting': and instinctively I recoil from it.

I admit that by tradition and education my bent is naturally in favour of the West. At the same time if I may avow my own belief, it is that great art depends far more on the nobility of the ideas than on the mode of expression. If truth, beauty and goodness are all facets of the absolute, as I have been taught to think—then I hold that no single race or nation possesses the one solitary key to them. We all approach them under the limitations imposed by our breeding and tradition. There may be many ways of expressing the eternal verities; and every race and nation is perfectly entitled to prefer its own. Divergence has this benefit that competing schools and methods react upon and stimulate each other. If ever some dominant force or personality arose to reconcile and blend all religions or all philosophies or all art in one final amalgam, I can readily conceive that the result might be tragedy.

It is wisest to seek out the excellences of Indian art without disparaging comparisons. Now Indian painting undoubtedly has perplexities for those who are unfamiliar with it and yet would understand it. Many of us are puzzled by its lack of interest in anatomy and perspective. We have been accustomed to treat both with high respect; and it comforts us very little indeed to

be told that the fault lies in ourselves, and that the Indian painter's eye was seeing types and generalities, and 'soaring beyond the artificial barriers of space and sight'. That or something like it is what the Cubists and Futurists plead. But I suggest that there are more persuasive ways of invoking the sympathy of the ordinary man than by calling him a Philistine. When on the other hand an Indian expositor reminds us that most Indian pictures were small in size and meant to be looked at as a book is held in the hand, then we can see at once how that conditions their treatment. Clearly there cannot be the same need of depth and distance as for example in the Vatican frescoes. The Indian artist relies for his main effects on line and colour and concerns himself far less with light and shade. We have met the same sort of two-dimensional painting on Greek vases, and in illuminated chronicles and missals, and in the shadowless paintings of the earlier Italian religious schools. Perhaps we cannot quite expel the doubt whether the self-imposed limitation is a gain: but at all events we can subdue it: and once we have done that we shall be able to see with clearer eyes the strong points of such pictures, the refinement of outline, the richness and subtlety of colouring, the restraint, and the economy of means.

Again, when Indian critics tell us that European art is essentially imitative, while Indian art expresses 'hieratic culture or race tradition', I think that lovers of Western painting may be forgiven if they feel a little restive at the imputation of inferiority. It is true, I suppose, that the present age is not one in which great painting flourishes in Europe—or indeed anywhere in the world. But perhaps that may be due to causes from whose effects India cannot hope indefinitely to escape. There are few topics over which it is easier to lose oneself in a waste of words than over schools of painting. Even if we lay it down that Eastern art is traditional, symbolic and spiritual, while Western art is individual, realistic and material—has that pontifical utterance really helped us to see the two in their right relation? Suppose we try to get away from labels. If art is a living thing, it is part of the life of humanity, and it must change and develop with the changing and developing life of the race. We may get

some light on this, if for a moment we look back and recall what has happened to painting in the Western world.

I chose 'individual' as the first popular label to apply to Western painting, because we are always being told, and as I think truly, that the artist's prime duty is to express himself: to render his own qualities and character: to give the world his own special vision of truth and beauty. And even though art cannot be completely dissociated (as the phrase 'art for art's sake' used to suggest) from other activities of life, yet the artist must be disinterested, in the sense that he is not a teacher nor a moralist nor a man of science. He may show men reality and goodness; but if he forgets that he is primarily a doer, and seeks to preach morals or to discover truth, then the artistic quality of his work will suffer.

But this was not always the conception of the artist's function: he used to be by no means a chartered libertine. He represented not himself but a phase of the common life about him, and with that common life his work was intimately linked. Inquirers seem to be agreed that in the beginning art arose out of the play-instinct, the working-off of superfluous energy, in such forms as the carving of primitive weapons or the patterns with which the potter or weaver found it easy and amusing to ornament his work. Then, when design and colour were felt to have a value of their own, that is to say, when the idea of 'works of art' was conceived, they were mainly applied to the service of religion as decoration of the temples of the gods, or the tombs, and eventually the palaces of kings who claimed divine rank. This was where the old artists of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria found their scope, and the emotions at which they aimed—awe and wonder—were those peculiarly associated with religion. It often happened that beauty of outline, and truth to nature were attained, but these were not consciously sought after, except indeed in Greece, where the gods were conceived in a more human relation, and the perfection of human forms came to be the artistic ideal. In this way, I mean in its close association with religion, art served a definite social purpose: it reinforced religion and through religion it contributed to the stability of the State.

Moreover, the ancient temples with their paintings and sculp-

tures were the work of schools and guilds rather than of single artists; and this seems to be true not merely of the conventional art of ancient Egypt, but even of the rapidly developing art of ancient Greece. Not till the closely-knit city states merged in the cosmopolitan empires of Alexander and his successors does art of a more individualist character, art of the type which we recognize as modern, begin to appear. I think it would be easy to show that one and the same process is apparent simultaneously in the history of sculpture, of painting or of literature.

Passing over the chaos of the invasions to the Middle Ages of Christendom, once more we find art the handmaid of religion. It is still dedicated, not secular; it is still corporate, not individual. The great Gothic cathedrals were the work of guilds: and in close connexion with them, are to be found the typical products of the painter—the stained glass window, the altar-piece and the illuminated missal. All these, like the old temple frescoes and statues, were executed with strict regard to the place and purpose which they were meant to serve. I admit that we have wandered far away from the ancient conception of the artist's function when 'we stick pictures indiscriminately on nails about the walls of houses'. But let us be careful how we hastily conclude that the change has been all for the worse. What has happened since to Western art is surely but a reflex of what occurred in Western life and thought. The shattering, vivifying influence of the Renaissance and Reformation set free ideas, and encouraged adventures undreamed of before. They mark the beginning of the victory of personal judgment. Both were great liberations, and both brought great gains. Inevitably there were losses too. As we have seen, the great art and poetry of the past was rooted in and expressed the national life. The old Hebrew writers, Homer, the Athenian dramatists, Dante, even Milton, were typical of their times in a way which it is hard for modern writers to attain. But if art lost simplicity and harmony it gained immensely in variety and freedom. Painting gained immensely in technique, and expanded into 'regions Cæsar never knew', that is to say, not merely into mythology and history, but into portraiture, narrative, landscape and domestic life. It escaped from the church and from guilds, and from being (what Indian art still is) simple,

traditional and typical, it became complex, individual and intent on truth to nature, or (if you like the word) 'realistic'. But to call the best modern art 'imitative' seems to me to be by far the smaller half of the truth. Turner is the greatest of the moderns: and he is also the most poetical of painters. I know of nothing in colour that speaks more clearly of the infinite than some of his great works. 'The light that never was on sea or land' is in the glory of his sunsets. Is there no idealism about Rossetti, Holman-Hunt, Watts and Leighton? Or take the great portrait painters—Velasquez, Rembrandt, Raeburn, Gainsborough, Reynolds: is their art merely 'imitative', 'material', 'realistic'? Is there no reason for suggesting that some champions of Indian art before calling on us to cast forth the beam from our eye might consider the possible presence of a mote within their own?

But it is time that I came nearer home, and closer to this remarkable collection about us. It has been said most truly that the way to an appreciation of Indian art lies in an attempt to understand Indian thought and character. Before we can judge the paintings, we need to know how the Indian artist thought about his gods and saints and kings and heroes. We need to know something of the mind of India: its capacity for spiritual devotion, its love of country and home and kin, its self-sacrifice, its patience in adversity, its innate gentleness. Indian critics are entirely right in claiming that Indian painting reposes on religion and tradition; and in this respect it has a clear analogy with the Middle Age art of Europe of which I have spoken. As Dr. Coomaraswami says:

'The old Mughal nobles had the good taste not to do the walls of their houses with miscellaneous pictures hanging at all angles . . . but to employ the most skilled miniature painters, to paint for them pictures of the subjects traditional in northern Indian culture, the portraits of kings and saints, the lore of Laili and Majnuni, pictures of the chase or of war: and there are not wanting also Hindu subjects, Uma serving Mahadeva, and many a picture of the Lord of the eternal snows himself', and then he goes on to point out how with the production of these portfolio pictures there occurred in India that same divorce of painting from architecture which, as we saw, happened elsewhere.

ALL-INDIA ART EXHIBITION, LUCKNOW

The continuous story of art in India re-begins with these miniature pictures, because after the great Ajunta wall-paintings there occurred (as I understand) an interval of nearly a thousand years over which actual remains of paintings are almost entirely lacking in India until the middle of the sixteenth century when the new output begins. For which reason, though happily some tracings of the Ajunta frescoes have also been secured, this exhibition is in the main composed of the Mughal and Rajput porttolio pictures, together with representative paintings of the new revival and a few paintings in the European manner. I am told that never before has so complete a collection been assembled, in spite of the fact that many pictures have not returned from Wembley and that lesser exhibitions are also being held ; and I am proud to think that this has been done in Lucknow and under the auspices of one of my colleagues in the Government of this province. In the name of the promoters, and also on behalf of the many who will enjoy this exhibition, I thank the generous and public-spirited owners who have consented to part temporarily with their treasures. They have done India a real service in opening the eyes of her people to the richness of her art treasure-house. Here we shall be able to follow for ourselves the progress described by writers of text-books. We shall see the effeminate, mannered and conventional element of the Indo-Persian giving way to the more virile Mongol influence, and both combining with the indigenous art of the country to form the new art which bloomed under Jahangir and Shahjahan, with its special excellence in portraiture, its interest in character, and its concern with the doings of kings and courtiers. Mr. Vincent Smith says that the Mughal gallery of historical portraits is such as no other country in the world can show. Side by side we have gathered here some delightful specimens of the other great school—the Rajput school of painting : Hindu and indigenous in origin, owing relatively little to outside influence ; a descendant of the tempera paintings which disappeared from sight after Ajunta : an art rather of the people than of the court, devotional rather than secular. It has been called decadent in the sense that it has fallen away from higher levels : 'a folk-art descended from a more magnificent tradition' : and good judges

say that it is curiously unequal in its achievement. Even in late times occasional masterpieces are to be recognized; while its lowest manifestations may be judged, though perhaps harshly, from the cheap German reprints whose ready sale shows what a hold upon the mind of the people have the subjects represented. Here, too, we may be educated to distinguish the two main styles of Rajput painting: the Pahari type with its Vaishnava features, the epic of Rama, the life of Krishna, the sympathy of animals and inanimate things with love and goodness: paintings whose strength lies in the expressive treatment of emotion in movement and gesture. There are excellent examples also of the Jaipur schools, which judges have described as harder and less accomplished than the Kangra work, but notable for its larger scale, its insistence on scenery, its admirable studies of animals, and the grace of individual figures especially of women. One Indian writer brings out eloquently the point which I ventured to suggest already, that much of this Rajput painting has a kinship with the pre-Raphaelite Italians. We find, he says, 'expressed in both arts the same child-like purity of soul, the same gentle wonder at the beauty of flowers and animals, the same mysterious sweet serenity in the faces of women, the same worship of humanity as a symbol of the divine. And this is due not to borrowing but to similarity of impulse: for the human spirit is not so constructed that it can borrow a nobility of expression without nobility within itself.'

One characteristic type of Indian painting is that which depicts night scenes: journeys by night, camps by night; huntings, lovers' meetings, visits to hermits, and especially scenes of devotion by night. Of these we have here some beautiful examples. 'No wonder that in India where night comes gratefully after the heat and glare of day, where the contrasts of white moonlight and dark shadow are so strong, or if the night is moonless the stars burn like candles in heaven, artists were strongly moved to express the romance and mystery of the dark. There is a purity and serenity and peace about these pictures which the dullest of us must feel.

The stream of Mughal and Rajput painting gradually spent itself in the sands of the middle nineteenth century. Some judges blame

the change of taste induced by a system of education towards the West, culminating in schools of art which tried, no doubt in all sincerity, to propagate European styles. Hard things have been said about the results, and on the whole I believe justly. I am nowise concerned to defend the taste or the judgment of forty years ago in this, as in various other matters. What is hopeful is that the revolt against it occurred a generation since and has continuously been gathering force. The aim of the reformers is 'not to introduce European methods and ideals but to gather in and revitalize the proper threads of Indian tradition'. Its inception, as we all know, is associated with the honoured names of Mr. Havell and Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the latter of whom has not merely painted much himself but also been the leader and teacher of a small but increasing school, whose inspiration and technique has been as far as possible Indian. Several, I believe, are represented here. They have gone back, some to Ajunta, others to Mughal or Rajput sources. Their subjects are taken primarily from Indian history, epic, religious literature and legend; and secondarily—and as I privately surmise, more hopefully—from the common life of the people. Some of their qualities one can praise without reservation: indeed they are the qualities of the best of their progenitors—the delicacy, the grace, the harmony, the restraint, the economy, the concentration of which I have spoken already. About other qualities I am more hesitant. Are they as virile, as decisive, as brave in outline, as clear in tone? Is not the colouring sometimes tiresomely subdued? Is the word 'sentimentality' never to be breathed about them? Have they entirely escaped contagion from say modern Paris, or Japan? I hope I shall not seem captious, and yet in all sincerity I cannot admire without reservations. In many ways, not all, the new movement recalls the courage, the inexperience, the temerity, and the occasional over-reaching of the so-called pre-Raphaelites in England. I suggest that in the new revivalist movement that is being nourished in Calcutta and Lahore there is great hope but not yet assured achievement.

Well then, gentlemen, what of the future? First, allow me, being timid in these matters, to take shelter behind a brave Indian critic whom I have already quoted—one who has gone to lengths

to which I could hardly afford to go in condemning the vulgarization of modern India, 'the prostitution of her art to the tourist trade'—a proposition enforced by illustrations which might sound ungracious from my lips. In agreement with him I suggest to you that India also, in spite of her traditional, her instinctive clinging to immaterial things, is now in some danger—even she—of too much affecting a material ideal, an ideal for which, while artists keep silence, other combatants—politicians and economists—are stridently contending. Think of art as a creative force, fecund, vitalizing; and set it for a moment beside these other things. I do not believe that any Government, certainly any foreign Government, can really teach a people administration, and still less industry. At the most it can throw open the doors. But more than either of these, art must come from within, from the consciousness and the emotions; and being rooted in the heart and brain of a people, it is surely of all plants least amenable to extraneous cultivation. You must feel before you can do. But I believe also that to the full stature of a nation, artistic growth is as essential as political maturity or industrial wealth. What is the conclusion? Elsewhere in the world we may say that in its hold upon the popular consciousness painting has nowadays outrun architecture and sculpture and the older forms of literature, the epic and the great drama; while it lags far behind music, and the newer forms of literature—the novel and the magazine, the daily newspaper, and the new drama also, especially in its latest portentous development, the cinematograph. But nonetheless pictorial art enters into the common life of Europe in a way in which it does not yet permeate India. Every large city has its gallery and art school; pictures of varying quality are to be found in every house; reproductions are numerously cheap and often very good; treatises are multitudinous and are read. This most successful, but arduously achieved, exhibition is itself a proof that the paintings of India lie hidden away and have to be sought out with toil. This makes me think that before India can attain full healthy maturity, her art has to go wider, stronger, further. It has to enlist not merely more artists but to find many more devotees—and buyers. To play its full part in spreading beauty abroad it must

expand beyond the palaces of princes, the galleries of connoisseurs, the state-made schools of art, far abroad by way of municipal halls and colleges and schools, into the homes of the people. For, if I judge aright, there are various increments of the body politic, which all move and march together in time and step: political independence; military sufficiency; industrial prosperity; artistic culture: these make the rare and perfect four-leafed shamrock that we have to seek; which, once you find it, will change magically into a deep-stablished tree, strong to withstand all the storms of national existence.

It is time for me to have done. I praise this exhibition for two reasons—the weaker one, that it will do something to broaden and vivify the sympathies of us comparatively few Englishmen and women with your large India: the stronger one, that it ought to do much to offer a new, rich, hopeful vista to Indian eyes. Yet, if art is necessary to national welfare, if Indian art has stagnated and is now being, with effort, revitalized within rather narrow limits, then further endeavour is wanted. My appeal to the lovers of Indian art would be: take courage: by all manner of means be Indian: do not consciously imitate or derive: at the same time be open-minded and tolerant: watch movement elsewhere. It may be—I will concede it is likely—that your artists may react with a purifying and simplifying effect upon our diffuse and disintegrated painting in the West: but possibly—probably—they also have something yet to learn and to assimilate in their own way. At least do not make the comfortable mistake of wrapping yourselves up in your own virtue. Before now that has proved to be a garment that will not wear. Art lives in the hearts of men. The appeal made by Indian art is keen and clear, but on your own showing it is narrow. I believe that the need is to broaden its basis and to change with changing times. If India is going to hold her own in a competitive and diminishing world, she also must deliberately move forward. Is it, or is it not true—I at all events believe it—that the growth, the process, the development, the evolution, of human life is from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous? If it is, then inevitably, infallibly, art—the faithful spontaneous ebullition of men's natural

spare energies—will take the same line. We may reverence the virtues of the past: we may desiderate them sincerely and sadly: but if we have eyes, and courage to use our eyes, let us realize that we can never recapture the old virtues when once the life which inspired them has gone beyond recall.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the patient attention which you have given to a speaker who all along has known that his subject-matter is too high for him. I now declare this exhibition open.

ALL-INDIA MUSIC CONFERENCE, LUCKNOW

MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Not without much hesitation have I agreed to preside over this fourth All-India Music Conference, though I greatly appreciate the honour implied in the invitation. I can claim no knowledge of music in general, still less of Indian music in particular. To my great regret, and his own also as well as yours, my esteemed friend, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, who was to have been your president, has been prevented by urgent private reasons from carrying out his intention. My only excuse for deputizing for him is that I have, I hope, interest in æsthetic achievement, not merely in general but also as concerns this country. While I utterly disclaim any title to speak upon the technicalities of the art of music, I am, I trust, conscious of the great part which music can play in humanizing and enriching the life of a people. **January 9, 1925**

Your music, I am told, has a long unbroken tradition; it has been described as running in a continuing stream, impersonal, single-purposed, self-forgetting. You trace its origin to the Vedas; and its main development on the theoretic side to the work of Hindu scholars. Yet some of its finest practitioners have been Musalmans. The artist whose name is most widely known through India was Tánsen, musician at the court of Akbar, to whose memorial shrine in Gwalior the musical world of India still pays homage. Rai Rajeshwar Bali well said yesterday that art was good because it was a healer of differences: and the truth of his saying is shown by the way in which in this world of music, any discords of religion, race or sect have been drowned in a concord of sweet sounds.

But, if I mistake not, this ancient and honourable art has in these times fallen upon evil days. My colleague referred yesterday to a feature of modern India which disquieted him—the lack of interest in æsthetics shown by people who have received a

good education and might be expected to appreciate and to encourage the arts. I gather that his complaint is as true of music as it is of painting. The practice of music has fallen nowadays into the hands of a special class, lacking social status or enlightenment, who cannot be expected to realize the potential wealth of their inheritance, and have not got it in their power to reclaim the art from its less reputable concomitants, to call forth all its latent virtues and to seat it again upon a throne of honour. You know the story how the court musicians who had just been cashiered by the austere Aurangzeb arranged a sham funeral procession and set up loud cries of lamentation. The emperor asked what the noise was all about, and they told him 'Music is dead and we are taking her to her grave'. 'Then mind you bury her deep' was his answer. I can imagine that a cultured lover of Indian music may sometimes feel that Aurangzeb's orders have in the sequel been only too effectually obeyed.

Surely it is sad that so noble an art should not be generally honoured and cultivated throughout the land. Of all arts music is the primal, the most instinctive and spontaneous expression of human emotion. Time and time again in history we read how music has brought out the inner soul of a people and encouraged them to lofty endeavour: we think of Tyrtaeus, of the Welsh bards, of Highland pipers, of the Marseillaise. I remember being told by an old French tutor, who had served in the Franco-Prussian War, that 'God Save the King' (which he detested because of its Teutonic origin) always depressed him to the verge of tears, whereas when the Marseillaise was played the very horses on the parade ground started champing their bits and pawing the earth. Indeed we can hardly speak of music's power of playing on the human heart—its power of arousing, ennobling, cheering, comforting, healing and (it must be added) enervating and debasing also—without falling into some well-known quotation from the poets. I think hastily of Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Milton and *Twelfth Night*; but I suppress all their sentiments in favour of the profundity of meaning in Portia's saying: 'I am never merry when I hear sweet music'.

Elsewhere in the world, and especially on the continent of Europe, this capacity of music for developing the finer sensibilities

of man is thoroughly appreciated; and the study of the art in all its branches is highly developed and systematized. You find schools of music and opera houses in all large centres, concerts in every town of any size, an instrument of some kind in almost every home. Of late years new ingenious devices have lent their artful aid. The mechanical reproduction of music by means of gramophones and broadcasting may offend the purist; but it must have done much for the musical education of many who without them would have indolently remained in outer darkness. There are phases of what passes for modern music about which, if I spoke at all, I should speak harshly. Nonetheless it comes near platitude to say that a wealth of music widely diffused, readily accessible, is an immense asset in the mental wealth and happiness of a people.

And to particularize, I suggest that music is the natural accomplishment of women all the world over, perhaps because their response to emotional stimulus is finer and readier than that of grosser-fibred men. For many of us I am sure, among the keenest pleasures of our lives has been listening to some simple song or instrumental music in our homes. It seems a tragedy that in this country social custom should practically have cut off women of the better classes from developing their natural gifts for music, and from contributing to the culture of their home-folk.

Let me give you one more reason why music should be treasured. I am told that your Vaishnavite literature is almost a series of lyrical rhapsodies in which the poet musician aspires to lose himself in the divine. But not in India alone, but as I believe everywhere in the world, has music been vitally associated with verse. It seems to be true that all poetry arose in the beginning out of music: that the first poets sang their words to the harp or some such instrument, and the first choruses sang as they danced; from which simple fact we may trace the derivation of all the essential differences between poetry and prose. It is just because poetry is based on music—music which persuades through emotion, and not through reason—that the language of poetry is keyed higher than that of prose. Because of its association with music, poetry must have metre, which is beat; it may or may not rhyme, but its rhythms and harmonies must strike the

ear more audibly than those of prose; even the order of its words will be different; because these are the consequences, the modes of expression, of the emotional element which music has left as a legacy to verse. So long as music is disregarded and unhonoured in a country, there seems small hope for the future of its indigenous poetry.

I know much too little about music to attempt to touch upon differences between West and East: and that is why I have spoken of its essential values, which must, since all true art strikes deep down into the consciousness of men, under any variety of inflexion be the same. Let me only say that, ignorant as I am of Indian music, I am yet very glad to have had this opportunity of supporting your courageous efforts to resuscitate the art which you love. I congratulate you on the success which so satisfactory an attendance of musicians and lovers of music promises to yield. I can understand your pride in your heritage. I can respect your desire to see India make her own peculiar contribution to the common stock of art and beauty in the world, while remaining true to her own genius and abiding by her own honourable traditions.

CLOSING DURBAR OF ALIGARH FAIR

RAISES OF THE ALIGARH DISTRICT,—In all this province I do not think there is any other platform from which it gives me greater pleasure to address an audience than this. Not only do I feel that I am speaking to an audience of old friends, but I am speaking also upon matters in which I took great interest when I was Collector here, and in a building which was erected in my time. I am delighted to hear from all quarters that the Aligarh exhibition has been unusually good this year. I confess that last year when I went to Bulandshahr and saw a very successful and thriving show there it depressed me to think that Aligarh was not holding its exhibition. But if last year there was a small cloud in the sky it has entirely disappeared now, and I believe that everybody has shown more zeal for the fair this year and also enjoyed it more because of its temporary suspension last year. I am looking forward with much interest to seeing the exhibition and the shops. I have already noted various improvements made since my time, especially the handsome gate built a short time ago by that benefactor of the district, Nawab Sir Muzammil-ullah Khan, and the two wings which have this year been added to the durbar hall and have so greatly improved its appearance. One of them was generously built by the Nawab Bahadur of Talibnagar and to the cost of the other the Nawab of Pahasu has promised a liberal donation. I am told there has been a great competition to rent the shops, from which I conclude that profits have been good. Certainly, when I look back fifteen years and remember how almost the entire fair was an erection of bamboo and thatch, and when I recall the disastrous fires which used to occur I think the district may justly be proud of the improvement which has been achieved since that time. And this has been due, no doubt, largely to the interest taken in the fair by a succession of district officers, partly to the talents and the energy of the capable secretary, but very largely also to the support and enthusiasm shown by the gentry of the district.

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CLOSING DURBAR OF ALIGARH FAIR

I am glad to hear the number of horses in the show is so large and the quality so high. I hope that an Aligarh mare will again win the Viceroy's Cup in the Horse Show at Delhi. Now I have merely to tell you again of the pleasure it gives me to meet you again on this old familiar ground, and to find that an institution which I always believed in and enjoyed is in such a flourishing condition.

WAR MEMORIAL, ALIGARH

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. FLOWERS AND GENTLEMEN,—A Governor of a province can have no more honourable function to fulfil than the inauguration of a memorial to those who gave their lives for the right cause in the greatest war in history. And for me to-day's ceremony has this additional interest, that the brave men whom this building commemorates came from the district which I know best in all the province. **February 12, 1925**

It did not fall to my lot to call forth the war-effort of the Aligarh district. I was on my way home in 1914 when I heard of the murder of the Austrian Archduke which was the spark that fired the train, and the little work that I did which had any direct relation to the war was done in the intervals of leave in England. But I have since my return to the United Provinces read with pride the review which Sir Harcourt Butler's Government published in 1919 of the contribution which this province made to the war in every form, in men, money and in supplies and material; and I am delighted to find that in the record Aligarh holds so honourable a place. I should indeed have been surprised had it been otherwise; for this and the neighbouring districts of Bulandshahr and Meerut have a traditional connection with military service: and the *raises* of Aligarh have always been famous for their loyalty and high spirit: and no one could doubt that in a national emergency, when every one's help was needed if the cause of civilization was to be saved, they would come forth willingly and generously, as indeed they did. I will not repeat the names of all who distinguished themselves in the good cause. The list would be a long one. I will mention only, and no one will grudge the selection, three; first, the present Commissioner of Meerut who, I am glad to say, has just received the distinction of Companion of the Star of India, for he was your Collector when this district made its great effort; secondly, one who was a friend of us all, a true lover of the district and of peace, a good citizen, a composer of quarrels, one whom we could

ill afford to lose, the late Mr. R. B. Kadri: and the third, the name of a much respected and straight-minded public servant, formerly my own chief reader, Munshi Sharafat Ullah, the quality of whose work is well known to me.

This building which I am to open is the creation of the surplus balance of the War League. I think that you have applied the money wisely. There could be no more appropriate way of commemorating men who faced pain and death to save others from it, than by doing something to help the cause of physical healing, and to fight the disease and suffering which is always in our midst. I am glad that in honouring the brave dead we are doing something also to benefit the living who need help. Now as a memorial of the great war and those of our friends who perished in it I declare these wards open; and I hope that they may continue to bring comfort to many for many generations to come.

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND MEMBERS OF THE COURT OF THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,—I thank you from my heart for the warmth of your welcome and for the appreciative terms in which you have referred to me on this my first visit to the University as Governor of this province. I regard it as a high privilege to meet to-day the members of the Court, among whom I count many old friends who have done yeoman service, and to hear from them an account of the great services rendered in the past to the cause of Musalman education by the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. The name of Sir Saiyid Ahmad will always be associated with the renaissance of Indian Musalmans after the mutiny. Sir Saiyid saw with the clear vision of a statesman how essential education was to the Muslim case. He saw also that if his educational endeavour was to be a success, its objects should be clearly defined and competent and devoted men should be found to achieve them. He himself visited the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and realised the part which they played in the development of higher studies in England. His Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was meant to reproduce on Indian soil, with necessary modifications, the collegiate systems of the ancient seats of learning in England. With singular foresight Sir Saiyid chose for the first principal of the college the late Mr. Theodore Beck. No choice could have been happier. Beck's enthusiasm, his devotion to the interests of the college and his deep faith in the Musalmans of India rapidly made the college at Aligarh one of the foremost educational institutions in India. Round him were gathered a band of distinguished scholars such as Sir Theodore Morison, the late Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Arnold and Mr. Harold Cox. This is an inspiring roll of names. There could not have been better men to make Western learning attractive to Eastern minds, and, what is even more important, to demonstrate by example how cultured Englishmen could render imperishable service to the great

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Musalman community and to prepare it to take its proper share in the changing conditions of modern India. There is always a danger among an ancient people with a great and glorious past, and such are the Musalmans of India, to hark back, to distrust the present and to envisage the future with misgiving. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was to be the potent means of casting out such doubts and forebodings. It warned the Musalmans not to go back nor yet to stand still, but to build up future greatness on the co-operation of the East and the West and through the adjustment of old traditions and beliefs to modern conditions.

This University has very recently received the honour of a visit from His Excellency the Viceroy, who addressed you upon the recent stresses and perils through which the College and University had passed and exhorted you eloquently to fulfil the visions of your founder. His Excellency's address has made it hard for me to find fresh things to say to you. I know that you do not want me to take refuge in the safety of mere platitudes. Platitudes are only a sonorous kind of silence. Well, let me take my text from the classical passage which you have quoted from the address to Lord Lytton, in which the origin of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College is directly traced to 'causes which the history of this country has never witnessed before': in which the benefits of British administration are heartily and generously acknowledged: and in which adherence to the ideals of good government and to the prolonged union of India with England are specifically set forth as the purposes of the founders. There have been times since then when there was a danger that the old friendship and mutual understanding between Musalmans and Englishmen, which Sir Saiyid and his college had done much to foster, might wane into suspicion and distrust. That danger, I believe, is past: I hope that it is past for ever.

Let me give you a few reasons for hoping that no English Government is likely to fail in sympathy for Indian Muslims. I trust that I shall not be misunderstood in any quarter, even by those gentlemen who will scrutinize my words under a microscope, in the hope to find wriggling among them the bacteria of partisanship. The Governor of a province if he does his duty is

pro-nobody and pro-nothing except the welfare of the province. He is interested in the hopes and aspirations of all sections of the community without distinction and without fear or favour. Now in thinking over what you and we have in common, I have to admit that I cannot find affinities between us (as might be the case if I were addressing a different audience in this country) in any common ancestry however remote; in any affinity of your sacred language with the ancient languages of the West; in the similarity of thought which consanguinity of language may encourage; or in the practical identity to this day of some of our commonest words of everyday usage. With you I must seek affinities quite different. Your sacred language, Arabic, splendid and scientific instrument that it is, is very remote in genius and structure from any speech of Europe. For Englishmen to come to any real knowledge of it means not merely hard work, but a sort of mental gymnastic too. But, sundered as we are, we have some deep-seated points of contact. The Muslim civilization lies geographically nearer to us than many of the old civilizations of Asia. Muslim captains and armies have fought their way far into Europe in the past. Muslim builders have left monuments which still command admiration. Saracen culture, as we all know, was a stimulating influence in the renaissance of thought in Europe. Some of our capes and rivers bear Muslim names. An edge of Europe is Muslim to this day. And as a young man from Europe for the first time approaches Asia he does so through a Muslim antechamber. His first impression of the Orient is derived from Egypt, that old seat of Muslim rule, Muslim in its names, its language, its mosques and largely in its population. For geographical reasons alone ten English children read at school of Salah-ud-din and Harun-al-Raschid or the stories of the *Alif Laila* for every one who reads of the other heroes or the other great epics or romances of Asia.

Then there is the sympathy engendered by historical memories. Your people came into this vast country in small numbers, and erected an empire. It culminated in the great administrative system of the Mughals and a flowering of artistic culture which took in no little of the spirit of its new Indian home; and then, as as if bowed by years and infirmities, it crumbled, and there was no

peace nor order in the land till another external power entered into its inheritance. You know Wordsworth's sonnet on Venice —'Once she did hold the gorgeous East in fee.' The sentiment with which that poem ends is deep in the hearts of men. Instinctively as we gaze on great ruins—Athens, Stonehenge, Karnak, Palmyra, Persepolis, Sanchi—we wish vainly that we could see them in their glory; the forums crowded, the courts and temples throbbing with life. With the same feelings one reads of the fall of empires, and sympathizes with nations and communities which have suffered eclipse, and encountered a fate which, for all we know, may, in the inscrutable purpose of Providence, yet await some which hold their heads high to-day.

There remains, of course, a stronger bond than any I have mentioned. There is the fact that your religion and ours are both derived from the same portion of Asia; that we both hold in high reverence a written embodiment of our belief and our moral code; and that Islam recognizes many of the leaders of religious effort whom Christian children are also taught to honour. So it comes about that a few of our most familiar and beautiful names—David, Mary—are also yours.

I believe that the Muslim feelings of alarm and suspicion against European Powers, which have been rising since the Tripolitan war, have been allayed by subsequent events; particularly by the open efforts of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Reading and of the late Mr. Montagu to mitigate sources of difference and to ensure that regard was paid to Indian Muslim feelings in the dealings of the great Powers. And once that it is so, once we get back to normal conditions, I put it to you that in these factors of creed, geography and history are strong ties which ought to sustain the abiding good relations between the Muslims of India and the people of England, which Sir Saiyid Ahmad and his friends deliberately aimed at fostering.

There have been many signs of late that the Muslim community are taking serious stock of their position. The wave of foreign politics, on which they have for some time been borne, has broken and spent its force. There is a lull, and men are asking themselves what course to steer. It would be presumptuous and foolish for any outsider to offer them counsel. But we may look on with

interest and sympathy and try to put ourselves in their position. To the onlooker the choice seems to lie somewhere between two courses. The Musalmans of India are Indians and they are Muslims also. I have heard some men give preference to the one attribute, and some to the other. Is there or is there not any real divergence of interests between citizenship in the Indian commonwealth, and membership of an extra-national religious community? That is entirely a question for the Muslims of India to decide. If there is such divergence and a choice must be made, then they will surely ask themselves, Which capacity offers the Muslims of India the happier, safer, richer future? If there is no such ultimate divergence, it still seems necessary to consider how the community can best be stayed together against the intermittent stresses, which nevertheless must occasionally threaten its cohesion. To an onlooker these seem to be the great questions to which the best Muslim thought of the country should be devoted; for their solution will immensely affect the Muslim future.

It is because I hope and believe that Aligarh will play a large part in shaping Muslim destinies that I have deliberately travelled rather beyond the conventional lines of an academic address. Aligarh, when first I heard of it, might be described as the spearhead of the Muslim reform movement, polished, sharp, well-tempered. When I came to the United Provinces, Aligarh boys were almost recognizable at sight: they had a certain alertness and vigour, a discipline and courtliness that marked them out. Whenever there was a job of real work to be done, as on plague or famine, they were in real demand. A definite type had been evolved under the play of certain forces; the whole problem of production was in some ways easier than now. Compared with your present numbers, the Aligarh of those days was a small place. It drew its students from a narrower social stratum. Its pioneering character attracted teachers of remarkable charm and personality. There was time for more concentration on the individual, and for more personal contact between pupils and teachers than is possible in the stress and pressure of a great university.

We all have to change with changing times. What is best for one age may not suffice for another. The Muslims of India

found — no doubt they found rightly — that it was no longer possible to meet the needs of the occasion by reliance on a *corps d'élite* of picked products. The doors of higher education must be thrown wider open; and a chance offered to all deserving boys and youths, however distant and however poor. That was a fine democratic aim; and it evoked a fine effort. The whole community responded; the rich gave of their wealth, the poor of their humble means; and the result was that in 1919 the hopes expressed in the address to Lord Lytton forty-two years before were fulfilled and your efforts were rewarded by the passing of the Muslim University Act. I am glad to remember that it fell to me to serve upon the Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Council which considered that Bill.

So it has come to pass that Aligarh is the seat of one of the four universities of the province, and draws its *alumni* from all over and beyond India. You have over 800 undergraduates on your rolls and over 1,100 students in the intermediate college and school. You are entitled to dwell with pride on the large share which you are taking in the provincial education; but, over and above all that, this Muslim University represents the most vigorous, the most advanced effort of enlightened Muslim opinion, and with its success are bound up the brightest hopes of a great community.

How heavy, then, is the burden which rests on those responsible for its administration. I need not assure you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen, with what deep interest the Government will always watch your labours. There are, we all know, some inherent dangers which, not here in Aligarh alone but in all universities, attend the effort, the praiseworthy, determined, necessary effort, to expand rapidly the sphere of higher education. There is the recurring problem of men and of money. Education has a way of growing by what it feeds on, and still asking for more; your long list of needs is proof of it. Above all, there is the unsleeping problem of sustaining quality while providing quantity. As Chancellor of the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities, I cannot help knowing enough of my Vice-Chancellors' anxieties, to infer that you in Aligarh may have yours as well. Happily, it is easy for even a layman to know when a university

is in health or otherwise by certain infallible signs. Harmony and concord in the managing body; a clear division of labour between head and hand, I mean between the deliberating bodies and the executive officials; a secure and contented staff; discipline left to the executive, and not so much enforced upon the students as accepted by them as a necessary condition of healthy work; and a firm maintenance of academic ideals as regards qualifications for admission, standards for passes, and provision for research—given these conditions, you have nothing to fear. Success is certain, and all the blessings that success means to the Muslim community are certain too. Everyone who knows Aligarh admires it for two main things: the example and character of its founder, and the way in which since his time many heads and hands have devotedly contributed to the good cause which he led. Gentlemen, much has been done, but much remains to do. You may well be proud to look upon these fine buildings, range after range; and the sight may well encourage your resolve to complete them. It is natural for you to ask Government to help you, and we shall anxiously consider your request. I acknowledge the claims, eloquently urged in your address, which this seat of learning has upon the attention of Government by reason of its pioneer and exemplar character. But no one knows so painfully well as Government its incapacity to respond to all the calls upon it. If Providence would only treat Government as well as Government treats some aided institutions—that is to say, if it would give us an extra rupee for every rupee of revenue which we raise—then (even in the absence of the Finance Committee and the Legislative Council) I could safely promise not only the Muslim University, but all sorts of other deserving causes, that they should have a golden time. Moreover (though I apologise for reiterating something that I have often said already), you will remember that the powers of a Governor to-day in relation to any question of expenditure are very different from those of a Lieutenant-Governor in the old days. There are the Finance Committee and the Legislative Council to be considered and convinced. In any event, however, the bulk of the burden must inevitably fall on you. There is no other policy for people who have leeway to make up but combination and continued

endeavour. It is hard, but it is ennobling. 'The prize is a great one, and the hope is high.' The effort alone is worth much; those who make it are the better for having done so.

With deep pleasure I have heard the names of your past and present benefactors; I hope that their example may inspire others: and for evidence of the earnestness of my intentions my Private Secretary will send your Treasurer the sum of Rs. 500 in memory of this occasion. I wish you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, gentlemen and students, all imaginable success; and that I say in all sincerity, speaking as one who has known Aligarh closely for some fifteen years and admired the growth and expansion which has occurred in that time; one who can honestly claim to be a well-wisher of your people and your university—and finally as one who has seen many other heads of the province standing in this place, and certainly never dreamed of having the honour of occupying it conferred on himself also.

Whether as a personal friend and sympathizer, or whether as Governor of this province—and I am proud of either position—let me give you this concluding message, and with this preface

Zi-dil khezad, ba-dil rezad.

I believe intensely that the need of the moment in India is the growth of the spirit of toleration. I believe also that the beginning of toleration is sound learning. Prejudice, narrow views, selfish intolerance are weeds that flourish in no depth of soil. But the richer crop demands the deeper cultivation. The more cultured a man is the more he realizes that there are other points of view beside his own, and the more earnestly he tries to understand them. If higher education were ever to become a whetstone of communal or religious differences, it would be false to its real self, and no longer deserve our confidence and regard. I would have your graduates go out to the world none the less good Muslims, because they are also missionaries of religious and intellectual tolerance, servants of the true freedom which respects the rights of others and makes men to pray about her:

That her fair form may stand and shine
Make bright our days and light our dreams,
Turning to scorn with lips divine
The falsehood of extremes.

RECOGNITION DAY, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

DR. CHITAMBAR, AND MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND STUDENTS OF THE LUCKNOW CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,—I told you, Mr. Principal, when you were good enough to invite me to be present to-day, that you must not expect a set speech. I have delivered too many addresses lately on educational or quasi-educational topics to have anything very fresh left in me to produce. But one or two things I must say. No one can be Governor of an Indian province long without realizing the immense influence that higher education is going to have in moulding India's future. The need for expanding and improving our university and collegiate education is being more and more understood every day by all classes and communities. I admire the vast amount of voluntary effort which is being dedicated to the task. Now, prominent among the qualities which gives virtue to university education is the quality of universality. In the true university all kinds of culture should meet and mingle, and stimulate each other. To my mind, therefore, it is all to the good that a college like yours, bearing a perfectly definite impression, the impression of American Methodism, should have become an integral part of our composite university centre here in Lucknow. You have a distinctive contribution to make to the university and collegiate life of this place—a contribution drawn from the colleges and churches and homes of the United States of America. The life and thought of America is something different from that of the rest of the world. I will not attempt to analyze the forces—natural, physical, historical—which have shaped it; but we all recognize it as in some ways younger, fresher, more alert and more adventurous than that of many of the older nations. Of all countries America, perhaps, has her eyes most firmly fixed upon the future and is more confident than most about the future. I think that the contact of culture derived from American sources with the ancient cultures and civilizations of Asia must be stimulating and fructifying.

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However this be, it is my duty as Governor to acknowledge gratefully the great service which your people have done for the education of the inhabitants of this province; the generosity with which your home benefactors have supplied funds for this high enterprise; the devoted personal service which the members of the staff here have given to the cause; and the fine spirit which animates your college and schools.

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BALIKA VIDYALAYA, CAWNPORE

GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE BALIKA VIDYALAYA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

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March 9, 1925

Of the importance of female education to the future of India many people before me have spoken, and I myself have spoken before now. I will only say this, that education as we meet it in schools and colleges is after all only a part—indeed, only the preliminary part—of education in real life. So long as intelligence persists, the process of education continues through life; in the courts, in the markets, in business dealings and in private friendships, and perhaps most of all in our own houses and homes. Herein lies the importance of educating the future wives of India. A cultured wife doubles the interests of life for her husband because he sees events and opinions reflected in her mind also; he benefits by contact with her brains and knowledge and intelligence, as she by his. And if that is so, must it not also be the case that with a wholly unlettered wife a man who has himself enjoyed a college education is in some danger of feeling his culture atrophy? That is why it is vitally important for all who wish to see India intellectually and culturally sound to press on with the education of its girls as well as boys. We all know the difficulties in the way; I will not pause to enumerate them; but in the end courage and perseverance will surely overcome them.

Gentlemen, you have told me of your needs and hopes. You probably know precisely what I shall say in reply. We have done something substantial for you already. If we can do more we shall be glad to do it. I have no doubt that my educational advisers are thoroughly interested in the welfare of so promising an enterprise as yours. You may feel perfectly sure that when you address us—whether about financial help or about new space for expansion—you will be addressing a sympathetic audience, willing to help if we can. And having said that, obviously I must

say no more, unless indeed I advise you to pray this year for a good monsoon and abundant revenues and freedom from calamities, physical or otherwise; in fact, for all the conditions which make it easier, or at all events less difficult, for a Government to give.

TAKMIL-UT-TIBB, LUCKNOW

HAKIM SAHIB, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE,—

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March 13, 1925

It is not easy for anyone who has been brought up on the traditions of one kind of medicine to do full justice to another kind which is strange to him and of which he has made no study. But I know that Unani medicine has had a long history, a widespread practice behind it and honoured names on its roll. It is obvious, too, from the large number of patients which have sought and found relief in your hospital, that it ministers to a real need. It is highly creditable to the founder and to his two sons that this humane and beneficent enterprise should have been carried so far mainly on their individual efforts. I have been much impressed by what I have seen in my brief inspection I have seen evidence of method, thoroughness, science and enthusiasm. I am also glad to know that you are by no means merely carrying on along the time-worn lines. You are seeking to improve the system, to find out up-to-date methods, and to impart a knowledge of anatomy, and other sciences. I believe this policy to be thoroughly sound. Medicine, whether of the East or West, is a form of a human knowledge; and knowledge, being a non-material, organic thing, if it is to live at all, must grow. Your idea of fostering the good relations between *hakims* and doctors, which have been so friendly since the beginnings of this college, so that through an exchange of ideas each may understand the other better, is also welcome.

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Like all healthy and expanding institutions, you need more money and more space. I understand that the latter question is even now before the Government, but as it has not reached me I can say nothing definite about it. But, following the example of Sir Harcourt Butler, I will make a small donation to your funds;

and I commend your appeal for money to all liberally-minded people.

I wish all success to those students who have completed their term of tuition here, and I hope that their skilful services may be of vast benefit and blessing to many thousands of patients; and win as much respect and confidence as it is evident that many of their predecessors have done.

GANGA PRASAD VARMA MEMORIAL, LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you cordially for having bidden me here to-day to perform the opening ceremony of the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial. It is truly a sound instinct that bids us honour distinguished men who have left us, men who have served the public interest honourably and devotedly, by instituting some permanent and tangible memorial for their name; and if we can do so in a form which we believe would have been acceptable to him whom we seek to honour, our satisfaction in the task is doubled. Such double satisfaction, as you have made clear, is ours to-day. You could not have chosen a more appropriate form in which to conserve the memory of Rai Bahadur Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma than in constituting this beautiful and useful addition to the public buildings and to the amenities of the city which he loved well.

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Unfortunately, I cannot speak to you as one who had the advantage of knowing Munshi Ganga Prasad personally. My connexion with Lucknow began only after his death. But no one, however distant from this city, who took any interest in the development of the public life of the province, could fail to hear of or to admire his activities; and many of my friends, who have since done much to acquaint me with the progress and improvement of this great city, have made me realize to how large an extent he was the pioneer of its modern advancement. He was, as you say, transparently sincere and gifted with rare commonsense. He had the vision to see that the Lucknow of the future must have its wide roads and open places. What is more, he carried the public with him; so that slums, which were a dark feature in the city, disappeared and order and seemliness succeeded. Changes in an urban area always excite opposition from the vested interests which they are bound to encounter. But I believe it is true to say that Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, as

senior Vice-chairman of the Lucknow Municipal Board, carried through the great improvements which he effected (particularly the Aminabad and Aminuddaula parks) with the minimum of friction and the maximum of patient and tactful conciliation. For we must remember that the work was done with very limited powers of compulsion. There was in those days no Town Improvement Act. Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad had to educate and persuade. Strongly imbued with the civic spirit himself, he had also the rarer faculty of inspiring his fellow-townsmen with it. For these achievements Lucknow owes him a great debt.

You have spoken also of his political career. I have always heard of him as a frank and honest public man, a man whose criticisms were never tinged with bitterness and often tempered by the frank recognition of what was good in the existing system. Firm in pursuing his views and yet not obstinate, he could appreciate the other side of an argument without being overborne by the difficulty of taking a decision. He was a public man of a character whom we can ill spare to-day; a man of whom not only the city of Lucknow but the province also may be justly proud, and whom we do right to honour. As was written of him at the time of his lamented death, 'in a word, there was nothing that was good of which he was not an active and a self-sacrificing supporter; there was no good cause which does not suffer greatly by his passing away'. He suffered personal and family bereavements, but never allowed them to interrupt his public work, and by common consent he was a deeply spiritual man, informed and uplifted by a truly religious spirit. Indeed, his piety and the obligations of Hindu family life are attested by the *dharamshala* close by, which you have mentioned.

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I think you are wise in making the ideal of study the keynote of your new library. The amount of constructive work to be done in this country is enormous, and it is right that there should be available, to those who are called upon to attempt it, a large, well-found library consisting largely of historical, economic, scientific and political literature, embodying the experience of the practical workers and thinkers of previous ages, on which the

workers of to-day and of the future may draw for enlightenment and inspiration. I trust that the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial Hall and Library will serve this high purpose for many days to come, and I now have great pleasure in declaring it open.

BABY WEEK EXHIBITION, NAJIBABAD

March 16, 1925

GENTLEMEN OF THE DUFFERIN COMMITTEE,—I thank you for welcoming me here and for giving me the privilege of opening your baby week exhibition.

Your address reveals some of the difficulties which Dufferin work has encountered in Bijnor. I am a little surprised to find that so important a form of public service should not have enlisted more strongly the sympathies of your district board. There may be factors at work of which I have no knowledge. I do know, of course, that local bodies have their own troubles, and that the problem of finding money for all that needs to be done is always with them. I know also that it is very difficult to balance the claims of one kind of service against another; and yet, when we remember the immense importance to the people of this or any district of providing skilled medical attendance for its wives and mothers, especially in connexion with child-bearing, it seems doubtful whether the board are really wise in leaving the initiative in this matter so largely to a few private philanthropists. I am inclined to say that if it became, for example, a question of diverting money from the medical relief of men to that of women, that there are sound reasons for such diversion. Private practitioners are becoming available in increasing numbers for the treatment of men, but this is not the case with women. Women in this country are not yet in a position to plead their own cause effectively whether as regards education or medical relief; and meantime a minority of far-sighted, generous-minded men must do it for them. All the more credit to those gentlemen named in your address who have shouldered the burden in this district. I applaud their public spirit and I am very glad to hear of the measure of success attained.

It is certainly encouraging that two of your municipalities are active along the lines described. I hope that others will follow their lead. I hope that your ideal of having a lady doctor in each tahsil and trained *dais* in every municipal and town area will ere long be attained. Here comes in the value of the baby week

movement, which I am heartily glad that you have adopted. I need hardly enlarge on the importance of this work. In India at the present time over a quarter, sometimes nearly one-third, of the babies born perish within the year. In some towns the figure is as high as one-half. That is a terrible indictment of social sanitary conditions, when we see from actual statistics that in healthier circumstances three out of four of those dead children would be saved. In England forty years ago the ratio of deaths was one in six; but in less than a generation that ratio has been halved. There is urgent need for a campaign of enlightenment: to teach the mischiefs of early marriage and of bad food and housing, the need for care during pregnancy, for skilled treatment at delivery, and avoidance of the terrible mistakes which ignorance, superstition or custom engender. Surely it is not necessary to argue the value of physical health as a factor in national life. Education can do much: industry and art and science, every form of national development, are valuable in their place; but man must live before he can function, and all these other activities depend for any measure of success upon the measure of our victory in this initial battle.

I believe that this movement is, on all counts, a praiseworthy one, and that it has come to stay. In some of the large centres of this province—notably Allahabad and Bareilly—a most promising beginning has been made. I hope that you will set up a welfare centre somewhere in this district, where a trained health visitor will be available to instruct mothers on the proper precautions, both before and at child-birth, and the proper care of the baby when born. Such a centre, with its facilities for watching growth, advising about food, detecting the beginnings of illness, and providing the tendance which an uneducated mother in a poor home cannot give, will be of incalculable value to the well-being of the next generation.

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CORONATION HINDU SCHOOL, MORADABAD

GENTLEMEN OF THE HINDU EDUCATION SOCIETY, MORADABAD,—

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March 23, 1925

There never was a time when the desire for education in this province was stronger, or the effort to promote it more widespread; and it is no mean achievement to have provided the means of instruction, and the chance of rising in the world for another 250 or 300 boys of a big city like this. I am sure that you are wise in associating religious with secular instruction, and in aiming at the formation of character as much as the production of scholars. But I need not remind you that it is by no means sufficient to build and to equip a school. The more difficult task—because it is a task demanding not vigorous and dramatic effort, but quiet continuous vigilance—is to maintain a school in a condition of health and efficiency. I have been looking through recent inspection reports on the work of this school. Many of the criticisms related to deficiencies inseparable from your old building on the former site; and these are now happily removed. The inspector also dwells on the importance of improving the salaries of the staff so as to attract and retain trained men. I am sure that his advice is sound. The teachers in an aided high school ought to be in a position to give their full energies to the work of the school, without being under the necessity of supplementing their income by private tuition. And, if I may here repeat what I have said elsewhere, it is my conviction that you will be wise not to leave the teaching of the lower classes entirely to the lesser trained and less highly paid staff. Well begun is half done. The work in Classes III and IV is the foundation of all that follows, and you would be wise to put some of your best men on to it. I note with pleasure that the inspector gives full credit to the headmaster and his staff for having done their best in the past under considerable disadvantages. While

he would like to see more imagination and less standardization of ideas, he gives the tuitional staff full credit for one solid virtue—a virtue which is perhaps the basis of all other virtues in teaching—the virtue of thoroughness. He writes, 'This is one of the few schools that insists on homework being properly done'. He notes that written work was neat and duly corrected and that teachers' criticisms had been attended to. That is satisfactory evidence of application and thoroughness, upon which I congratulate the staff. If they have attained it under the old depressing conditions in which they worked, there is every hope that they may succeed still further now.

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PROROGATION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH,—

April 3, 1925

I have come here to congratulate you all upon the termination of another toilsome session; to thank you for the public work which you have accomplished; and to wish you God-speed until you re-assemble. Your work in this chamber is done under adverse conditions of climate, acoustics, and ventilation. Meanwhile I watch with interest your future and more dignified habitation arising day by day. I have indeed been engaged this morning in inspecting the progress of the works, and I hope that if I am still here two years hence I may have the great satisfaction of installing you formally in the new chamber.

I am grateful to the Legislative Council for reposing such confidence in my Government, Members and Ministers, as to furnish them with the financial resources necessary to conduct the administration during the current year. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us, as to you, that a portion at least of the heavy burden which has hitherto lain upon the province, in the form of the financial contribution to the Government of India, has at last been taken away.

In addition to the important financial work of the session, the Council has passed one measure of much moment, the Oudh Courts Bill. I am very pleased to think that a project which has been so near the hearts of the people of this part of the province for a long time has come to completion; and I heartily congratulate my honourable colleague, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad (who is unfortunately indisposed to-day), on seeing his hopes fulfilled during his fifth year of office.

The fact that another notable figure also is not in his seat to-day, but indeed already some hundreds of miles off on his way

to England for a well-earned rest, makes it easier for me to bear testimony to his invaluable services than if he were here. I am sure there is no member of this Council who has not admired the consummate skill, the unfailing tact and good temper, with which Mr. O'Donnell has discharged the heavy duties falling upon him in this legislature.

This is probably the last occasion on which I shall find myself occupying this dais in juxtaposition to your present President. After to-day he will, I understand, appear before you only to make his parting bow, and to induct his successor. That will be the occasion for the Council itself to signify its own appreciation of his work. But, speaking on behalf of the Government, I am anxious to make our acknowledgments now. It is not too much to say that if during the past four years the Legislative Council of the United Provinces has won a high place among the provincial legislatures of India for dignity, sobriety and businesslike methods (as indeed I am confident that it has), the credit therefor is, in a large measure, due to Mr. Keane. He has guided your proceedings not merely with impartiality (for that quality is too fundamental to call for special praise), but with great skill and understanding; also he has known how to maintain authority, without ever failing in patience or perception. Many members of the Council may momentarily have endured correction at his hands; but I am sure that none of them have felt aggrieved at it. In this complex constitution under which we live, Government and legislature are required, within certain definite limits, to work together for the good of the people of the province. Those limits have not yet been breached in the United Provinces; they have, I believe, not even chafed too grievously either of the co-operating parties. Among the various factors which have contributed to that fortunate result I give a high place to the quiet, tactful, unremitting efforts of your President during the past four years, to promote the dignity and to develop the parliamentary aptitude of this legislature; and, in the name of the Government, I tender him my warmest thanks and congratulations. And, gentlemen, when the time comes for you to elect Mr. Keane's successor, I beg you to bear in mind the gravity of the matter, and, regardless of party or personal preferences, to

select for the high office of occupying the President's chair the man who in your conviction is most capable of sustaining and developing the traditions of order, reason and courtesy which Mr. Keane has so successfully inaugurated here.

I will conclude even as I did last year. May this new financial year be one of continued peace and prosperity to this province which we all serve. Now, gentlemen, on behalf of Government, I thank you for your public labours and I declare that this Council is prorogued with effect from the close of to-day's session until such date as will, in due course, be announced.

MEMORIAL AT NAINI TAL TO MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE KILLED IN THE WAR

June 7, 1925

It is to me a high honour to have been asked, by those responsible for it, to unveil a memorial tablet in this church to three civilian soldiers who gave their lives in the war.

I do not think it necessary for me to speak more than a word or two. Every man who has not soldiered himself feels, I hope, too humble to have any wish to be voluble in speaking of those who fell. Moreover, the thoughts that come most readily to the mind have already been expressed so excellently in the fine hymn, which has just been sung, that I am reluctant to mar the effect of its moving lines by any imperfect tribute of my own.

This office of rendering respect to fallen soldiers has ere now called forth imperishable sayings from the great poets of all ages. Let me quote one verse from what is perhaps the finest English poem which the war produced—a verse not wholly unworthy to be set beside the great epitaphs of the past:

> They shall not grow old, as we who are left grow old;
> Age shall not weary them nor the years condemn.
> At the going down of the sun and in the morning
> We will remember them

OUDH CHIEF COURT, LUCKNOW

MR. CHIEF JUDGE, JUDGES AND GENTLEMEN,—The ceremony which I have now the honour to perform marks the end of a long chapter of schemes and discussions. It is over forty years since the question was first asked whether the character of the Judicial Commissioner's court should not be organically changed. Sir Alfred Lyall was the first Lieutenant-Governor who sought to answer that question by establishing in Lucknow a divisional bench of the High Court of the North-Western Provinces. From the very outset there ensued a contest of opinion between those who disliked any territorial distribution of the High Court's work, and those who felt that Oudh opinion would never acquiesce in the complete transfer of the judicial business of the province to Allahabad. Even in the year 1887 the latter opinion prevailed. But the Secretary of State found that it would be difficult to get through Parliament the Bill which would be needed in order to set up a divisional bench of the High Court, and, preferring an alternative course which did not require parliamentary legislation, he put forward for the first time the suggestion that a Chief Court of two judges should be established in Oudh.

November 2, 1925

It has taken thirty-six years for that suggestion to mature. The Government of India at that time preferred to expand the Judicial Commissioner's court, and Sir Auckland Colvin was unable to persuade them to the contrary. Sir Antony MacDonnell, after giving much attention to the subject between the years 1896 and 1901, revived the idea of a divisional bench of the High Court in Lucknow. The Government of India agreed in theory, but were deterred by the practical difficulties; and, as a result, the appointment of a second additional Judicial Commissioner was sanctioned. This appointment was made permanent in 1905; and from that time onward until 1919 the recurrent discussions of the question always ended in the conclusion that a permanent solution should be deferred until the public of both provinces demanded a

change and there was complete agreement as to the form which the change should take.

Before I review the process which has brought the Chief Court into being, let me summarize briefly the view taken of the question which, up to 1919 or thereabouts, was held not only by most administrators and judicial officers, but by a large section of the public as well. It was then regarded as anomalous and wrong in principle to have two supreme courts in one administrative area. That arrangement was held to involve a dissipation of strength both on the bench and at the bar. At the same time, the amalgamation of the High Court either at Allahabad or Lucknow was regarded as impossible. Oudh would never agree to all its cases going to Allahabad. The transfer of the High Court from Allahabad would be similarly resented: it would raise other troublesome questions; and by 1915 at all events the decision to build a new and costly High Court building at Allahabad made that particular solution impossible. No one was enthusiastic about the expedient of a divisional bench in Lucknow. Those who accepted it did so as a *pis aller*. The judges feared that the arrangement would be inconvenient to work; others thought that the divisional bench might grow into a separate court, and so impede amalgamation; others looked upon it as a mere expedient hardly worthy of Lucknow or Oudh. At the same time, the solution of having a Chief Court had, outside Lucknow itself, but few friends. It was regarded as needlessly expensive, as presenting an additional barrier to the ultimate amalgamation which was thought to be the ideal solution, and as not materially altering the existing situation, and involving some of the disadvantages attaching to the Judicial Commissioner's court. In view of these difficulties, the line of least resistance continued to be pursued.

How has it happened that the outlook and opinions of the preceding thirty-five years have been reversed in the last five? The seed of change was certainly sown in a resolution moved in the Legislative Council, in April, 1919, by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra; but, with all deference to the excellence of his arguments and the eloquence of his advocacy, I doubt if these alone would have prevailed. I know too that the Chief Court scheme had the advantage of being supported by Sir Harcourt Butler, with his

great sympathy with Oudh and his great knowledge of Oudh conditions. I know that my honourable colleague, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, has been untiring in his efforts to bring the court into existence. I note also that Agra opinion, evidenced in a speech of Mr. Chintamani and a resolution of the United Provinces Political Conference of 1919, generously supported the proposal. But there were still lions in the path—the dislike of a tribunal intermediate between the Judicial Commissioner's court and the High Court, and the fear of impeding ultimate amalgamation of the provincial judiciary. I affirm without hesitation that the driving force which put the scheme through was the force of the reforms of 1920, which invested the voice of the Legislative Council with new authority, and altered the balance between the claims of theoretical perfection and those of day-to-day practice. In some quarters (though, perhaps, not so often as a while ago) it is still alleged that the reforms are a sham. If answer were needed to that untrue assertion, here is at least one answer—in the birth of the Chief Court of Oudh. It is none other than a child of the much-decried reforms inaugurated by the late Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

Now, before we break finally with the past, it is right that we do justice to the expiring court of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh. A court which has included in the past such eminent figures as Mr. Deas, Mr. Ross Scott, Sir Edward Chamier, Sir Sundar Lal and Sir Theodore Piggott—to name only those judges who are serving in India no longer—of course stands in no need of apology. The case for change has never rested on the ground that the judges of the Judicial Commissioner's court were inefficient or unlaborious. On the contrary, their competence was acknowledged; their industry was beyond praise. They have had to deal with some of the most burdensome and complicated litigation which, I suppose, ever came before a court of justice; and they have discharged their onerous duty in a way which has commanded admiration. The Chief Judge has referred with just pride to the reception of the Judicial Commissioner's judgments by their Lordships of the Privy Council. The desire for a superior court arose out of the conditions under which they worked. With the development of the province there came an

increasing desire to assimilate procedure in Oudh to that of the High Court at Allahabad, to see intricate appeals referred to a bench of judges, and to provide a special procedure for taluqdari suits. These aspirations could only be satisfied by a change in the constitution and powers of the court. In bidding a final farewell to the court of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, it is right that I express on behalf of the executive government of the province our thanks, both to the present incumbents of office and to their predecessors, for the admirable way in which their responsible task has been performed.

It remains for me to congratulate the province of Oudh upon the fruition of its long-felt desire. I have every confidence that the establishment of this higher tribunal of justice will contribute to the happiness of the people by giving them a better equipped and more exalted instrument for the decision of their legal disputes, and for the vindication of any of them who may have been wronged. In particular, I hope that the investment of the Chief Court with original civil jurisdiction—an innovation which has had to run the gauntlet of some criticism — may abundantly justify itself in the speedier and cheaper determination of taluqdari suits. I need hardly remind you, gentlemen, what an incubus these have been upon the prosperity of the province. There are times when, reading the history of some of the litigation over estates in Oudh, I have been tempted to congratulate myself that I was not an Oudh taluqdar. As was said on one occasion by this Government, 'The existence of large landed properties governed by special laws, and the peculiar importance to the taluqdars of questions of succession have in practice made Oudh far more subject than the province of Agra to false suits on title. There is hardly any estate in Oudh the holder of which has not at some time been compelled to defend his title in protracted litigation, and recently three of the largest estates have been put in jeopardy in this way. The peculiarities of the Oudh Estates Act, admittedly a peculiarly difficult Act to construe, have furnished special opportunities for litigation of this character.' Happily, we have as Chief Judge of the new court an officer who is not merely entirely familiar with provincial conditions, not merely a personal friend of many of you, but also, as his work

upon the Civil Justice Committee has shown, an ardent champion of simplicity and efficiency and a sworn enemy of all the cobwebs, complications and inequities which have crept into the judicial system of this country. If under his guidance the Oudh Chief Court can do something effectual to strike at the abuses of champerty and maintenance—that speculative traffic in legal proceedings—which are so vividly exposed in Chapter 43 of the committee's report, the new institution will have abundantly justified its propagation. Further, to touch for one moment upon a point to which the Chief Judge has most reasonably referred, I may say that the Government are only too well aware of the deficiencies of the Oudh judicial buildings, and will not lose sight of the necessity for improving them when possible.

Finally, and as a matter between friends, I congratulate the Maharaja of Mahmudabad on witnessing to-day the completion of a project on which his heart has been so sincerely set, and for the furtherance of which he has so earnestly laboured. At this point let me read to you a message which I have received from my predecessor in office, Sir Harcourt Butler: 'I congratulate Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government, and especially the Hon. Maharaja of Mahmudabad, on the successful completion of a reform which settles a long-standing difficulty in a manner satisfactory to all parties, and which inaugurates a new and progressive era in the judicial administration of the province. I earnestly hope that the Chief Court, ably presided over by Mr. Justice Stuart, will add to the contentment and prosperity of my old and kind friends, the people of Oudh.' You will also be glad to hear the courteous message of greeting which the Chief Judge has received from the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court: 'The Judges of the High Court at Allahabad send all good wishes for the prosperity and success of the Chief Court.'

Gentlemen, the inauguration of a new chief court of justice which affects over twelve millions of people is no ordinary occasion. The law and the judicial system, like all human institutions, have their imperfections; and harsh things have in their time been said about them. But on an occasion like this it is right and wise to fix our eyes upon the dignity and nobility of the law. I need not apologize to you for quoting what Lord

Coleridge described as the finest tribute ever accorded to law—a tribute pronounced by the 'judicious Hooker' three hundred years ago:

> Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in Heaven and Earth do her homage: the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power.

May that majestic utterance be an inspiration to all those who are honoured with the task of administering law and justice in this new Chief Court of Oudh.

OUDH PROVINCIAL DURBAR, LUCKNOW

November 3, 1925

DURBARIS OF THE PROVINCE OF OUDH,—It was not without anxious consideration that I decided to hold this durbar. Times are changing in India; and I had to ask myself whether, in view of the new system of government presented by the reforms, there was any longer reason enough for the Governor to invite the nobility and gentry of the province to meet him in formal assembly; whether it were not better that the Governor should express the views and the policy of his Government only through the established channels of the legislature; and whether the old and honoured ceremony of the durbar should not henceforth be reserved for wholly special occasions, like the visit of Royalty and the Viceroy. But this was not the view of those whom I consulted. They believed that there were still real advantages in the practice by which the Governor occasionally sought an opportunity of assembling and directly addressing the notables of the province. And they pointed out to me that the durbars held by my two predecessors had been of great value in stimulating the immense effort which these provinces made in men and money during the Great War.

We are, thank God, at war no longer. But it has been borne in upon me during three years of office that we are indubitably engaged in a great struggle of another kind, the end of which no man can foresee; and I thought that if words of mine could do anything to arouse the sympathies and bestir the energies of those of you who are the natural leaders of the countryside, there would be abundant justification for holding to-day's ceremony, and putting before you my ideas upon the most important problems of the present time. I am satisfied that in taking this course I am transcending in no way the limitations imposed on me by my office. What I shall say does not represent conclusions arrived at by my Government, nor does it commit my Ministers. What it does represent is the result of my personal reflections: and any suggestions which my speech embodies are put forward in the hope of eliciting discussion.

OUDH PROVINCIAL DURBAR, LUCKNOW

Let us start from the fact that we have for five years been trying in this province to work a system of government which to a large extent admits the representative principle, and which aims at the extension of that principle and eventually at its entire predominance. You know what I mean. It is accepted policy that the actions of Government are ultimately to be decided, not by the wishes of the people of Great Britain as expressed through the Secretary of State, not according to the expert views of the trained administrator, whether Indian or European, but according to the wishes of the individual affected by them. In England we should call him the man in the street. Here we ought to call him the man in the village; because although we have a number of large cities, yet ninety-seven per cent of the people and ninety-one per cent of the registered voters, or fourteen voters out of every fifteen, reside in villages. The constitution, therefore, vests the direction of the affairs of this big province ultimately in the hands of the village voter. That is a most important fact, the significance of which is for the time being obscured from us by various films: the survival, still in strength, of the official administrative system; and the facts that interest in politics has not yet permeated the villages of the province, that public opinion is still formed and expressed in the towns, and that (though I know many patriotic people deny this) there is, as I think, a gap in economic interest, and therefore to some extent in sympathy and understanding, between town and country. The countryside still lacks organization, save such as is afforded by the existence of large estates to which the tenants and labourers are attached. There is no immediate prospect of the rural voter suddenly coming forward to play the predominant part in politics which the constitution ultimately assigns to him; and therefore we do not perceive him as potentially, or indeed as conceivably, master of the situation.

Nonetheless, unless one's reading of history is absolutely wrong, nothing is surer than this, that, if the present scheme progresses—and amid all our uncertainties we have no conclusive reason for assuming that it will not progress—the transfer of power from the classes which at present enjoy it to the rural voter is only a question of time. Ignorance, poverty, disorganiza-

tion may delay the process; but they will never stay it in the long run. The popular principle is instinct with life, and once the seed is sown it will not be denied growth. Our legislature is at present mainly composed of professional men and landlords. I do not say that the status of the representatives will necessarily change: it is nearly everywhere the case that parliamentary representatives are drawn predominantly from the classes most conversant with business and most apt in discussion; but I certainly do say that, whoever the representatives are, they will come to feel the pressure of the electors behind them much more exigent than they find it at present. Policy will come ultimately to conform to the wishes of the village voter.

I put it to you, therefore, that we cannot repose indefinitely upon a temporary and unstable equilibrium of forces. It is of the utmost moment to ask ourselves if we are looking ahead—if we are doing all that we can to prepare the electorate for the burdens which it must one day assume. I think that some of the farther-sighted landlords see that. Some men of position have asked me before now whether the representative system necessarily involves the disappearance of the landlord order. They see some grounds for anxiety. They say very truly that, willing as they may be to protect and to advance the interests of the poorer classes, they cannot outbid the extravagant promises held out by popular agitators, who feel no similar responsibility because they have nothing to lose. A good landlord may set himself to treat his tenants well; to give them security, to help them with improvements, to spend generously on schools and hospitals. But because he knows that the country cannot be run without money, he will not promise the impossible. And that is what the other side is always ready to do. No rent, but all proprietary holdings; no taxation, but rather bounties from Government; incomes for all, and burdens for none—these are the phantoms promised by the irresponsible demagogue who only wants votes; and naturally they appeal to the man who is incapable of forming a practical judgment for himself. With the spectacle of Bolshevik Russia before their eyes, some landlords have been asking themselves, and asking me, whether there is going to be any place for them in the political future of this

country ; whether the representative system inevitably means the entire dissolution of the old order, the breaking up of estates, the disappearance of old families, the end of stability, and the abandonment of control to an uneducated and inflammable proletariat.

I admit the difficulty of the question. To me, as I have said, it seems inevitable that, unless the course of events takes some wholly unimagined deflection, the majority of voters must eventually have their way. It appears to me also—indeed, I think it is widely acknowledged—that the majority of voters are at present unfit to assume control. But, personally, I cannot contemplate that out of good intentions should be born evil ; that the foundations of order and society should be broken up ; and that millions of innocent and peaceful people should be committed to calamity. I go further and say that in a country like this, whose social structure has been based for centuries on the religious and aristocratic principle—on deference to sanctity, merit, birth, power and position—I think that it would be a catastrophe that the landlord order should disappear. They are a valuable element, making strongly for stability in the body politic. I think they are still required to secure society and to lead the people, as to their credit they abundantly proved that they could do when it was a question of a huge war effort. In that belief I nonetheless put it to you that we are all faced with a most urgent and immense piece of constructive work to do. The ignorant elector must be saved from becoming a danger to himself and others. He must realize the underlying requirements of order and stability ; he must, in fact, be educated all round. Moreover, if the landed classes are not to disappear, if they are to maintain themselves any longer as the natural leaders of the countryside, they must also as a whole change their outlook. They must see that privileges involve burdens. They must show that they are the sympathetic allies of the peasant and the working man. They must play the great part that is open to them in educating their fellows. If they do that, they need have no fears of the unknown future. They will be accepted without question as a necessary and valuable factor in society. Democratic institutions are in themselves no reason why men of means and status should not play their due part in their country's history.

I realize that I am speaking of a position not yet in sight, and that for that reason my words may fail to carry conviction. But after repeatedly going over the ground, I cannot myself perceive any flaw in the propositions which I have advanced. The reforms were launched with the purest of intentions to bring great benefits to India. The reforms must gradually, but inexorably, operate to throw power into the hands of the many. Any factors which delay that process are at most temporary. But, unless I and those who think with me are gravely wrong, the many are as yet quite unprepared to exercise power; and if the world situation to-day points any moral, that moral is that power in ignorant hands is a danger. Therefore, and here again I am expressing to you my personal judgment, it behoves us all—all, without distinction, landlords, public men, and the whole order of public servants—to strive earnestly to make good what is at present a palpable and dangerous deficiency. We have, indeed, to educate our masters. This is the main conclusion to which consideration of the reforms has led me. Whether we shall succeed or not I will not prophesy. The issue lies upon the knees of the gods. But unless we make an earnest, concerted, resolute effort, the high vision of political advance presented to this country must fail of fulfilment, because the vital condition of success is lacking. The material will not be strong enough to bear the weight of the structure. And we—not only the Government, but all responsible persons of every kind—will have come short of our duty unless we make the effort.

I have put forward first what strikes me personally as the conclusive argument in favour of an attempt to vivify and enrich the rural popular life of the province. I can quite understand that some timid imaginations may find the prospect alarming. They will envisage a process of carrying politics into the countryside, and thereby stimulating the very agrarian disorder which it ought to be every sensible man's aim to avoid. It seems to me that such fears are exaggerated, and that in any case such risk as exists ought to be taken. The last thing which I contemplate is the teaching of political theories beyond the digestion of their hearers. I want the ryot and the working man to be put in such a sound state of mind and body that he can eventually make his

politics safely for himself, forming his own judgments and listening to no man's teaching blindly. If you turn to Chapter VI of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, you will see that this is exactly what the makers of the reforms postulated. They recognized that the enlightenment of the ryot could not be a very rapid, and might be a very difficult, process. But so long as we shrink from the risks which it may involve and are content to leave the peasant population in poverty and ignorance, we remain in a vicious circle. The danger of false teaching is the greater so long as the peasant and the labourer are ignorant and poor.

But, quite apart from the political argument, who can deny that for the sake of humanity alone there is a crying need for something to be done? From all sides comes the appeal—from the economist, the doctor, the educationist, the philanthropist, the social reformer. My honourable colleagues, the Ministers, have told me how strongly they desire to see something effective done for education, for public health, for industries and agriculture. Indian publicists have asked me if Government can do nothing to give a lead in a general campaign of enlightenment. It is painful to them, as it must be to the inheritor of any culture, to feel that so many of their own people are shut off from the riches of thought, literature and art which exist and should be open to them. Other provinces also are cogitating schemes of rural development and construction. We have had all-India investigations into economic conditions and the incidence of taxation, which testify to the consciousness of politicians that there is a great problem to be explored. Personally, I welcome the Government of India's declaration that they feel that there is still need for a concerted effort to improve agriculture throughout India; and I take it as of good augury that His Majesty's Government have selected for the high office of Viceroy a Minister whose concern has been with agriculture and education. I cannot conceive, therefore, that any thinking man will deny the need for a campaign. If any of us are inert or half-hearted about it (as indeed too many of us are), that is because we are daunted by the magnitude and the complexity of the task. It is in truth so large a problem that even in a rapid survey of it the difficulty is to know where to

begin. One factor interlocks with another: poverty, ignorance and ill-health, each of them aggravates the others.

I know, of course, the facile explanation which is offered of this state of things. India, it is alleged, is burdened with heavy expenditure on armaments and officials; she has to pay a so-called 'tribute' to Great Britain; her industries have been crushed by foreign competition; her administration is steered by aliens towards their own interests; her people are over-taxed, and therefore cannot save money and build up capital. To each of these assertions there is an answer, and to my judgment a more or less complete answer; but I do not desire to spend time in developing the answers now. I want to concentrate on features of the problem which have little or nothing to do with any of these things.

I will begin with the purely economic side. I do not want to paint too black a picture. There are signs of progress and improvement. There has been a great increase in cultivation during the last fifty years; and a great extension of our protective system of canals and *pakka* wells. Experience of 1913 and 1917 has demonstrated that the resistant power of the people is higher than it used to be. The standard of living has perceptibly risen. The labourer is better off than he was even within my memory. Nonetheless, the peasant's abiding trouble still is that he is nearly always in debt; he is still too often a lifelong serf to the moneylender, who is no easy master. To this condition, I believe, some social practices contribute. The joint family system may check the subdivision of holdings, but it handicaps industry by making the many dependent on the some. A man works with more zest if he is working for himself. Then there is the practice of early marriage, with its undoubted effects upon physical efficiency. There is the seclusion of women (except those of the lower castes) from participation in the main industry of the country. There is caste, which restricts the free movement of labour, hinders the utilization of waste products, and produces the dragging effect upon society of the untouchable classes. There is the uneconomic expenditure on marriages. There is the sentiment which prevents the unrestricted use of some rivers for irrigation. These are matters which the Government cannot remedy. That is the work

of the social reformer; and, privately and personally, I wish his efforts all success. Never, I think, was there a time when the need for them was greater. But I must leave this aspect of the matter, or I may alarm those who see peril in such changes. Over and above all, perhaps the limiting factor to all schemes of economic improvement is the pressure of the man upon the land. Elsewhere in the world an expansion of population has followed upon an increase of resources; and as the increase in resources slackens, so does the increase in the population tend to diminish. I do not know whether any changes which we can hope to see in India will ever put her people into the comparative economic ease of richer countries. But, even so, all the more reason is there for effort; and I pass on to other factors in the problem of peasant poverty, which the administration is freer to handle. The ryot's life is in any case a struggle: with his small holding his stability is constantly threatened; he has a very narrow margin of safety. No human agency can guarantee him rain and sunshine at the right time. We can only attempt to help him within the limits prescribed by nature. That is mainly a matter, first, of capital; and, secondly, of materials and methods. The Government can indeed try to adjust the burdens which the administration imposes on the farmer, and we sincerely hope that we are doing that; but to finance the farmer we must look to the landlord and the co-operative society. I know that many landlords advance money on easy terms, but many do not. I know that some landlords look askance at the co-operative movement as tending to make tenants too independent. Personally, I cannot take that view. I say again that I cannot reconcile the ideal of reforms with the continued existence of an unlettered and indebted peasantry. I believe, with Sir Selwyn Fremantle, that the key to the rural problem lies largely through the co-operative movement. It is a disappointment to me that it has not done better, as, under conditions distinguishable from our own, it has done in the Punjab. I look confidently to the present committee, of which Mr. Oakden is chairman, to tell us the reasons and to show us the remedies. I will not attempt to forecast its conclusions. But I regard the co-operative movement as very much more than a means of providing easy money on a large scale. It is a training in the process of acting together,

of thinking of the common benefit, of handling practical affairs on a large scale. It is in itself an education; and once the idea has established itself in men's minds it can operate for a dozen purposes. It can promote agricultural improvements; it can stimulate education and industry; it can facilitate distribution and marketing. I need not dilate on the practical results achieved in other poor countries. But in the United Provinces the co-operative movement, in order to conquer the public mind, has first to make good within its own peculiar sphere. For the time being the best service it can render to agriculture is to put its societies and banks on a firm, sound basis. All I want to do for the moment is to ask you all, taluqdars of Oudh, zamindars, public men and officials, to believe in the great potentialities of the movement for good and to lend it earnest help. I do not claim that it is a panacea of all evils. But because it is an organic educative process, I believe that it is all to the good that it should expand.

It would take far too long if I were to treat in any detail the many activities of the Agriculture department. But I have one general statement to make about the department, and one or two special points by which to reinforce it. Our agricultural officers would be the first to admit that there is much more work to be done. But they also tell me that if we could make the utmost use of the positive results already attained we should make an immense advance. I have seen figures about Pusa No. 12 wheat, about Shahjahanpur and Coimbatore sugarcanes, and about Aligarh No. 19 cotton, which leave no doubt that we ought to make every effort to extend and multiply their use. How is this to be done? I can think of bulletins and district gazettes. I can imagine even that at every focus of rural life—the tahsil, the bazaar, the larger school—we might make available information and specimens of the up-to-date results of the Agriculture department. I think we might call into existence agricultural societies in every tahsil. I think the revenue staff might be interested and active. But far better than all these things is practical demonstration. And here comes in the wise landlord's opportunity. The department is already demonstrating to good effect on some 80,000 acres of private

land. But we need more. In all agricultural matters the landlord is by far our best non-official agent. The department tells me that it is now distributing all the good seed which it can produce. We need, however, an immense development of private seed farms and seed stores. I ask the landlords of the province to take systematically to growing the approved seed for distribution to farmers. Such private seed farms serve the double purpose of educating the farmer to better ways and of providing him with the means of putting his knowledge in practice. To multiply them rapidly is, I am assured, the one most hopeful step we can take towards greatly benefiting our farmers; and I believe it to be a step well within our means. Or again, take tube-wells. We have about 160 of them, commanding an area of 24,000 acres. Their efficiency is proved; the economy of them is certain. But in non-canal areas there is room for hundreds, if not thousands, more. The Government offer generous assistance, and still the response is slow. But every landlord who instals a tube-well and pump, which can become a focus of both demonstration and seed production, is not merely doing himself a sound turn, but is incidentally a public benefactor. Gentlemen, I might go on about other important matters: power cane-mills, ploughs and harrows, bull distribution, and so forth. But it would take too long, and in each case the moral is the same. The Agriculture department is doing splendid work in providing better methods, and pointing the way to that intenser cultivation which we need to get. The general response is not yet what it might be. Let us remember what Dean Swift said about the immense service of making two ears of corn grow in place of one. Cannot landlords, agricultural societies, district boards, co-operative societies, and revenue staff all link arms and give a great impetus to the technical improvement of our cultivation?

I wish I felt similar confidence about the development of provincial industries. I am not thinking of the highly organized industries of Cawnpore, nor of some other industries—like the Benares silk, the Fatehgarh printed cottons and the Moradabad brassware—which are localized and to some extent organized and capitalized too, nor of those directly connected with agriculture, like the sugar and oil industries, in which fair progress is

being made. What we need to do is to put more life into the little-diffused industries which require no great capital or plant, but which depend upon the skill and diligence of the human workman, and can, with a little attention and organization, be made to pay. I know the difficulties which are adduced in the way of advance; but economic pressure is beginning to sap them, and there is an opportunity to seize. We know that the farmer has little or no work to do at certain seasons: a fact that doubtless weighed with the advocates of the *charkha*. To me it seems that there is much more hope from the fly-shuttle loom than from the spinning-wheel. I am assured that but for the middleman's profits the hand-weaver could still compete successfully with the mills. If we could multiply our output of cheap fly-shuttle looms and distribute cheap yarn, we could do much for home-weaving. Weaving seems to me to stand in a class by itself, because it can be taken up at odd times and the demand for the product is unceasing. But with the improvement of agriculture and the extension of hand-weaving there should be increased scope for more ironsmiths, more carpenters, more tanners. I know that the Industries department is doing its best to show the way. But so long as it is a matter of paying stipends in schools to attract youths who have no particular bent for the business and are thinking more of succeeding to teaching posts than of starting on their own account, it is difficult to feel hopeful. I would like to see the stimulation of cottage industries taken energetically up by public-spirited people in the districts; and here, too, it is for the landlord to lead the way.

One potent factor in the depression of rural life is ill-health. I have referred to some causes which only a reformed opinion can remove. But others are removable. As you know, we have launched the experiment of district health schemes partly for propaganda, partly to deal with epidemics, partly to demonstrate what can be done in special areas. They have been received with some incredulity and they are going to take time to make good. But if people will believe in them and support them, I am sure that much can be done. It would be a small thing for large landlords to establish model villages, or at least to point the way by getting model houses with a simple but scientific

lay-out and drainage system. I am all for simplicity, but there is a right simplicity as well as a wrong one. It ought to be our aim, whenever possible, to press on with the protection of wells, the removal of filth, and the clearing out of mosquito breeding places. Malaria is the chief enemy of all; and the people must be roused to fight it. A great deal of earnest thought has been given to the question by the Minister and his expert advisers; but the main conclusion is that whatever trained agency can do in the way of education or demonstration, success will ensue only when the villager is stirred to action himself. I know the difficulties: if they were not immense, the thing would have been done already. I believe that it can still be done; but not by public health agencies and district boards alone, and only if all concerned throw themselves into the task with something like the ardour with which they rallied to war-work.

I come to the question of rural education, which intermingles with everything else. We have had a special inquiry lately, and I expect that many of you have studied the results. I need not, therefore, enlarge on our deficiencies. It is clear that our schools serve only a fraction of the people and retain only the boys whose ambitions are other than agricultural. It is clear that there is reason to ask ourselves whether we should be content with the results of the energy and money expended. Rural education has been for some time a matter of concern to the department and to the Minister; and he has important proposals for dealing with it which will shortly be made public. Personally, I think that we need much better and quicker teaching in the lower classes and much more interest on the part of parents and well-wishers. Personally, I agree with Sir Selwyn Fremantle that we must somehow commend our school system to the parents by providing a method of education on which they will be keen, because they see that it makes their sons better farmers. I have been interested to see what can be done in certain places and on a limited scale; I think that our aim should be to find some means of adopting those successful results on a large scale. But it is a huge problem. In spite of the utmost that the zeal of a Minister and the technical skill of a department can do—and I know how earnestly they both have worked—my own idea is that we need

also a wider agency and a more local stimulus. You know what our primary schools are like. But my idea is that the school and the co-operative society between them should be the nucleus of local enlightenment. Rural schools should make boys better farmers. We need to stud the country with large, well-equipped primary schools, where the boys can be pushed rapidly through the infant stages and have time left to learn something that will be of real value to them in country life. At present the country places are denuded of their more promising boys and the towns crowded beyond their absorbent capacity. This is one of the main causes of unemployment among the middle classes. The problem is by no means peculiar to India; but with us it is specially insistent. I welcome the growing recognition by the press and the legislature that we should seek to disabuse people of the idea that the aim of rural education is to qualify the country-born boy to get out of the country.

Neither I nor my Government have any obvious panacea for all these things. But we feel it our duty to think seriously over them. What are our resources for dealing with them? One's thoughts turn immediately to the district boards, the bodies charged by law with many, but not all the, matters which concern district development. Some of the district boards, as the Government have already acknowledged, are shouldering their burdens manfully and grappling seriously with their new responsibilities. At the same time they have to work within definite limits, according to the Act which provides their organization, enumerates their duties, and prescribes their procedure. Can we feel confident that the boards, in conjunction with the departments at headquarters, will, in addition to all their burdens of day-to-day administration, succeed in solving a problem so big, so constructive, so diverse and so diffuse as that of revivifying the life of the entire countryside?

I will not answer that question dogmatically: we need more light upon it. I will only tell you that some people have put it to me that a new agency is required to supplement the boards and the departments. That is a tentative suggestion which has not yet been considered by the Governor acting with his Ministers. Indeed, it is obvious that it cannot be considered

until we have received much opinion upon it. The idea, as I understand it, is in each district to call into existence a rural development committee, to be composed of all people who are interested and have something to contribute. It would comprise members of the district board, members of the district staff and members of the technical departments. It would in no way clash with the district board nor entrench upon its functions. The new committee would have no executive or spending powers, for to give it these would inevitably lead to antagonism. But it would be a consultative, deliberative and propagandist body. It would preach the cause of advance and enlightenment generally. It would inquire into local possibilities and suggest lines for experiment. It would recommend cases for grants to the boards and to the departments. It would be always there to keep the idea of rural progress clearly before people's minds, and to survey periodically signs of progress. It has further been suggested that if local sub-committees could be gathered round some zamindar or local resident whose heart is in the cause, they would be useful; and that if we could link up the committees or sub-committees with the system of village panchayats, that would also be to the good. It has been further suggested that at headquarters we should have a rural development board, on which Ministers and departmental advisers would sit to work out programmes and to see that one portion of the scheme is adjusted to another. It has been pointed out that we had a War Board in 1917–18 which did great work and yet managed to avoid collision with other constituted authorities. It has been put to me that if we are all agreed as to the urgency and reality of the rural problem, there is no reason why a similar agency should not serve us now.

Let me repeat that the Government have not considered these ideas; much less are they committed to them. To me, personally, and to my honourable colleague the Minister also, they seem of sufficient interest and value to be, at all events, worth ventilating. Our object is not to propound any particular solution, but to concentrate attention upon a huge and insistent problem and to seek advice and enlightenment from all quarters as to its solution. Those who lean towards the idea that a special agency or organi-

zation is required may possibly be quite wrong. In any case, if popular opinion declares against the idea, it is idle to think of proceeding with it. But in throwing out the suggestion for discussion, I would like just to add this. Unless the more general propositions advanced earlier in my speech carry conviction, there is no basis on which to found any new scheme. On the other hand, I think it may be called a commonplace of past history and of personal experience that when we are up against an emergency, unusual methods are needed. When a common danger threatens, the common sense asserts itself and insists on sinking the smaller interests of class or community or prestige. I realize how hard it is to get people to see, how hard it is to see for oneself, into an indeterminate future. But I personally am persuaded that if the urgency of the problem could be brought home to people, if they could realize that we are really at war with poverty and helplessness just as surely as we were at war a few years ago with ruthless human enemies, there would be the same perception now as there was then, that ordinary methods will not suffice; that it is a case for personal effort and example and sacrifice: a case for enlisting in some way or other all who have anything to give, landlords, officials, public men, and any existing organizations. There is some reason to feel that we are not adequately equipped at present to deal with our biggest problem. I invite you, gentlemen, and indeed all well-wishers of these great provinces, to turn over the ideas which I have tentatively laid before you, and to consider whether there is anything in them. It may be that as a result of the discussion of them we may between us strike out some better way. The only conclusion which, personally, I should receive with extreme disappointment is to acknowledge that concerted action is impossible, and that we should do nothing beyond going on along the present lines, and without the driving-force to be derived from the close association of all lovers of the country, of all kinds and ranks, knit together in something like a network of societies extending all over the country.

Gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I hoped might be necessary; and I thank you for the attention and patience with which you have heard me out.

KAYASTHA PATHSHALA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

TRUSTEES OF THE KAYASTHA PATHSHALA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,—It is a pleasure to accede to your invitation to open this college, which makes so valuable an addition to the buildings of this academic neighbourhood. Its completion marks the taking of an important step towards the realization of the ideal embodied in the Allahabad University Act. **December 7, 1925**

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Gentlemen, the ideal of the Allahabad University is, as we all know, to become a residential university, with all its students (other than those living with their parents locally) in residence in the university area. The completion of this college building does add substantially to the residential content of the university, and therefore, as I said, it is an important step forward on the accepted lines. But it is also of the nature of an adventure. As you say, the university college (though you are not the first specimen of the species) is still a newcomer, and necessarily something of an experimental development still. The essence of success lies in ensuring that the tutorial arrangements are good. Otherwise you will really remain only a hostel, with merely a colourable element of teaching. It is in the hope of making your tutorial system real, living and efficient, that the Government already give you a grant. I am sure that you do not regard the present arrangements as more than temporary. I understand that as yet you have no separate principal; and that two teachers of the intermediate college are still acting as part-time tutors here. It is apparent, therefore, that some of the requisite equipment of a real university college is still lacking. You cannot under these conditions really attain the intimacy, the understanding, the personal touch, the individual guidance, the impress of character, which your address recognizes as the ideal, and which is, I agree, the very essence of the college system. Therefore, I say to you, concentrate earnestly on this

particular feature of your scheme. At all costs seek out and appoint as principal and tutors picked men, whole-timers, men of academic learning and high character who, having the tastes, and living the lives of scholars, are yet human enough to understand the undergraduate's mind and to share and help him in his difficulties: men who, as the Sadler Commission put it, 'will exert on their pupils that kind of guidance which cannot be mathematically defined, not because the ideas on which it rests are vague, but because they lie too deep for words; because such guidance implies a sense of rightness of conduct directed as occasion arises, to the multiple and varied circumstances of students of different temperament, upbringing and natural inclinations'. Every student in this college should know—not merely from information supplied by some typewritten allocation list, but as the result of personal trial—that there is one among his tutors who has made a special study of his needs and progress, and to whom he can at any time go, and go profitably, for advice. This establishment of real intimacy, of personal relationship between teacher and taught, is the gist of the whole matter; and you should strain every nerve to secure it. And as regards the alternative courses of finding the necessary money yourselves, or of appealing to Government for it, there is just this to be said: I believe that your staff would work better, with more of a collegiate feeling and with more zeal for the cause, if they felt that the main source of their salary was the liberality of private founders, than if they knew that they were paid mainly from the pockets of the state, towards whom (I know from experience, both as donor and donee) it really is difficult for the ordinary man to feel more than a most vapid emotion of gratitude. Incidentally, too, you will be the more deeply concerned to get good men, if it is your money that they are earning.

Gentlemen, I thank you for inviting me; I congratulate you on a notable achievement; I urge you earnestly not to rest upon your oars; and with much pleasure I declare the college open and give it my best wishes. May it represent a real accretion of strength to the senior university in the province; may it absorb and give out the highest conception both of individual effort and of corporate university life; may it be a living exposition of those

ideals to which we all are stretching out, the desire for learning, not for its commercial value, but for the beauty and goodness of the thing itself; and the development of the individual's faculties to the highest, not so much in a spirit of emulation and prize-winning (although these also have their value in an imperfect world), as in a spirit of brotherhood and comradeship, with the intention that their fruits may be dedicated to the service of one's country and fellowmen.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CAWNPORE

MR. DIRECTOR AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE CAWNPORE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE,—

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February 2, 1926

I am not going to speak generally on the larger aspects of the vast problem on which your address has touched. I refrain from doing so partly out of consideration for my colleague, the new Minister for Agriculture. He has too recently taken over the important portfolio of agriculture for there to have been any time for discussion between him and myself of matters of policy and procedure. And, naturally, I do not wish to say anything to-day that may possibly prejudice any conclusions to which he may come. I hope it is unnecessary to emphasize the deep interest which the Government take in the well-being of our greatest provincial industry. But I will just touch on two points. First, when the Government of India asked us whether we favoured the idea of a Royal Commission on Agriculture, we replied that we welcomed its appointment, because we felt certain that such inquiry was bound to stimulate interest throughout the country in matters of vital concern to millions of its people, and hoped that from the considered recommendations of the Commission great benefit would ensue; and, secondly, upon the question of how to make the best use of the excellent results which the agricultural experts have put at our disposal, I say, as I have said before, that for spreading the results of scientific research among the people the best agent of all is the landholder. I am glad to hear that so many of the students do come from the landholding classes.

The larger estates offer great opportunities for the introduction of scientific methods of agriculture. It is not sufficiently realized that land management is a business which has to be learnt like any other business. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to the economic progress of the province that those who have to manage their own estates or who wish to take up the

profession of land agents should take the opportunity, which your diploma course offers, of gaining the necessary knowledge and experience for their task.

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It is usual on an occasion like this to offer a word of encouragement and advice to those who have completed their studies and are about to enter upon their future careers. There is no career, to my mind, which offers at present more opportunities of fruitful and beneficial service. We are, as I said, essentially an agricultural province, and agriculture is, and will remain for a long time, our predominant industry. It will depend appreciably on you whether we are to make a rapid advance in improved agricultural methods and practice, thereby increasing the produce of the land and the contentment of the countryside; or whether we are to continue in the old familiar ways, waging an unequal battle with the destructive forces of nature. If, through your initiative and alertness and capacity to deal with practical problems, you can inspire others with confidence in the knowledge and scientific methods which you have acquired here, you will indeed have deserved well of your college, and will have rendered a notable service to your province.

UNVEILING OF AN EQUESTRIAN STATUE TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HARCOURT BUTLER AT LUCKNOW

March 5, 1926

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—A man about to unveil a statue to his predecessor in office, and desiring to present a verbal picture of him alike to those who knew him and to those who did not, may be forgiven, I think, if he envies the sculptor of the actual effigy the comparative ease of his task. A phrase once spoken—until it is forgotten—is quite as intractable as bronze and stone; but it is apt to catch the light in a greater variety of ways.

Sir Harcourt Butler has been my friend for a quarter of a century, and some of you will have known him for a decade longer. I think that to most of us two aspects of the man pre-eminently appeal. He is universally acknowledged to be an administrator of supreme ability, and he is also, in the best sense of the term, a frank and courageous partisan. He loves dealing with affairs on a large scale; feeling the currents of men's thoughts; sensing the drift of things; and seizing the right moment and the right method in which to guide the course of events, so far as human judgment and will can shape them. But simultaneously he does not deign to conceal the fact that there are certain causes, certain people and certain places for which he has an especial affection. A concrete case for which he can do battle is dearer to him than greater abstractions, about which men can only philosophize. And it is appropriate that in this capital, where much of his work was done and to which he still feels so strong an attachment, his statue should be placed by the piety of those who esteemed him both as a Governor and as a friend.

No doubt it was his early service as settlement officer in Sitapur and Kheri that gave Sir Harcourt his special interest, both in the great houses and in the ordinary people of Oudh. He looked to men like Mr. W. C. Bennett, Mr. Irwin and Sir John Woodburn as his *gurus* in revenue matters, and he was always an advocate of that more sympathetic and lenient policy which has

been followed since in recent settlements. His brilliant work as secretary to Sir Antony MacDonnell's Famine Commission of 1901 was naturally followed by a period of service as Secretary to Government, in which he still maintained contact with Oudh; and in 1906 he succeeded to what was probably the post nearest to his heart in becoming Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow. I need not remind you of all that he did for the beautification of this city. You, Maharaja Sahib, have already referred to that. He set about adorning this place with parks and trees and fountains and stately buildings, with the ardour of a lover who brings jewels to his lady. From Lucknow he was called away by Lord Minto to the Foreign Secretaryship—a post which Lord Curzon once described as involving the highest degree of selection of all those open to the civil service. From the Foreign Secretaryship he became Education Member of the Government of India, and had the satisfaction for five years of furthering the causes of education and public health throughout this vast country. His counsels were, I am sure, of great weight in shaping some of the decisions of the supreme Government, which did much to steady public opinion and to restore confidence in India under the first shock of war. From Simla and Delhi he went for three years to administer Burma as Lieutenant-Governor, and threw himself with undiminished zeal and interest into the new problems of that fascinating land. In February, 1918, he returned to his old province as Lieutenant-Governor, and when, shortly afterwards, the crisis of the War was upon us, his energy and influence ensured that these provinces played a worthy part in the supreme effort which that emergency demanded of all subjects of the King-Emperor. Three years later he became Governor under the Act of 1919. To him belongs the credit of having initiated and given a fair start to a scheme of government, which, whatever its detractors may say of it, confutes them by continuing to function. This is a high achievement. The circumstances in which that scheme was launched were peculiarly difficult. Feeling ran high and there was widespread economic distress. Skill and courage of no mean order were needed to steer the Reforms successfully through the perils to which they were exposed in these provinces in the years 1921 and 1922. Sir Harcourt has already been head of a province for more than

twice the ordinary official lustrum. His administrative record dwarfs all his contemporaries', if not all his predecessors', too.

Sir Harcourt Butler is never happier, I believe, than when he is creating new institutions. To his initiative Lucknow owes three of its finest possessions: the University, the Council Chamber and the new Zoo. It is no secret that, had not hard times supervened, he purposed to beautify this city further still with spacious roads, stately buildings, and impressive bridges. He would relish as epitaph what was said of Augustus Cæsar, 'urbem lateritiam accepit, marmoream reliquit'. Much of what he intended must for the time being remain a vision only; but when better times come back, I hope that a more fortunate Government may be able to carry out his plans.

I have spoken of Harcourt Butler as a man of state affairs, and as a creative force. No less characteristic of him are his large heart and warm sympathies. Perhaps what most commended him to the people of Oudh was the perception that he understood their feelings and difficulties and sympathized with them. He never forgets a friend. He is a great believer in friendship as a force for good in the world. He wielded an immense personal influence, because he had intimate personal knowledge. No one can read the language of the last speeches which Sir Harcourt delivered in Lucknow without feeling how warm and genuine was his affection for this place, which he described as having been to him 'an inspiration of youth, a support in later years, the abiding city beautiful, my Indian home'. It is with great pleasure that I unveil this statue of him who has been first Governor of this province, first in the brilliance of his service record, first in devotion to the interests of Oudh, and first in the affections of its people.

LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

March 5, 1926

TRUSTEES AND GOVERNORS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is always a pleasure to me to come to the annual prize-giving at La Martinière College, even though I feel the handicap of having nothing very fresh or interesting to say to you upon this, the third occasion.

The Martinière must always be an object of interest and concern to all lovers of education, because its position is in many ways unique. You are fortunate in having what so many schools in India lack, an historic founder, substantial endowments, fine buildings, fine playing-fields, and a well-established tradition. All these are elements which have played a great part in shaping the life of English public schools. Moreover, it counts for something that this college is situated in the heart of India and on the skirts of one of India's great cities. Hill schools and colleges have their advantages of climate, but they suffer in other ways from their comparative seclusion. For boys who, generally speaking, are going to spend their lives in India, to be brought up in the real atmosphere of India, the India of the plains, is not without its benefits, provided always that good management and the right spirit are able to overcome the adverse influences of the seasons. This is, I understand, what the Martinière, among the European educational institutions of the United Provinces, pre-eminently sets out to do.

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I have reached the point at which it is usual for the person presiding at a function like this to offer advice to a portion of his audience, which, as he realizes, probably regards him as not merely out of date, but as already long-winded. My predecessor, Sir Harcourt Butler, spoke to you about the value of will-power and grit; the need for knowing what you want and of resolving to attain it; the futility—indeed the fatality—of uncertainness of aim and infirmity of purpose. Sir Sam O'Donnell last year reminded you that we all live in an intensely competitive world; and that it is daily becoming harder — not for you, nor for

members of the European or Anglo-Indian community only, but for everybody—to repose, not upon your own merits, but on privilege, or shelter or special assistance of any kind. I believe that both these speakers were right—and both put their points so clearly that there is no need for me to re-echo them. I want to end upon a slightly different note—a note of hope and promise. I have spent nearly thirty years in India now, and I think I see a decided change—and a change for the better—in the outlook of many members of the domiciled and Anglo-Indian community in these provinces. They are facing facts more clearly and resolutely than they were of old; they are less disposed to regard themselves as an isolated community with peculiar claims upon the beneficence of Government; and they are realizing that they will have to make good their place in the body politic largely by their own efforts, and they are, generally speaking, making a worthy attempt to do so. This is all to the good. I am sure that La Martinière College, Lucknow, has been, especially in recent years, a great influence in this direction. The ideals, the lessons, the spirit which this college inculcates—in form and chapel and playing-fields—are exactly those to serve you in good stead through life.

This Alma Mater of yours bears a name alike of dignity and of good omen—the name 'Constantia'—which is, being interpreted, the faculty or, let me say rather, the virtue of standing 'with oneself', of standing on one's own legs, erect, four-square, unshaken. I hope that long after I have ceased to be in touch with it, 'Constantia' will carry on the good work; and that to the riches of the Martinière's historic past there may be added the fruition of a vigorous and beneficent future.