

SOME DESULTORY NOTES
ON
LORD CURZON'S WORK IN INDIA

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(January 1899—June 1901)

BY
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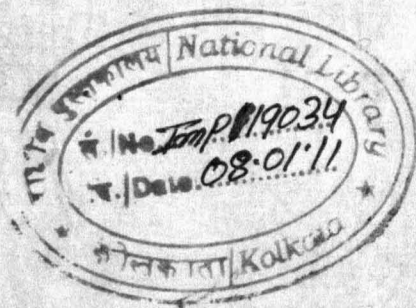
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A WORD BY WAY OF PREFACE.

The writer of this paper knows very well that a full and proper review of the Viceroy's work can only be made, after he has completed his term of office in India. But he has his own reasons for preferring to take up *the first half* of Lord Curzon's term and confine himself to that period *only*, instead of waiting till the end of his five years' rule.—In the first place, being an old man with very precarious health, he fears he may not live to have his say in full; and yet, as an admirer of Lord Curzon, he desires to say something about him in his own way, however crude, defective, and desultory that may be. He is fully conscious of his deficiencies for the work, having never had anything to do with *politics* in any shape whatever, and having, besides, never tried his hand at review-writing of any kind.

In the second place, the writer believes that Lord Curzon has already done a good deal of useful work during this brief period, which may well be taken up separately, now.

Another reason which induces him to write now is that, there are matters, or rather points looked upon as *grievances*, which it will be of little use to speak about, *after* Lord Curzon has left the country, but which, if brought to his notice *now*, when he is in authority, may receive attention and find some measure of redress, such as a large-hearted, vigorous, and sympathetic ruler, like Lord Curzon alone, can afford.

Having therefore watched the events of the past two years and a half, and the career of our Viceroy, with great interest, the writer humbly ventures to say what his honest impressions are, even at the risk of being ridiculed by those who may know better and are therefore more competent to judge. There is not, however, much in this paper that is the writer's own. He has freely and largely used the words of others, either to substantiate or strengthen the points which he urges, or to give prominence to the views which he expresses and which he believes he shares with many of his countrymen.

SOME DESULTORY NOTES

ON

LORD CURZON'S WORK IN INDIA.

(From January 1899 to June 1901.)

CHAPTER I.

Lord Curzon, known as the Hon'ble George Curzon M. P., prior to his appointment to the Governor-Generalship of India, was born in 1859. He was educated at Eton and Balliol Colleges and was a distinguished graduate in his day.

He became a member of Parliament in 1885, when he was only 26 years of age; and his rise from that day was as rapid as it was striking. —In 1891, he was Under-Secretary of State for India. Four years later he was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"And in 1898 he was (to use the words of an American journalist) offered the greatest gift of the British Government, the Governor-Generalship of India, never before offered to a commoner. *In India*, which he had visited more than once, the news of his appointment was received with entire satisfaction. *In London*, it excited universal interest. In addition to more or less editorial comment, every journal reviewed his *strikingly brilliant career*—Before being sent out to India he was elevated to the peerage as Baron Curzon of Kedleston."

He has travelled much in Asia, having visited Persia, Afghanistan, India, Siam, Corea and Japan; and has written books on "*Russia and Central Asia*," "*Persia and the Persian Question*," and "*Problems of the Far East*," which are considered as authorities as regards the countries spoken of.

The following was the character given him by an English writer, who spoke from personal knowledge—

He is a man of quick judgment and colossal industry. His extraordinary talents, his magnificent debating powers, and his quick grasp and mastery of any subject that he takes in hand, have long since marked him out for a great political career. He has won the confidence and esteem of Parliament, generally. He has no fear and has absolute confidence in himself. And the whole Administration may expect to be kept up to the mark throughout. It is to be hoped that he will prove a true friend of the Indian people.

We have now known Lord Curzon for a little over two years and a half; and though we have not that familiar knowledge of him which personal contact alone can give, we have learnt enough about him from his acts and public utterances, to enable us to form some estimate of his character and policy.

Indeed, Lord Curzon is a striking personality, *striking* in more ways than one—

(a) He is the *youngest* of our Governors-General. With the exception perhaps of Lord Dalhousie, no man came to govern India at so early an age.

(b) His knowledge of *politics* (both European and Asiatic) is greater by far than that of any of his predecessors, whether under the Company or the Crown. To use the words of a writer in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*—"Since the death of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Lord Curzon is certainly (apart from his present high office) our greatest *expert* on the politics of our Eastern Empire."

(c) Lord Curzon was not, like the noblemen who preceded him in office, a *born Peer* of the realm, who alone was eligible for the high office of Governor-General of India and who was usually appointed to it, provided only he could be got to come out to India and his views on politics generally accorded with those of "the party in office." But the selection of Lord Curzon and his appointment rested on other and more substantial grounds.—In the first place, the country which he was to be sent to govern, was not to him an unknown and unseen country. More than that, it was known that he *liked* it and that upon that account its interests could be safely placed in his hands. Secondly, young and ambitious as he was, it was felt that India would afford him a vast field for the display of his versatile talents and powers and that she would derive great benefit from his administration. Above all, Lord Curzon had made a great name for himself and risen to the front rank in the political arena of his country, by his extraordinary intellectual powers, his indefatigable industry, his marvellous debating powers, and, what was of greater moment to India, his remarkable acquaintance with Asiatic politics in general and Indian politics in particular. Here is the testimony of one of his eminent colleagues in Council, who said the other day,—

"Lord Curzon is the first Governor-General who has *earned his promotion* (to that high office) by *fighting his way* to the front rank in the debates in the House of Commons—that school for statesmen &c."

(d) In *physical activity* he has surpassed them all, having not only travelled in various Asiatic countries before

he became Viceroy, but having also made a tour over the whole Indian continent since he came into this country. And, what is noteworthy, he has, in the midst of his multifarious heavy duties, made time for sports and recreation.

(e) There is about Lord Curzon a *many-sidedness* of mind which enables him to deal easily with questions not only of Politics and Finance (which ordinarily engross the attention of the average Viceroy), but also of Education, of Art, of the better administration of the country, of the economic condition of its people, and the like.

(f) His power of *making speeches* is undoubtedly greater than that of any of his predecessors in office, with only one or two exceptions, that we know of. "His magnificent debating powers" in Parliament have developed into wonderful oratorical capabilities and made him a perfect master of speech. We not only admire his extraordinary command and flow of words but also marvel at the copiousness of his ideas, the richness of the information he communicates, and the exceedingly interesting and sometimes novel way in which he can put almost any manner of subject. "Speech is not in my power" said he modestly in one of his tour speeches. But in point of fact, he has made more speeches and some of them brilliant ones, in these two years and a half than perhaps all his predecessors put together. Here is the testimony of a foreigner who was in India—"I found a true key to the Viceroy's character in between the lines of a *dozen speeches* that he made in January and February."

(g) Lord Curzon seems to us to be more *frank and unreserved* than statesmen in his position usually are. As His Excellency says somewhere, "I am a believer in taking the public into the confidence of Government; for, the more they know, the more may we rely upon their support." And this was precisely what Sir Charles Trevelyan said in his day, more than 50 years ago.—"In exact proportion as we make the principles, proceedings, and practice of our Government, known to the Natives, shall we obtain their confidence and affections, and improve the safety of our Government."

(h) Few, very few of his predecessors could shake off the influence of what is called the *Indian Bureaucracy*. In fact, Viceroys, with one or two notable exceptions, were often believed to be mere tools in the hands of those high officials who surrounded them. But Lord Curzon is a ruler of a different stamp. He is self-reliant and capable of seeing things with his own eyes, and not with those of his advisers. This

does not mean that he despises their counsels. Far from it. He studies questions and cases himself and when necessary seeks their light. Here is what the *Daily Mail* of January 1900 had to say, in this regard :—

Nothing could have been worse for India than the *Bureaucracy* i. e. the official oligarchy, which had *grown supreme* in every department of public affairs. This form of government was working incalculable harm and even the Anglo-Indian press inveighed against it. Lord Curzon has rendered a real service by checking its power.

The Calcutta correspondent of the same paper calls Lord Curzon the most *autocratic* and at the same time, the most *popular* of Indian Viceroys.—“He is a strong man, imbued with a vast amount of self-confidence. To carry out his policy, he must necessarily ruffle at times the feelings of many excellent officials of a more *old-fashioned* turn of mind, who require a deal of convincing that they are behind the times.”

Another Englishman, writing under the head of “A progressive Viceroy” (Augt 1900) observed—

“Lord Curzon has undoubtedly given offence to many high officials. Unlike many of his predecessors, he refuses to wear the trappings of custom, or to be driven along official grooves; and his constitution has withstood the opiate influence of Simla.—He has the inestimable gift of saying “No”—without which no man can be truly great.”

Such in brief is the Viceroy who is now at the helm of affairs in this country, and about whom I feel it a pleasure and a privilege to say something, in so far as he has shown himself to us by his words and deeds.

Lord Curzon entered India with the words *Courage and Sympathy* on his lips. “*Courage*,” (to use his own words), “to grapple with the many perplexing questions that may arise in the Indian government and to maintain the authority of the Queen as her representative—And “*Sympathy* with the Sikh, the Parsi, the Moslem, the Hindu, with every race and class and creed—from the Native Prince (who occupies a throne that is secured to him by his loyalty to the Sovereign Power) to the humble peasant, who drives his furrow through the soil, in mute reliance upon that Overmastering Power, of which he is but dimly conscious, but which is to him the security for his industry, his property, and his life.”

Noble sentiments these, nobly expressed !

These very sentiments were subsequently accentuated by Lord Northcote, the Governor elect of Bombay, at a dinner-party, just before he left England. His words were—

I trust that we shall always take for our watchword the motto which Lord Curzon pronounced, and that our watchword will be *Courage* and *Sympathy*. I say *Courage* because the field in which we shall have to labour is a vast one and the labourers in it are few ; and *Sympathy*, because there is no English official (worthy to be an English official), who will not approach his task with the most earnest desire at all times to evince the utmost spirit of *Sympathy* towards those among whom he is called upon to work, and who will not remember that every Englishman has a deep debt of duty to discharge to those Natives for the direction of whose destinies he is so largely responsible.

I shall make one more extract on this important subject of *Sympathy*. Sir William Muir, Lt. Governor, N. W. P., when leaving India in 1874, said, among other parting words to the officers, who had assembled to bid him farewell :—

I trust that my young friends will excuse me, if I urge upon them the necessity of cultivating *Sympathy* with the people of the country, of understanding and feeling with them in their trials, their griefs, and their joys ; and understanding and bearing with them even in their prejudices and superstitions. The people of India are, I know well, susceptible of kind and grateful feelings towards those who feel with them and love them. And indeed, if we are not to make this our object, I do not see what good our coming to the country is at all.—I trust my young friends particularly will bear with me in these observations, the result of a long and careful study of the people and our treatment of them.

As I have said, Lord Curzon entered India with the words *Courage* and *Sympathy* on his lips. And a day or two after he set foot on Indian soil (30th December 1898, Bombay), His Excellency uttered another emphatic expression, *British Justice*, which all British officials connected with Indian administration would do well to note and lay to heart—

"It is" said His Excellency, "by the confidence of the Indians in *British Justice* that the loyalty of the Indian people is assured. Any man, who, by force or fraud, shakes that confidence, deals a blow at British dominion in India."—And, "if, to *Justice* "we can add that form of mercy which is best expressed by the word *Consideration*, and which is capable of showing itself in almost every act and incident of life, we have, I think, a key which will open every Indian heart."

And this noble principle of *British Justice* was emphasized by Lord George Hamilton himself in his address at the dinner in honour of Lord Northcote.

"The secret of the success of British rule in India is, that animated by a sense of fair play, we have endeavoured to do *equal justice* to the various antagonistic races and creeds and interests."

Shortly after his arrival in India Lord Curzon said, in the course of his first Budget Speech (March 1899)—“There is a category of twelve important questions waiting to be taken up by me, to which, as soon as the time comes I propose to address myself.” These 12 questions His Excellency explained briefly, at the last meeting of the Supreme Council (March 1901). Some of the Reforms contemplated therein have been inaugurated already; others are to follow in due course. Before, however, noticing them in any detail, I shall touch, as briefly as I can, upon certain *other* important points, on which Lord Curzon had to speak in Council or at public meetings, notably, the great *Famine*, the *Plague*, the *Financial position of Govt.* and *Military Expenditure*. Lord Curzon's first year in India, as some one said, was a *most trying one*, as he had to face *war* indirectly and *famine* and *plague* directly.

THE FAMINE.

Actuated by a feeling of *Sympathy* for suffering humanity, Lord Curzon visited portions of the afflicted areas and spoke thus of what he observed in truly eloquent and feeling language—

“Streams of humanity were pouring in daily upon the Relief-works from all quarters. The reluctance of the Indian peasant to the acceptance of charitable relief, except in the last resort, had completely disappeared.

“The area of visitation had expanded to a degree that has surpassed our worst fears. And we are now face-to-face with a Famine of *Food*, of *Cattle*, and of *Water*, which is unprecedented in character and intensity. From Bombay, from Rajputana, from the Central Provinces, come the same regretful confession, the same melancholy phrase.”

“During the Famine of 1897, Lord Elgin said on the 14th of January, that $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons were on relief. In the present week of

Contrast between
this Famine and that
of 1897.

January 1900, there are nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions on relief. Lord Elgin thought that the Famine in his time was the *worst* Famine of the century.

But we have now gone through a *worse* Famine. In the previous Famine England contributed hundreds of thousands of pounds to the alleviation of Indian distress. But now the war engrosses all her thoughts, and it would be too much to expect her to come again to our rescue in the splendid way she did in 1897. Now therefore we have to suffer and struggle alone. We must fight our own battles with our own means. With patience and fortitude we must pursue our task, conscious that though we are not engaged in stirring

ends which affect the fate of empires, we are yet performing our *duty*, English duty and an Indian duty, and that we are trying to do what *war* on the face of it does, to *save from death* many millions of human beings."

"The Government of India having recently issued a circular to the Local Governments suggesting a greater stringency in the tests to be applied for the admission of sufferers into Relief-

A word to the *Native Press*, in passing. works, the *Native Press* (of which I am no tentative student) has described it as inhuman and disastrous. Such a criticism can surely not be based upon any knowledge of the facts.—I should like to tell the Press and the Public of this country to remember, when they are in a critical mood, that to relieve the Indian poor from starvation and to save their lives, British officers have freely sacrificed their own. These men did not die on the battle-field; they silently laid down their lives in the service of the poor and the suffering among the Indian people. Indeed, the crisis is one which demands the *loyal and enthusiastic co-operation* of all who love India. To that co-operation in the months of trial that lie before us, I on behalf of the Government of India unhesitatingly appeal."

"I accept the full responsibility for that letter. It expressed the deliberate opinions of myself and my colleagues. I am the last person in the world to prefer the mere interests of *economy* to those of *humanity*. And I acknowledge to the utmost the obligations of the Government to *spend its last rupee in the saving of human life* and in the mitigation of extreme human suffering."

The Government's duty. "But we are the custodians of the interests of the tax-payers of this country. And we cannot imperil the financial position of India by indulging in a *prodigal philanthropy* or in *indiscriminate alms-giving*. By rule 67 of the Famine Code, no application for relief can be refused. The managing official cannot therefore use his own judgment as to admitting or rejecting it. He must trust to the self-respect of the applicant. I have myself seen hundreds, I might say, thousands of persons upon Relief-works, who were in no such state of necessity or destitution. I know of cases in which men in receipt of Famine-relief have admitted that they have saved a portion of their Famine-wages. And I have heard of village labourers going on to the works to fill the slack time, until the cultivation begins again. There is thus need for close supervision and control on the part of Government.

Need for caution in view of the enormous expenditure.

"It is a source of great distress to me" said the Viceroy, "that the first occasion upon which I should have been invited to take the chair

Famine Meeting in
Calcutta for raising
funds (16th Feb. 1900).

at a great meeting, should be of the present character. It is a sorrowful task to stand up and speak of the sufferings of millions of our fellow-subjects, who, while we are living in *comfort* and *affluence*, are enduring severe hardships and privations. We are confronted by a Famine of unparalleled magnitude. The number in receipt of relief, four weeks ago, exceeded $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions. To-day, in spite of closer stringency of tests, the total exceeds $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions. No such number of persons has ever before been *simultaneously* relieved by any Government in the world. And yet this is not the *maximum*, as the number will substantially increase in the next few months."—The amount of donations announced on that day was over six lakhs of rupees, the Queen herself giving £ 1,000 and consenting to become the Patron of the Fund.

"The prime duty of Government is to *save human life*. We do not ask you to relieve Govt. of its due burden or to save us from one penny of

What these private
donations are needed
for.

expenditure that ought properly to fall upon our shoulders. Still there is an ample field for *private generosity*. Whatever you give will make no difference in the extent and character of our outlay. It is our task to *keep the people alive* and to see them safely through the period of their sufferings. Nevertheless, there are a hundred ways in which the condition of their sufferings may be alleviated (while they last), and a fresh start in the world may be given to the sufferers (when the worst is over), by providing cattle, grain, fodder, implements &c.

"We ask your money to provide *warm raiment*, (clothes and blankets) for the poor workers who spend their nights in the open air, or under flimsy 'mats' of straw.—We ask your money to distribute *small comforts* (of milk, and arrowroot, and other medical sustenance) to the aged and the infirm, to invalids, and above all, to children. We ask your money for the relief of *Orphans* and of *Pardanashin women* who deliberately elect to stand outside of State relief, as also of the *respectable destitute* who are too proud to apply for Govt. help, who find it derogatory to labour and would sooner die than beg. Finally, there is the provision of cattle, of grain, of fodder, of implements, to enable the sufferers to make a start again in life, when the time of adversity is passed. Government does what it can in such cases by *tuccari* advances, by remissions of rent, and otherwise. But it is beyond its power to cover the whole field that is open."

On this point His Excellency's words were :—"Except in some Native States, which either did not possess the requisite organization or which began rather late in the day, *Mortality* from Famine Mortality. Famine has, so far, been almost completely, if not absolutely *repressed*. Such deaths as have occurred here and there, have been of a character normal in any period of distress."

A rather outspoken Indian paper (not Anglo-Indian), a most uncompromising critic of Govt. measures, and a warm advocate of Indian interests, speaks thus of Lord Curzon's Famine operations—

"No Governor-General was ever placed in a more difficult position than Lord Curzon ; for immediately after his arrival in this country, he was confronted by the greatest Famine of the century. And the world will testify how efficiently he has administered his Famine operations. For nearly twelve months, he fed six millions of starvelings, without adding a rupee to the permanent debt of the country. Such a feat could only be performed by one Governor-General, and he was Lord Curzon."

THE PLAGUE.

Lord Curzon's *sympathies* for people suffering from the Plague led him to visit the Plague hospitals in Bombay and its neighbourhood, where the pestilence had established itself for some time. And here is what His Excellency observed on the occasion (9th Nov. 1899).—

"I undertook to accompany Lord Sandhurst to visit the various Plague hospitals, to see what was being done, to note from personal observation the system under which they worked, and to show my sympathies with the sufferers. But what was my surprise, when I found myself among a large number of gentlemen collected under a shamiana, Lord Sandhurst telling me, meanwhile, that it was my duty to make them a speech. *Speech, however, is not in my power*, certainly, not my intention to make. I would simply say a word of sympathy to you, in the great trouble you have experienced."

In the course of his speech His Excellency made two striking observations which are worthy of record.—(1) "The campaign against Plague, to be successful, cannot be a campaign of *compulsion*. It can only be a campaign of *moral suasion*. (2) These troubles that have come upon you can only be successfully overcome by **Co-operation** between officers of Government and influential members of the Indian community."

Talking of *Indian Co-operation*, I feel tempted to quote here a remarkable passage from a speech lately made by Lord George Hamilton, at the dinner in honour of Lord Northcote.

Co-operation of Indians—a digression.

"I am one of those who look back with regret to the *old patriarchal days*, in the earlier period of British rule in India, when *European* officials were located in districts far away from any of their race, where they had to rely, in governing their districts, on the *Co-operation of Indian gentlemen* and magnates of the locality. The experience thus gained and the *kindly feelings* thus established were a great benefit to both rulers and the ruled."

But where are those "kindly feelings" gone? What has taken them away? Why do we find the attitude of some Englishmen—generally, of the Non-official section (and their number is pretty large), towards Indians, so full of *hauteur* and arrogance? We have known each other so long and have lived so long side by side that better relations and more "kindly feelings" should have subsisted than are to be met with in these days. How unfortunate and deplorable!*

It seems, that a feeling of *self-respect*, the result undoubtedly of English education, has sprung up in the breasts of educated Indians, who claim to be treated, *in certain respects*, on terms of *equality* with the average non-official Englishmen, who are their fellow-subjects in India. This, however, the latter are unwilling to allow, claiming as their birth-right that the Indian, whatever his rank or status, should invariably *kow-tow* before them and keep his distance as well. I remember a case which occurred, not long ago, in a Bengal district, in which two Europeans were charged with committing an assault upon an unoffending Indian who was passing by, simply because, as was alleged, the latter did not dismount from his pony and *salaam* them. Cases of this kind are not uncommon in this part of the world, and must be deplored.

Lord Curzon hit upon the right remedy, when he observed in one of his earliest speeches.—"*A little consideration*, which is capable of showing itself in almost every act and incident of life, is the key which will open every Indian heart."

* "How much of the unpopularity of the Ruling race" says a writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, is due to the arrogance of some Englishmen, who not only call the Natives *niggers*, but also treat Hindus and Musalmans of gentle blood, as they do their own servants."

Nor must I omit to mention a very important document recently issued in Bengal. It purports to have emanated from Mr. Nolan, a member of the Bengal Board of Revenue; but it bears evidently the *imprimatur* of Sir John Woodburn, if not of Lord Curzon himself. It has been issued in the form of a circular to all Collector-Magistrates, who are the executive heads of districts, and contains instructions upon two points—“*Manner towards Indians*” and “*Intercourse with Indians*.” The substance of it is—

Manner.

The first and one of the most important points is the *manner of European superiors* towards the Indians. It would be superfluous to speak of the *necessity of kindness*. That must be a matter of course. There is much more required than that conciliation which is *duty*. It must be a habit of the mind, grounded on a favourable consideration of the qualities and merits of those to whom it extends.

After obtaining a thorough knowledge of the real character of those with whom he has intercourse, he shall judge them without prejudice or self-conceit by a standard suited to their beliefs, usages, habits, occupations and rank in life.

Men may *dread* but can *never love or regard* those who are continually humiliating them by a *parade of their own superiority*.

A friendly and conciliatory demeanour towards the people should therefore be particularly studied. A public officer should come among them as their *friend*.

Intercourse.

Frequent and unreserved intercourse with *all* classes of the people is most necessary. There is a *veil* between the Natives of India and their European superiors, which leaves the latter ignorant, in an extraordinary degree, of the real character of the former. Much regarding the usages and feelings of the various classes may be learnt in private intercourse.

One of the first points of importance is, that Indian gentlemen (whatever their rank, class or business) should have complete and easy *access* to their European superiors. It is quite essential to behave to all persons with kindness. &c. &c.

Need for such a circular must have been felt by the highest authorities in the country, or, when, in the annals of British rule in India, was such a circular ever issued? It was conceived in an excellent spirit, and we have every hope that it will tend to establish kindly feelings and relations between

the rulers and the ruled, *if only it be followed in spirit*, because we fear it would be impossible to follow it *to the letter*. And, what will be of immensely greater importance, the example that may be thus set by *Government officials* will in a great measure influence the conduct of *Non-official Europeans* and lead them to adopt kinder ways in their intercourse and dealings with the people of this country.

That the authorities are in earnest about it, is beyond doubt, as will appear from a striking passage in one of the Viceroy's speeches, bearing upon this very point:—

"Any Administrator, who in his time can feel that he has done something to *draw closer together the ties between Rulers and Ruled* in this country and to bring about that *Sympathy* that can only result from *mutual knowledge*, may go away with a consciousness of not having altogether failed."

After this somewhat lengthy digression, I come now to Lord Curzon's Plague preventive measures. His Excellency changed the entire Plague policy of Government; and issued a Resolution (July 1900), in which we find the following.—

"Experience has made it clear that the very first principle of Plague administration should be that *compulsion should be eschewed* and that the efforts of Government officials should be directed to *convincing* the people of the utility of particular methods and to *inducing* them to carry them out, *not by force*, but by the exercise of *their own free will*."

Indeed, such mischief had the previous *compulsory* Plague measures of Government wrought in certain places that His Excellency had to repeat the same sentiments with greater emphasis, elsewhere. "The campaign against Plague, to be successful, cannot be a campaign of *compulsion*. It must be one of *moral suasion*."

Again.

"Experience has guided us to the happy mean between a *drastic* and *unpalatable* interference with social habits and unchecked diffusion of disease."

The Plague Commission recommended Disinfection, Inoculation, Evacuation of infected quarters, and Isolation of the sick. The Government of India concurred in these views, but ordered that (A) there were some measures which should *never* be undertaken; (B) that there were others which should *rarely* be undertaken. Under the head (A) came—

- (a) The employment of *paid spies* to find out Plague cases;
- (b) Compulsory examination of corpses; (c) Shutting up of people in

infected houses; (d) Preventing their moving from the infected area by cordon or other means. Under the head (B) were—(a) House-to-house visitation or searches; (b) Compulsory notification of sickness; (c) Rewards for information &c.

All these evils *did* exist. The Government undoubtedly meant well; but the people were too ignorant and too full of prejudices; and it was difficult to make them understand that it was all for their own good that the Government were doing so much. The manner, however, in which the Plague measures were often enforced, and the employment of soldiers and policemen for the purpose, proved exceedingly distasteful to the people and often led to riots and disturbances.

Lord Curzon realized the situation almost at a glance; and his sympathetic attitude and considerate measures at once poured oil over troubled waters; and people felt assured that there was to be no further *compulsion* of any kind. Blessed be Lord Curzon!

Sir Antony MacDonnell, the late Lt. Govr. of the N. W. P., whom the Viceroy calls "*the most successful Plague administrator*" and who was a man of great ability and experience, said the same thing in effect, *viz.* "That any *rigid system* of Plague measures is to be deprecated."

People do not at all grudge the popular L. G. of the N. W. P. the meed of praise bestowed upon him by the Viceroy. But they wonder why Sir John Woodburn, the good L. G. of Bengal, does not come in for a share of the compliment due to him, on account of his wise and very considerate Plague policy in his own Province. It was Sir John Woodburn's Plague measures which saved Calcutta at a time when there was the greatest panic among the Indian portion of its residents. He it was, who, for the first time, forbade the *compulsory removal* of Plague patients to public hospitals, long before perhaps, any Plague in an epidemic form had occurred in the N. W. P. That was in the summer months of 1898.

Referring to this subject, Mr. J. D. Rees quotes in the *Nineteenth Century* of last May, a passage from the *Indu Prakash*, which runs thus:—

"Fortunately, Sir Anthony MacDonnell is at the helm of affairs in the N. W. Provinces, and so the Plague riot at Cawnpur has ended, not in stories of discontent and conspiracies, and prosecutions and deportations for sedition, but in the thorough establishment of the *Isolation-at-home* and *trust-in-people* system of Plague administration.

"And this has been the policy followed *all along* by Sir John Woodburn in Bengal. His *mild* measures are at once *practicable* and *acceptable*,

and far more efficacious than *compulsory segregation* and other restrictions and interferences, which are as dangerous as they have been proved to be futile and exasperating."

FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE GOVT.

In his Budget speech of 1900, the Viceroy said—

"All prospect of a large *surplus*, of great schemes, of a sensible relief of taxation, has been stolen from us by the sad Famine, against which we are still struggling. It is nevertheless a matter for congratulation to us that not only has *equilibrium* been maintained, but a *slight surplus* is estimated for the ensuing year. But for the Famine, we might have had a great surplus. We are now engaged in relieving *five millions of persons*."—

In his Budget speech of 1901, His Excellency observed—

"A nominal surplus was estimated last year. It is now $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling."

Referring to the *Financial aspects* of the Famine, His Excellency said—"The cost of the Famine is incurred in a number of ways, as for instance; (a) direct Famine grants to Local Governments; (b) loans to Native States; (c) decrease of revenue arising from suspensions and remissions; (d) indirect expenditure."

MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

A portion of the British Indian army having been temporarily lent to the British Government for service in the Transvaal war, Mr. Chitnavis, a member of the Supreme Legislative Council took occasion to suggest a reduction of military expenditure by a reduction of the British portion of the Indian army. Upon this Lord Curzon said—

"I can assure Mr. Chitnavis that no such measure will form part of the programme of the Government of India, in my time. It is impossible under present circumstances to reduce either the Army or the Expenditure on it; and I will tell him *why*. The first result of the Transvaal war will, I firmly believe, be an increase in the budget of every *military nation* in the world, in respect of armament and other questions of the whole science and practice of war. The question is, if two small Republics could stand up for four months against the main strength of the British Army and could put the British nation to the expense of a hundred millions sterling, are we to stint the annual expenditure that may be required to protect the vast Empire of India against infinitely more formidable dangers by which she may one day,

be threatened? Is it any argument that because for a few months, we have been able to spare 8000 of our *British* troops for South Africa, the *British* garrison in India can be *permanently* reduced by that amount? There can be no more complete or foolish illusion. Because a man lends for a night the watch-dog that guards his house, does it follow that his own house would get on in future without protection? There is always some risk in denuding India of any considerable portion of her garrison.

"No more uncompromising foe of *extravagance* or of *levity in expenditure* has ever entered the office of the Government of India, than myself. I know my responsibilities. I and my colleagues are *convinced* that if the *military protection of India* against the perils by which she may be menaced, absolutely requires that this or that expenditure should be incurred, we shall not flinch from undertaking it.

"My greatest ambition is to have a *peaceful time* in India and to devote all my energies to the work of *administration* and *material development*. I do not, however, wish to place myself in a position, in which (should the peril come), public opinion should turn round upon me and say—'we trusted you; we could have given you what you asked, for the legitimate defence of India. But you neither foresaw the future, nor gauged the present; and *yours* is the responsibility of the failure (if failure there be)'—I say then, I see no chance of a reduction of the *Military estimates*, for some time to come. Who would urge for a moment that the expenditure required, should not be incurred, or that it should be delayed?

"We have been spending over *twelve kros* in two years in saving fifty millions of people from death by starvation. Shall we grudge the kros that will be required to save 300 millions from the perils of disorder and anarchy? *Chaos* is almost sure to ensue, were the British arms, on or beyond the frontier of India, at any time, to experience a serious disaster. Supposing we had sent 10,000 or 20,000 Native troops to South Africa, would it follow that the Native army ought in future to be reduced by that number?

"No. These are not days when the military strength of *any Empire* is likely to be reduced. They are not days when the military strength of the Indian Empire can with safety be reduced. Fourteen years ago Lord Dufferin held that the present armed strength of India (which was raised by him to its present level) was necessary for the preservation of *order* in this great country and for the preservation of our own *boundaries*. Will any sensible man tell me that anything has occurred since (whether in South Africa, or in Central Asia, or on the borders of Afghanistan) to prove that we can fulfil our obligations with *less*? The

Army is required to make India safe. We propose to spend one million sterling in the forthcoming year on *Army Reform*. While the whole world has been busy with *Military Reforms* it wont do for us in India to stand still. The purposes to which the money is to be devoted are such as these.—(a) *Re-arming* the whole Army with the latest weapons. (b) Increase of our *Artillery* and supplying it with the most modern guns. (c) A very material addition of *Officers*. (d) Creation of an organized *Transport Corps*. (e) Proper armament of our coast defence. (f) Establishment of *Factories* to turn out our military materiel. (g) Building of *light railways* to strengthen our frontier posts.

CHAPTER II.

The Twelve Reform Projects of Lord Curzon.

I shall now take up the twelve subjects which Lord Curzon only hinted at in his Budget speech of 1899, but which he explained fully in his Budget speech of 1901. So clear is His Excellency's exposition of every item, and so convincing, are his arguments on each point, that I cannot do better than quote His Excellency's own words in reference to each of them, to show how far he has been able to carry out his own mottoes of *Courage* and *Sympathy* and *Justice*.—The 12 subjects are

- I. The creation and pursuit of a sound *Frontier Policy*.
- II. The frequency of *official transfers*,—a great evil.
- III. *Superfluous Report-writing*, another great evil.
- IV. Preservation of *ancient monuments*.
- V. Inauguration of a *Stable Exchange*.
- VI. *Railway Extension*.
- VII. Extension of *Irrigation*.
- VIII. Increasing *indebtedness* of the Agricultural population (another great evil).
- IX. Reduction of *Telegraphic* rates between India and England.
- X. Improving the relations between *British Soldiers* and *Indian villagers*.
- XI. *Educational Reforms*.
- XII. *Police Reform &c.*

It seems that Lord Curzon had some of these questions in his mind, even before he assumed the reins of office in India.

For instance, the *Frontier* question, the most important of them all, as he himself said in one of his speeches, had engaged his attention whilst yet in England. Other points must have occurred to him in the course of his business in this country, notably, the Secretariat reforms and official Transfers. His quick eye enabled him to discover some of the weak points in the administration of this great country. But he is not a man to hurry anything on, or to spring his reform measures all at once. As His Excellency observed upon one occasion, "*We must go slow*," so he said on another, "*I would sooner be charged with undue caution than extravagant haste.*"

It is clear then, that Lord Curzon, *autocrat* though some may think him to be, is by no means an *impulsive* or a *hasty* man, as autocrats generally are. He takes time to think over and mature his views by personal observation and in consultation with those best fitted to advise and give him the benefit of their experiences. Some of his Reform measures have been inaugurated already, such as II, III, IV, V and IX and the preliminaries in respect of No. I are being settled. Others are in an embryonic state and have taken no definite shape yet.

I. A new Frontier Province.

Said His Excellency.—"First in importance among these twelve questions, I place the *creation and pursuit of a sounder Frontier policy*. The line of our N. W. Frontier runs from the Pamirs in the North to Beluchistan in the South. Under the system at present prevailing, large numbers of our Regular troops are locked up in advanced fortified posts in the Tribal country, at a distance from our base. A retirement from these regions is not possible.

"The best form of administration for these Frontier districts, that we could think of, was therefore the *creation of a new Frontier Agency*,* out of the Trans-Indus districts of the Punjab, under the direct control of the Government of India.

The main features of our Frontier policy which is to supersede the existing one, are :—

(a) The creation of a new Frontier Agency, the Chief officer of which is to be called "Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner." His charge will comprise the British districts of Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat, and Dera Ismail Khan (which he is to administer as *Chief Commissioner*), as also the Tribal country beyond these limits, *viz*, the

* [Lord Lytton was the first Viceroy who suggested such a measure in 1879. But it did not meet with approval in his time.]

five Political Agencies of Dir, Swat, Chitral, Khyber-Karum valleys, and N. S. Waziristan, which are to be under his control as *A. G. G.*

(b) The withdrawal of the Regular troops from advanced positions in the Tribal country.

(c) Their concentration in posts upon or near to the Indian border.

(d) And their replacement in the Tribal tracts by bodies of *Tribal levies* to be trained up by British officers, which are to act as a *Militia* in defence of their native valleys and hills.

As regards the merits of this system, His Excellency himself says :—

"I do not say that it is a policy unattended with risk, or as absolutely safe. All I claim for it is, that it is a policy of *military concentration* as against *diffusion* (in isolated posts in a turbulent and fanatical country), and of *Tribal conciliation* in place of *exasperation*."

How far this new policy will answer its ends, remains to be seen. If it only serve to keep the wild Tribes in peace *in the future*, and to put a stop to the frequent and expensive military *expeditions* that had to be undertaken *in the past* to punish them for their raids into British territory, a great point in the direction of progress shall have been gained. But we are afraid that the cost of the step now to be taken, will keep expanding in view of measures to be hereafter adopted for initiating these wild tribes even in the rudiments of civilization, without the smallest prospect of any kind of return for the same.

II. Official Transfers.

"Next in order of importance", says the Viceroy, "I place the steps we have taken to remedy one of the greatest abuses that have grown up in the country, *the frequency of Official Transfers*."

Forty-eight years ago, Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of British India as also Governor of Bengal, called attention to some conspicuous errors and wants in the administration, which required to be amended and supplied. One of these was the *perpetual change of civil officers* from one district to another and from one branch of the administration to another.

"It is hopeless" said Lord Curzon "to expect *good administration* without *continuity*, *intelligent administration* without *local knowledge*, and *popular administration* without *personal interest*. Here in India large masses of people are being ruled by a small minority of alien extraction. The abilities, the training and the enthusiasm of the latter are thrown away, if the officers are shifted hither and thither, before

they know their districts, master the local dialect, and acquire the confidence of the inhabitants.

"Hitherto when a District official reached a certain grade, he *retired*, just when his knowledge and experience were of the most value, because, never having had the good fortune to be numbered among the *favoured few* who oscillated in the train of the Viceroy and his Council, between Simla and Calcutta, he found all future promotion barred and the Honors' list closed to him." With a view to check this evil and to make *honest meritorious service* the path to promotion, it was ruled that Secretaries were to be changed every three years and to be posted to Districts, so that the stream of provincial officials with local experience, would pass through the Secretariats, every three years and back again to their own Provinces and districts."

How far this programme has been carried out, no one outside the Secretariat offices has any means of knowing.

III. Superfluous Report-writing.

Says the Viceroy :—

"An interminable amount of writing and mountains of manuscripts and print have grown up in the administration of the country, so that the *real tyranny* that is to be feared in India, is not the tyranny of *Executive* authority, but that of the *Pen*.—The system of course has its good features. It is essential that *written records* of Administrations and of Departments should be preserved for the guidance of new officers in Districts, who can find out from them what has been going on there before them; and also for the guidance of the perpetually changing officers in the various *Secretariats*, who can deal with cases with the help of written records left in their offices.

"But when I came here, I found inordinate writing, unjustifiable repetition, unbusiness-like procedure, and much avoidable delay."

It was often the custom on the part of senior officers to merely paraphrase and reproduce the Notes, Reports and Statistics furnished by their subordinates, officers often thinking it *necessary that they must say something*, no matter whether that something threw any new light or not upon the questions dealt with. A new set of rules was therefore framed and circulated directing.—

- (a) That no mere paraphrasing or reproducing should be allowed.
- (b) that the idea that it is necessary to say something should be discarded:
- (c) and that a maximum limit should be fixed for each kind of Report &c.

"The system of *Report-writing* in India" observed His Excellency, "at once the most *perfect* and the most *pernicious* in the world—the most perfect in its orderly marshalling of facts and figures—the most pernicious, in the remorseless consumption of time, print, and paper, and in its stifling repression of independence of thought or judgment. Our new rules are calculated to secure greater *simplification* of procedure, less pen work, more frequent *verbal consultation*, and superior *despatch*."

These rules have, with certain necessary modifications, been also adopted by the Local Governments. But Lord Curzon, shrewdly suspecting that the conservative Local Governments, too much accustomed to old grooves, may set aside his system, as soon as he turns his back upon India, observed, with a touch of pathetic humour.

"Some people say that these reforms are excellent, but that they will be *ephemeral*; because Viceroys are *fleeting phantoms*, whose term is soon over. This, however, is a work in which is not involved the prestige or the whim of an individual, but the entire credit of British rule in India and it is more to the interest of every Local Government that it should continue, than it can be mine."

IV. Preservation of Ancient Monuments.

It is necessary, here, to briefly note Lord Curzon's brilliant speech at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (February 1900), in connection with "Indian Antiquities" and "Archæological remains", without which no one will be able to appreciate the almost patriotic interest and enthusiasm with which he views Indian Monuments. That was indeed a most brilliant speech, and this one speech of his raised him high in the estimation of all educated Indians and of all lovers of India. Such sentiments as he expressed upon that occasion could only come from one who was an Indian himself, and a true lover of India, or from the enthusiasm of a noble, scholarly, cultured poetic mind, full of reverence for relics of departed greatness.

"I regard" said His Excellency, "the conservation of ancient monuments in India, as one of the primary obligations of the Government. This obligation which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries. There, in Europe, there are corporations, societies, endowments &c., which relieve Government of its obligations. Here, in India, all is different. India is covered with visible records of the past, which for the most part lie in British territory, but they are in a neglected state.

Preservation of
Indian Monuments, a
Govt. duty.

"People may say that a Christian Government is not bound to preserve the monuments of a Pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith. I am averse to arguing with such men. *Art and Beauty are independent of creeds.* And in so far as they touch the sphere of Religion, they are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the Rock-temple of the Brahman stands on the same footing as the Buddhist vihar, the Moslem masjid, or the Christian cathedral."

"To us, the relics of Hindu and Musalman, of Buddhist and Jain, are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and artistic point of view, *equally interesting and equally sacred.* Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to our care.—What is *beautiful*, what is *historic* (and not the dogmas of combative theology), are the principal criteria to which we must look. There are lying about us buried cities, undeciphered inscriptions, casual coins, crumbling pillars, slabs of stone, which supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, and the art of a perished age."

"The oldest sculptured monument in India" observed His Excellency "is the *Sanchi Tops*, the great railing of which cannot be placed before the middle of the 3rd century B. C. And the *Kutb Minar* of Delhi, the earliest Muhamedan architecture in India was completed in the early part of the 13th century A. D. The majority of the structural monuments of India is, however, not of great antiquity. They belong to the Moslem epoch and are *not indigenous* in origin."

"In these days" said Lord Curzon "men are said to have no time for study and research—*study and research* having faded out of Indian fashion. But there was a time when scholars like Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep and others devoted themselves to the study of Sanskrit. Their labours, however, were mainly *literary*. They translated manuscripts and deciphered inscriptions."

"Then followed the generation of *Explorers*, the era of *research* in buildings and monuments. The *pen* was supplemented by the *spade*; and we had descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings, photos, casts &c., which revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unfiled quarries of Hindustan. James Fergusson was the first among these explorers.

After this, His Excellency proceeds to trace step by step the proceedings of the Government of India in respect of Archaeological remainings in India. "Spasmodic efforts" says he "were

What the British Govt. have done in this direction.

made from time to time to renovate some of these Monuments. Lord Minto appointed a committee to conduct repairs to the *Taj*, Lord

Hastings ordered works at Futepur Sikri and the Secundra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutb Minar. And Lord Hardinge got some arrangement sanctioned for the examination, delineation, and record of the chief Indian Antiquities."

"But" proceeds His Excellency in a tone at once pathetic and indignant, "the barbarian often dominated the aesthetic in the official mind

Official Vandalism.

and we had certain deplorable instances of vandalism—Lord William Bentinck sold by auction

the *Marble Bath* in Shah Jehan's palace at Agra, which had been torn by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV.—A great Moslem pillar at Aligurh (800 years old) was demolished to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some bunnyas' shops.—Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Mosque at Ajmir were pulled down by a zealous officer to make a triumphal arch, under which the then Governor-General was to pass.—Picnic parties used to be held in the gardens of the *Taj*, and it was no uncommon thing for the revellers to while away their time by chipping out, with hammer and chisel, fragments from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his Queen.

"The era of vandalism is not quite at an end yet. When James Fergusson wrote his book, the *Dewani Am* (Public Hall of Audience) in the Delhi Palace, was a *military arsenal*. When I was at Lahore lately, the exquisite little *Moti Masjid* in the Forts was being used for the *profane* purpose of a Government Treasury, the arches having been built up with brick-work. At Ahmedabad, I found the Mosque of Sidi Sayud used as a Tehsildar's cutcheri. After the conquest of Upper Burma, the Palace of the King at Mandalay, though made of wood, was yet a noble specimen of Burman art. It was converted by our conquering battalions into a club-house, a Government office, and a church."

"I hope to rescue these and others from a kindred fate or worse. James Fergusson's book sounded one unending note of passionate protest against the *Barrack-builder* and military *Engineer*. They were doubtless inveterate sinners. What horrors have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks, and canteens, in the *Fairy-like* pavilions, courts and gardens of Shah Jehan!"—Again, "when the Prince of Wales was

at Agra (1876) and there was to be an evening party, the local talent was called in to reproduce the *faded paintings* on marble and plaster of Mogul artists (of two and a half centuries before). The result of their labours was an *eyesore* and a *regret*.—Ranjit Sinha cared nothing for the taste of the trophies of his predecessors. But half a century of *British occupation* with its *universal paint-pot* and the *exigencies of the P. W. D. engineers*, has assisted the melancholy decline."

"It was Lord Canning" said Lord Curzon "who first invested *Archæological* remains in this country with permanent Government patronage, by constituting in 1860 "The *Archæological Survey of N. India*" and by appointing General Cunningham to be *Archæological Surveyor to Govt.* (1862). For over twenty years General Cunningham worked hard and his publications are a noble mine of information.

"Lord Lytton, who held that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially *imperial* than the preservation of *national antiquities*, contributed 3½ lakhs to the restoration of Buildings in the N. W. P. of India."

What Lord Lytton did. It is worthy of note at this place, that the subject drew Lord Lytton's attention, some time before any steps had been taken in England itself for the preservation of national antiquities, as the *Ancient Monuments Act* of England was passed only in 1882.

Lord Elgin placed the *Archæological* work upon a more definite basis

What Lord Elgin did. by dividing the country into a number of circles, each with a surveyor of its own.

"There have been persons" says His Lordship, "who thought that when all the chief Monuments were indexed and classified, we might sit

What Lord Curzon means to do. down with folded hands and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that Railway and Irrigation did not leave a modest half lakh per annum, for the requisite establishment to supervise *this most glorious galaxy of Monuments in the world*.—I hope to assert definitely in my time the *imperial responsibility of Government*, in respect of Indian Antiquities and to be a *faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of Art and Learning* that has for a few years at any rate been committed to my charge."

V. Inauguration of a Stable Exchange.

The inconveniences and trouble arising from an unstable and fluctuating Exchange were very great. "It was," as his Ex-

cellency rightly observed, "fatal to accuracy of Financial forecasts and was in the highest degree prejudicial to Trade." To remove this instability, the Government of Lord Curzon have, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, introduced a *gold standard* into India, with the *English Sovereign* at the fixed value of Rs. 15 and the *Indian rupee* at the fixed value of 16d., both being *legal tenders*.

"This" says His Excellency "has not only given us stability in Exchange, but has enabled us to erase from our Accounts the column which represented *Loss by Exchange*. The *English sovereign* being now legal tender in India, we give *gold sovereigns* for *silver rupees* (and encourage the circulation of sovereigns and half-sovereigns as far as we can). This introduction of a gold standard has placed India upon *even terms* with the money-market of Great Britain; and I trust it will accelerate the flow of British capital into this country for industrial and other undertakings."

VI. Railway Extension.

His Excellency's observations upon this subject were :—

"I remember, before I came out to India, saying that 25,000 miles of Railway would be completed in my time. In spite, however, of a *curtailed* programme in consequence of Famine, this total has already been reached, and we propose in the forthcoming year to spend over 10½ krons upon Railways. But the question has been raised as to whether the increase of Railways, is not an *injury*, rather than a *gain* to India, inasmuch as they carry away the *food-supplies* of the country in times of plenty, leaving the ryot impoverished and exhausted, when Famine comes. It is suggested in consequence that Government ought to *restrict Exports* which Railways swell."

Sir George Campbell, one of the ablest and most keen-eyed of our Governors, actually proposed such a *restriction* during the Behar Famine in his time. But Lord Northbrook, then Governor-General, a strenuous advocate of Free Trade, vetoed it. Lord Curzon appears to be of the same mind, though it may be on totally different grounds. He said :—

"If we do impose a *check on Exports* in Famine time, we shall ruin Burma which lives upon its great Export of Rice to India. It will also deprive the wheat-grower of the Punjab of the market which Railways have created for him. As there is Export, so there is Import. And it is *imported* grain that keeps alive the whole population. The Hon'ble Mr. Fraser, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces referring to Famine times, said—"It is impossible to overestimate the benefits which Railway extension has conferred upon this Province."

"Then again," observes the Viceroy, "Railways are said to have raised prices to a prohibitive level. This cannot be. For their tendency is to equalize prices, all round. They have given to the land-locked districts access to external markets in times of plenty; and they have brought in the produce of those markets to their very doors in time of need. Prices rise from increase of demand over supply i.e., by the increase in the number of those to be fed or in the standard of living. But Railways are not accountable for this consequence. I shall not, however, be deterred by any of these considerations from a steadfast policy of Railway extension in my time. I regard Railways as a blessing to the country and as the most unifying agency that exists in India."

Mr. Horace Bell, for 30 years a Railway Engineer and at one time Consulting Engineer to the Government of India, concludes a paper on "Railways and Famine," with the following observations. "We have to admit as a fact that Famine in India has not, as was expected, been prevented by Railways; for, in spite of them, we have just gone through, probably, the worst Famine that India has ever experienced. This then is an incontrovertible fact."

VII. Extension of Irrigation.

Irrigation has been looked upon and recommended as one of the remedial measures in connection with Famine. It is a protective (it cannot be preventive) against Famine. Referring to this subject the Viceroy said in 1900:—

"Irrigation deserves to be encouraged both because of the extension given thereby to the growth of food-supplies in this country and of the extraordinary remunerative character of the capital outlay (on Productive works). I have therefore inaugurated, since I came to India, a definite and a permanent extension of our Irrigation programme. I have prevailed upon Mr. Dawkins to fix the Irrigation grant at one krór of Rupees"

Speaking on the same subject in 1901, Lord Curzon said.—

"Side by side with Railways we always consider the subject of Irrigation, in which I am desirous to initiate a positive advance. I want to be sure that no sources of water-supply or water-storage are neglected or ignored. What I want to ensure is that in each Province, the sources of water-supply best suited to it (canals, tanks, or wells) shall be scientifically investigated and mathematically laid down, so that we may have a continuous programme which we may pursue in ordinary years, as an insurance against bad years, when they come. I hope thus to have a sustained policy of protective (even if unproductive) hydraulic works for a number of years to come. During the last two years I

have persuaded my Financial colleague to raise the annual grant for Irrigation from three-quarters of a krur (which used to be the grant in previous years) to one krur."

All this is certainly most gratifying; and the people of India, particularly those that are poor, will be extremely grateful to Lord Curzon, and bless him and remember his name, if only he can have his programme carried out, *loyally and in the right spirit* by his Provincial Lieutenants. For, next to want of food, there is none so keenly felt by poor people especially, as the scarcity of water for drinking and other necessary purposes. The old Hindu feeling of charity which disposed men to regard the providing of *tanks and wells* as an act of *religious merit*, has somehow almost entirely disappeared from the country. Be that as it may, it all rests with the heads of Local Governments whether Lord Curzon's humane intentions shall be successful or otherwise. The responsible Provincial rulers should carefully ascertain the peculiar needs of their own Provinces in respect of *water-supply*, whether it is *canals, tanks, or wells* that they want, marking out the localities where water-supply is most needed.

VIII. Increasing indebtedness of the Agricultural Population.

On this point some of His Excellency's views and conclusions are believed to be somewhat *optimistic*. Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that the condition of the Agricultural classes is, on the whole, very destitute and demands earnest attention. Says His Excellency.—

"Land is gradually passing out of the hands of the peasants into those of the money-lending classes. We have already dealt with this question in the *Punjab Land Alienation Bill*, which was passed last year. It was a measure which was exclusively based on considerations of public interest, and to which, whether it succeeds or fails, it is impossible to attribute a selfish motive. *The same problem meets us elsewhere* in ever-increasing volume and seriousness; and each case will require to be considered upon its own merits."

A glance at the general economic condition of the country, *i. e.* of the classes that constitute the

General economic condition of the country.

Non-agricultural and Middle classes of the Indian people, may not be out of place here. By "*Economic Condition*" I mean their condition as regards their resources and means of living. On this point I shall say nothing myself, but shall only refer to what others who have observed, have said.

The spread of English education has created a "Middle class" in this country, with distinctly marked features, unknown in pre-British days or even in early British days. Not that there was no Middle class before. There certainly was in India (as everywhere else) a class of men who were neither very poor nor affluent, but who, knowing none of the wants and luxuries of the present day, were able to *get on* somehow. But the population has immensely increased of late years and the *bread-problem* has become a serious one. There is a keen struggle everywhere; and people have to find their own means of living. Some have accordingly taken to the learned professions of Law, Medicine, and Engineering; while others, who are less *resourceful* have taken to *service*. The majority of these latter are either clerks in offices or teachers in schools. So that the keen-eyed foreigner was not far wrong when he said—"The men of the Indian *upper* (he meant *Middle*) classes are sinking into a race of *cheap English clerks* and are becoming more and more incapable of supporting their numerous dependants."

And here is what Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer, a well-known and well-informed Madras gentleman has to say in reference to the *Agricultural* as well as *Non-agricultural* classes of India. I only give the substance of his observations, as reported in the newspapers.

That the *Agricultural* people of India are growing poorer and poorer, admits of no doubt. Their condition has, during the last twenty years, considerably *deteriorated*, though Lord Curzon holds that it has *improved*. Their permanent indebtedness to the money-lender and their growing poverty in consequence of it, are ordinarily the *two things* which oppress them, to say nothing of what happens to them, when there is a failure of crops.

I hope to show that the *Non-agricultural* classes fare no better. Now, what are the usual sources of the *Non-agricultural* wealth of a country? They are *Mines, Manufactures, Profits from Trade with foreign countries, and Fisheries*.

Well, the profits of India from *Foreign Trade* are absolutely *nil*. Then as to *Mines*, what is the amount obtained from this source in India? There are *Gold mines, Coal mines, Mica mines, and Manganese mines*, which are the chief ones worked in India. Here and there, there are a few *Iron mines* also. But who are the people that work these *Mines*? It is neither *Indian capital* nor *Indian agency* that is engaged in them. It is entirely *European Capitalists* that appropriate all the profits, except leaving a small percentage which is paid in the shape of wages to Indian coolies. The operation of these *Mines*, then, brings very little wealth to

the country. On the contrary, these latent and practically unlimited sources of wealth are exploited year after year to the entire benefit of European Capitalists, and the Indians are becoming a *nation of coolies* under European masters. If these Mines could be worked by Indians with their own capital and labour, it would not only bring all the profits of the enterprise to the country, but would also improve the intelligence and capacity for co-operation and enterprise of the Indian people. Under the circumstances now existing, all those advantages are lost to the country. So far, then, as that source of *Non-agricultural wealth* (Mines) is concerned, it makes very little addition to the wealth of the country.

Then as to *Manufactures*, there are the inroads of *foreign commodities* into the country. Every additional mile of Railway constructed in the country drives a fresh nail into the coffin of one industry or another. And this has been going on ever since 1860. These Railways not only help foreign exploiters to carry away the wealth of the country from the interior to coast towns and thence to foreign countries, but they also bring foreign commodities into big towns as well as into the remotest villages in the country, thereby driving fresh nails into the coffin of *indigenous industries*. As a result of these (to us) mischievous operations, all the important indigenous industries are dying out. There is indeed a small number of *Cotton Mills* worked by Indian merchants. But the majority of them are in the hands of British Capitalists.

Fisheries may well be left out of account, as none exist on any large scale.

So that all the four Non-agricultural sources bring no addition to the Non-agricultural wealth of the country."

I will make another extract from a paper on "The Industrial Development of India" by a European gentleman, who seems to have studied his subject with some care and interest and who deplores the decline of Art industries in India:—

"We know that in former times India held a commanding position in the *Textile* industries of the world. She not only supplied all her own wants, but had a very flourishing Export trade. We know also that she lost that position, through improvements made in Textile apparatus and machinery by European weavers; above all, by the application of *steam power* to Textile manufacture. If India is to regain her position as a manufacturing country, she must follow in the footsteps of European industry.

"As regards Indian *Hand-loom* industry, it is in a very depressed condition, and the very keen competition between those engaged in it in

India and European manufacturers has reduced the profits of the former, to such an extent, that the skilled weavers of India are day by day, leaving their looms and swelling the *already overgrown Agricultural population*.

Lord Curzon's own views as regards the *increasing poverty of the Agricultural population*, are expressed in the following words:—

"There exists a school that is always proclaiming to the world the sad and increasing poverty of the Indian cultivator and that depicts him as living upon the very verge of economic ruin. If there were truth in this picture, I should not be deterred by any *false pride* from admitting it. I should, on the contrary, set about *remedying it to the best of my power, at once*.

"The thing is, that in my Famine speech at Simla last October, I based my assumptions as to the *Agricultural income* of India upon the figures collected by the Famine Commission of 1880. This income as calculated at that date was 350 krors. At Simla, I spoke of it as being between 350 and 400 krors*—whereupon I was told that the *Agricultural wealth* of the country had remained *stationary*, while the *population* had gone on increasing by leaps and bounds. Further, I was cited as being the parent of the *astonishing statement*, that the average income of every inhabitant of India had sunk from Rs. 27 in 1882 to Rs. 22 in ordinary years and to Rs. 17½ in 1900.

His Excellency assigns the following reason for the present condition of things:—

"In every country that is so largely dependent on Agriculture, there comes a time, when the average agricultural income per head ceases to expand for two reasons—(1) that the population goes on increasing; (2) that the area of fresh ground available for cultivation does not increase *pari passu*, but is taken up and thereby exhausted. When this point is reached, it is of no good to attack the Government for its inability to fight the laws of Nature. What a prudent Government endeavours to do is to *increase the Non-agricultural sources of income*.

Then follows His Excellency's summing up of his views as to the manner in which the *strain* upon the Agricultural labourers may be diminished:—

"It is for this reason that I welcome the investment of capital and the *employment of labour* upon Railways and Canals; in Factories, Workshops, and Mills; in Coal and Metalliferous Mines, on Tea, and Sugar,

* From figures collected by the Famine Commission of 1898, the total was 450 krors.

and Indigo plantations. *All these are fresh outlets for industry, and they diminish prodigiously the strain upon the Agricultural population.*"

Some thoughtful and well-meaning persons, whose opinion is entitled to weight, hold the belief that the poverty of the Indian peasant is due to "over-assessment of the Land-tax," and this sentiment was echoed by the "Mahajan Sabha" of Madras when Lord Curzon visited it in 1900.

His Excellency's reply, so far as argument was concerned, was sufficiently crushing—though it is to be feared it was not regarded as sufficiently convincing, by those at least who held such a belief. Here are His Excellency's observations:—

"I hope you do not imagine that by any stroke of an enchanter's wand the present Government or any Government of India can effect a revolution in the economic, social, or industrial condition of this vast continent.

"You complain that the Land revenue assessments have not contributed to the prosperity of the Agricultural classes, who are growing poorer and poorer from year to year. I do not think so. It may be true that some districts have been severely and repeatedly hit by drought or other visitations, and that there has been a positive, but by no means a permanent, decline in the material well-being of the people.

"Even if the peasant classes are growing poorer, is it not a little rash and dogmatic to attribute it exclusively to Land Revenue assessments? If the *soukar*, for instance, were a little less exacting in the rate of interest, and if the agriculturist could be persuaded not to have such frequent recourse to the law courts, the ryot would certainly be much better off than he now is."

"You say that the Revenue demands of Government are excessive, increasing and uncertain.—There may be cases in which all these are correct. But are they of universal application? You wish that I should initiate such reforms in our Land Revenue policy as will gradually redeem the Agricultural classes from poverty. But you do not tell me what they are to be.

"Let me ask you—Supposing that we did reduce the assessment throughout India by 25 per cent, would you guarantee or honestly believe that there would be no more Famines, no more distress? Or, who would guarantee that before 15 years had elapsed, you would not be repeating to some future Viceroy a *verbatim* reproduction of your present Address?

IX. Efforts to reduce Telegraphic charges between England and India.

"The present high rate of *Telegraphic charges*" said His Excellency "between India and England is inimical to trade and intercourse. Mr

view was that there should be a reduction of at least 50 per cent in the present charges. We have succeeded in persuading the Telegraph Companies to agree to an *immediate reduction* to 2½ shillings a word, with a *prospective reduction* to 2 shillings a word. But there are certain Foreign Powers, through whose territories the wires are laid, and whose consent to any change in the rate, must be obtained. It is to my mind an intolerable position that Telegraphic communication between England and India and the rates at which it is conducted, should be at the mercy of other parties. I hope, nevertheless, to see the reduction realized in my time."

X. Efforts to improve the relations between British Soldiers and Indian Villagers.

Loss of human life, through the ignorance or carelessness of British soldiers, when they are out on shooting excursions into villages, is not a very uncommon occurrence in this country. Sleepy punkha-coolies have also been sometimes heard to have met with their death from kicks administered to them by heat-oppressed British soldiers, in their barracks. And then, when the offending soldier is tried in a court of justice, he is either acquitted altogether, or let off without any substantial punishment. Two recent cases, one tried by the magistrate of Poona, and another by the judges of the Calcutta High Court, are instances in point. The accused in the one case was a gunner named Daly, and in the other, a private named Sullivan. Both were charged with having caused the death of Indians; and both were acquitted. The trying officers may not have found sufficient grounds for convicting. But there was the fact that two poor unoffending Indians had met with violent deaths, and no one was punished for the offence. The impression created in the minds of people, naturally, is that they were let off, because they were Europeans.—For, "When" asks an Anglo-Indian paper of note, "when was ever *European* hanged for murdering a *Native*, or even sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for that offence?"

Of course, no one believes for a moment that soldiers, unless they are drunk, *wantonly* shoot or kick poor Indian people to death. What people complain of is, that the punishment, if inflicted at all, is generally not sufficiently deterrent. Be that as it may, it does not appear that any serious attempt to check this great evil had hitherto been made by any one in authority. It was the late "Rangoon Outrage" case, probably, that drew Lord Curzon's attention to the matter and inspired him with just indignation. In that case some soldiers committed an indecent assault upon a poor Burmese woman, from the effects

of which she died. The local authorities having failed to trace out the culprits, peremptory orders were issued by the Government of Lord Curzon to the effect that they must be found out and the Lieutenant Governor of Burma was, we believe, authorized to proclaim a reward for the purpose. At last they were discovered and punished by being dismissed Her Majesty's service and sent home. With a view to check, as far as possible, further outrages on human life and to establish better relations between British Soldiers and Indian Villagers, the "Shooting Pass rules" were revised; and it was ruled that both civil and military authorities were to act in concert, whenever there was a case. And to prevent *punkha-coolies* from violent death at the hands of soldiers, *Electric fans* were ordered in barracks.

Indeed, it was a sore problem this, which must have tried the Viceroy's energies in no common degree. The difficulty lay in the fact that it would be cruel to deprive the poor soldiers of the privilege of making occasional excursions into villages for the purpose of shooting game; as their life in barracks, *i. e.*, when not engaged in active service, was extremely dull, monotonous, and miserable. This probably it was that called forth the following observations from His Excellency.

"We have no desire to place harsh restrictions upon soldiers, or to deprive them of reasonable openings for sport and recreation. On the contrary, we desire to give them such openings in the fullest measure compatible with the discipline and routine of military life.

"At the same time" proceeds the Viceroy, "we cannot view with equanimity any risk to these relations arising from carelessness, or ignorance, or lack of restraint, or any other cause. That such risk has in many cases arisen, it is impossible to deny. What we as a Government have to do is to *minimize* the opportunities for such frictions." His Lordship, however, does not say, *to stop them altogether*.

I believe it has also been ruled that an *interpreter* is to accompany every shooting party, as frictions and mishaps often occur from ignorance of the spoken tongues, which renders British Soldiers and Indian Villagers unable to understand each other.

"Our one desire" observes Lord Curzon, "is to *draw closer the bond of friendly feeling that should unite the two Races*, whom Providence has placed side by side in this country."

May Heaven bless Lord Curzon for such a desire and may success crown his efforts in this direction! Even if partially successful, Lord Curzon will have achieved what seems to us at present to be a *feat*, almost impossible to be accomplished.

and the people of India from one end of the country to the other, will for ever remember with gratitude the good Viceroy who endeavoured "to draw closer the bonds of *friendly feeling* that should unite the two Races."

XI, XII. Education, Police &c.

"There remain" said Lord Curzon, towards the end of his speech, "a number of *other* subjects high up in the list of the original dozen, upon which we are still busily engaged, but as to which we have not yet found time to carry our views to fruition." Some among these are :—

- (a) Educational Reform.
- (b) Police Reform.
- (c) Possible Fiscal Reform, leading, if circumstances permit, to a reduction of Taxation.
- (d) Possible institution of Agricultural Banks.
- (e) Scientific propagation of Agriculture
- (f) The fostering of Indian Handicrafts, and the encouragement of Industrial exploits in general &c.

"These" said His Excellency, "are questions which can never be absent from the mind of any Ruler of India and upon which myself and my colleagues are bestowing the most assiduous attention."

EDUCATION.

[This portion of the paper had to be *printed in advance* in September last, as the subject of Education was just then engaging the attention of the Viceroy and an Educational Conference had been appointed at Simla to discuss educational questions. It is reproduced here, with certain necessary omissions.]

His Excellency's views on Education are embodied in a Government of India Resolution, dated October 1899, which deals briefly with Education under the three recognized heads of *Primary, Secondary, and Higher*.

The mainspring of the educational policy of the Government of India, is the celebrated Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated July, 1854, which introduced the now well-known *Grant-in-aid system*, and which, amongst other things directed the substitution, where possible, of government *aid* for government *management*, and the encouragement of *Private* initiative and effort. In other words, as the Resolution has it—

"that for all kinds of advanced education, *private* efforts should be systematically encouraged and that while existing State Institutions

must be maintained in complete efficiency, the improvement and extension of Institutions under *private management* should be the chief care of the Education department."

Whilst emphasizing these principles, Lord Curzon said, in one of his speeches—

"I am not departing from these principles; but I say emphatically that the *Grant-in-aid system* requires a due measure of *State aid* as well as of *State control*. For, to call upon the State to pay for education out of the public funds, but to divest it of responsibilities for their proper allocation, is to ignore the elementary obligations for which the State exists. The Government of India cannot consent to divest itself of the responsibility that attaches both to its interest and to its prerogatives. If it is to lend the resources of the State to the support of certain schools, it cannot abrogate its right to a powerful voice in the determination of the *course of studies* which is there imparted."

The same sentiment was repeated and emphasized on two other occasions—(1) In the Convocation address of 1900—

"Government assistance is given to the promotion of *studies*, for which no Government authority has been invoked or supplied."

(2) In His Excellency's address to the newly appointed Conference,

"To tell me that Government is responsible for education in this country, but that it is not at liberty to say a word upon *the thing taught*, is to adopt a position which seems illogical and absurd."

It will thus be seen that the Viceroy lays great stress on the *course of studies* and the *character of the text-books* used in our schools and colleges. For, upon them certainly would depend in a great measure the success of any scheme of education that might be formulated; or, as His Excellency himself put it—"Successful teaching" depends in part upon the quality of the *teachers* and in part upon the character of the *thing taught*.

Primary Education—*i. e.* the education of the masses in their vernaculars.—

"It is *primary education*" says His Excellency in the Resolution, "which has the chief claim on the State. But the figures given show how backward primary education still is throughout India. The percentage of the male population of school-going age, is only 17.95. This rate of progress is highly unsatisfactory."

Secondary Education—*i. e.* the education given in High schools up to the Matriculation or Entrance standard.—

"The functions of State efforts as regards Secondary Education," the Resolution proceeds, "shall ordinarily be confined to *extending* it, where there is a demand for it. But the State should gradually *withdraw* from the direct management of such High schools. There are strong arguments, however, against complete withdrawal. Well-managed *Government schools* (called Zila Schools in Bengal) serve to keep up the standard of discipline in *Government aided schools*. It is therefore desirable that at least *one* such *Government School* should remain as a *model*."

But the question is, do Government schools actually exercise any kind of influence over Aided schools, considering that these latter often lie at some distance from the Zila school which is located at the district head-quarters station? Even in the case of Government Zila schools themselves, there is often no uniformity of standard as regards *discipline* and *training* (between one school and another), even when they are under the same supervising authority. The thing is, that the character of a school is determined by the character of the Headmaster, for the time being.

And then, there is another class of schools, of which the Viceroy makes no mention, I mean *Private Schools*, which cannot be ignored in any discussion of the educational problem, because there is now a very large number of these schools and they exercise an immense amount of influence over the education of our young people. There are many of them in Calcutta as well as in the mofussil; so that there are at least one or two by the side of every Government school. These are in some cases opposition schools, set up for the purpose of damaging the Zila school. Sir Charles Elliot took advantage of this increase of Private Schools to withdraw from the management of some of our best Zila schools, notably those of Howrah and Barisal.

There is of course great difference of opinion, among those who know, as to the general character of these Private schools and as to the influence they exercise upon the education of boys. Some hold that they are positively mischievous from an educational point of view; while others maintain that they are good enough in their way, inasmuch as they are generally "*cheap*" schools and enable rich and poor alike to share the blessings and benefits of *English* education. The general trend of opinion, however, is that *cheap schools* means *bad schools*.

The proprietors of many Private schools traffic in school-making. "Most of their schools" as an experienced educationist said the other day, "are managed on *shop-keeping* principles." As such, they look more to their revenues than to the character

and kind of education they impart. They are entirely dependent upon the fees they collect from the boys and therefore endeavour to draw to their schools as many boys as they possibly can. Under such a system, there can be no *real discipline*, though there may be some show of it, and that in certain cases only. And it is the belief of all persons who know, that there can be no good school where there is no true discipline.*

Then again, having no funds of their own to draw from, the managers of Private schools are obliged to secure teachers at as cheap a rate as possible, and we all know what that means. "As is the price paid, so must the article be," is a well-known maxim of trade. *Ill-paid* teachers generally means *incompetent* teachers. Being ill-paid, they cannot be expected to feel much interest in their work and are constantly shifting about from one place to another in search of better pay, or for the purpose of eking out their small incomes by getting employed as *private tutors* to little boys.

The early education of many lads is thus spoiled by being put into the hands of these ill-educated and hungry men. The guardian does not see the mischief done and is content to believe that between the private tutor at home and the teacher at school, all is going right. But why should there be any private tutors at all and private tutors of the kind generally employed? It seems that this system of engaging *private tutors* to coach boys at home, has become too much the fashion now-a-days, and it is of a piece with all the rest of it—serving only to make them an idle lot, knowing no such thing as *self-exertion* and *self-help*.

There are of course notable *exceptions*. There are good Private schools, which are not very inferior to good Government schools in any respect, though their number is extremely small.

But of one thing we are sure, that Private schools have struck at the root of all *discipline* in schools, *everywhere*.

And yet DISCIPLINE, as we all know, is as essential to the formation of the early *character* of our boys, as to their educational advancement. Indeed, a school, without proper discipline is as bad as a disorganized army, without control.

Speaking about the *Disproportion* between the number passed in the Examinations and the number sent up, Lord Curzon observed in his Conference speech:—

* These remarks do not of course apply to schools under Missionary and European management and to a few other really good Private schools.

"What are the facts as regards the Entrance, the First Arts, and the B. A. examinations? These are questions upon which I have not the knowledge to enable me to pronounce with any confidence, but concerning which, the facts that have come under my notice, lead me to entertain some doubt. The evidences vary in different parts of the country; but the *general impression seems to be that there is cause for alarm*. I cannot but feel some *suspicion* as to the *efficacy* and the *standards* of a system, which produces such results." Upon analyzing the results of some of the examinations, His Excellency found that out of 7000 Entrance candidates (Madras) $\frac{2}{3}$ were rejected and out 6000 candidates (Calcutta) only $\frac{1}{2}$ passed and $\frac{1}{2}$ were rejected.

The following are some of the points which require to be kept in mind, in the framing of any scheme, intended to improve the present system of *Secondary Education*.—

(1.) There is a tendency on the part of the University to increase the number of *Private Schools* by not rigidly enforcing the standards required for their recognition or affiliation.

(2.) They have likewise of late years, shown a tendency to pass as many candidates, as possible, in the Entrance examination.

Both these tendencies most probably originate in their desire to be popular among guardians and managers of *Private Schools*. But considering the incalculable harm which these do, they should cease altogether. It seems right to note here, that many of our University Fellows are themselves the guardians of boys and are thus personally interested in the matter of *passes*.

(3.) Some sort of power should be exercised by the State over recognized *Private Schools*,—at least as regards the course of studies and the promotion-marks; for, it is in these two respects that the greatest variation exists, and that managers of schools are particularly *jealous* of any outside interference with their authority.

(4.) Particular attention should be paid to the *teaching of English*; and some *entire book* should be made the Entrance Course in English and this should be finished in one year.

(5.) *Key-making* and *abstract-making* should be stopped, anyhow.

(6.) Teachers should be encouraged to keep up their studies at home and to carefully prepare at home the day's lesson fixed for the boys. The majority of teachers do not do this.

(7.) The *pass-marks* in the Entrance examination should be *fifty per cent in the aggregate*, all round. Under such a rule, very inferior boys could not pass, as now; while special aptitude in any particular subject, would enable one to make up for deficiency in others. Marks should always be cut for bad mistakes in grammar and spelling, not only in English, but also in History and Geography, and even in Geometry.

(8.) *If practicable*, the examiner in English should, as far as possible, take into account the *general character* of the examinee's paper, before passing him. A boy may answer most of the questions set, and yet be totally unfit to go up to study a college course.

(9.) The papers set (in English, at any rate), are generally too lengthy. Even the best boys complain that they do not find time to answer all the questions within the allotted time. Ten or twelve questions, such as would serve to test whether the examinee has gone through his text-book carefully, without depending much upon his keys, and whether he can write a quantity of *simple English correctly*, would suffice, we think.

(10.) The number of students in each class should be fixed, I mean kept within manageable limits.

(11.) *Class-promotions* should be regulated by the half-yearly and annual examination marks, taken together. And *if practicable*, there should be *marks fixed* for promotion, in all schools, Government as well as non-Government, and no deviation permitted.

(12.) In the senior classes (from the 3rd upwards), the marks in each subject should be the marks fixed for the Entrance examination and this standard should be strictly followed.

(13.) The "Test" examination papers should be strictly examined, so that if the percentage of failures at the next Entrance examination is large, the Headmaster may be brought to book at once.

(14.) *If practicable*, the Entrance paper in English should be set in consultation with old and experienced Headmasters.

(15.) The success of a school is now generally determined by the number of students it passes in the Entrance examination. This is a fatal error and should cease at once. The general tone and character of a school must be determined by other considerations as well. It should be the business of the supervising authorities to see (a) whether the master *really teaches* and *questions boys*, (b) whether he maintains strict discipline; (c) whether he promotes such boys only as are actually fit for promotion; (d) whether he studies at home &c.

(16) One other point requiring attention—The arrangements usually made, in Calcutta, at any rate, for the *watching* of the examinees during the four days of the Entrance examination, are generally exceedingly lax and unwise. The number of candidates here is always very large and their seats are too close to one another—so that the *strictest watching* is necessary on the part of the supervisors. What usually happens, however, is this—a number of masters and even pandits are called for the purpose from various schools. But these men are absolutely without any notion of what their *duty* on the occasion demands. It should seem they come more for the sake of the 3 Rs. per diem that they receive as their carriage-hire, than for the work of *watchful superintendence* that they really have to do at the time. They are ill-trained and ill-disciplined men themselves and are very hungry men, besides. It thus comes to pass that they either studiously shut their eyes to the various kinds of tricks and unfair means practised in the Examination Hall by cunning and unqualified boys; or are afraid of creating a row by any kind of detection they may make. It thus happens that a pretty large number of unfit boys manage to pass, by dint only of their *cleverness in copying*.

"The effect of making the Entrance examination a *real test*" says a writer in the *London Times*, "would of course be in immense reduction in the number of candidates for Degrees, and would therefore be violently opposed by most Indian educationists" particularly by those who traffic in school-making, or the sake of the *money* it gives them. But the University should not mind them."

Higher Education.—It is however, upon the subject of *Higher Education*, or education which is given in *Colleges*, and which is mainly directed by the Universities, that His Excellency has, very properly, a great deal to say.

"Universities exercise the most powerful influence over *High Schools* and *Colleges*. They prescribe the course of study for the Matriculation examination and for the Degrees. The variations in the standards of these examinations exercise a serious effect on Higher education."

The Calcutta University, which, to use His Excellency's own words, he desires to make the *premier University* in India, is supposed to be governed by a *Senate*, which consists of nearly 200 Fellows, though it is really ruled by a small body of them, called the *Syndicate*. The misfortune, however, is, that there should be so few members on the Syndicate, who take the trouble to study University questions and work for the

University, in the way they should, but who nevertheless are desirous of enjoying the honour of being on the governing body. This naturally leads to the concentration of all power possessed by the Syndicate, in the hands of a small minority among them, who *do* indeed work for the University in a certain kind of way, but who, whatever their pretensions, are but amateurs, without any educational experience, and as such, liable to errors. The ascendancy, thus acquired by this small minority, is not confined to the Syndicate alone, but extends over all University Boards and Committees of all descriptions. The secret of this ascendancy lies in their holding the power of *appointing examiners* which gives them a *large following* everywhere, ever at their beck and call—so that they find little difficulty in carrying out any measure upon which their hearts may be set, or in getting any *book* taken or rejected, just as they please. The pity of it, however, is that the enormous influence and *patronage* that the Syndicate exercise have produced in their *leaders* a spirit which has sometimes led them into unseemly acts, which no true friend of the University approves. Indeed, their proceedings, upon a certain occasion, were believed to be so high-handed that a large number of influential European Fellows found it necessary to intervene, in the interests of the University; and the result was that some of these leaders were swept away from office for a time, though they contrived to come in again, afterwards.

There are of course European Fellows both on the Senate and on the Syndicate. But for some reason or other, they have, for some time past, ceased to feel any interest in University affairs, or to take any active part in them. It is believed that their present indifference is due, in some measure, to the predominance of the Indian element, or rather to the dominating influence acquired by certain Indian members and exercised by them in a manner which is probably distasteful to European members. A Burmese gentleman, desirous of having a separate University for Burma, lately wrote, amongst other things, to a Rangoon paper—"The Babus on the Senate of the Calcutta University (he should have said, on the *Syndicate*) are far too numerous and strong for the European members."

The position, however, will be best understood from Lord Curzon's own observations on it, as we find them in his two Convocation Addresses as well as in his recent masterly Address to the Simla Conference. The new-born *spirit of independence*, that has of late years grown up in every direction could not have escaped the lynx-eyed Viceroy. He took occasion to refer to it in the following terms—

(1) "I see faults in the present system. They are manifest to all. Chief among them is the *tendency inevitable* (wherever independence of reason is first inculcated among a community that has long been a stranger thereto) to chafe against the restraints, to question the motives, and to impugn the prestige, of *authority*. This is a *dangerous tendency, against which young India ought to be particularly on its guard*. For, the admission of independence is a different thing from the denial of authority. On the contrary, the truest independence exists where *authority* is least assailed. And almost the first symptom of enlightenment is the recognition of *Discipline*. The ignorance of these conditions is a *malady* with which a society is liable to be afflicted which is still in an early stage of *intellectual emancipation*. It is a sort of *measles*, of which, no doubt, the patient will purge himself, as time goes on.

Referring to University matters, His Excellency observed—

(2) "There seem to be many flaws in the system under which *Text-books* are at present prescribed, both for the Lower Schools and for the higher classes of affiliated Colleges and Schools. Long lists of books are drawn up that are apt to encourage *cramping*. These lists are not always carefully prepared and *unsuitable books creep in*. The Local Governments and, in some cases, the Universities have not strictly interpreted their *great responsibility* in the matter. And Government assistance is given to the promotion of *studies*, for which no government authority has been invoked or supplied.

(3) "I have observed traces of a similar laxity in the matter of the *affiliation* of colleges and schools, the tendency being to increase the number of affiliated institutions, without regard to the character of the *teachers*, to the quality of the *training* and to the degree of *discipline*.

"In all these matters, it appears to me that closer supervision and a more effective control are needed.

(4) "A *Fellowship* is a duty as well as a distinction. Those who are unable to discharge the duty are not qualified to retain the distinction. My honour was academic, terminable, and charged with a definite obligation. It was not titular, perpetual, and irresponsible. I had to satisfy certain high academic standards, before I could stand as a Fellow at all."

But here in India, Fellowships are for life and rest upon no academic standards. The result is, that any graduate of the University may get himself *elected* a Fellow, by sheer dint of canvassing; or, if he has influential friends on the

Syndicate, his election becomes all the easier. Nor is it difficult for any favourite of a high official, who may seek the honour, to get himself *nominated* a Fellow.

(5) "Our Fellowships will in future probably be for a *fixed term*. A stream of fresh life should be perpetually passing through the veins of the University organism." This is exactly as it should be.

(6) The majority of the University *Senates* suffer from being much too *unwieldy*.

Such being the case, the list of Fellows needs revision, so that it may not be said of the University (as was said of some other body by some one else), that "it is a noun of multitude signifying *many*, but not signifying *much*."

(7) "The system of *out-voting*" says Lord Curzon, "with all the *Wire-pulling* and *Canvassing* which it engenders, must be a source of weakness rather than of strength to the institution."

And had Lord Curzon known better, he would have said what a veteran Indian educationist said the other day—"In this country *Canvassing* often degenerates into personal pressure, machination, and intrigue."

(8) *Above all*, it needs to be borne in mind—

"That its powers and resources were given to the University, not to satisfy the *ambitions of individuals*, or the *designs of cliques*, but to promote the intellectual service of the community at large"—a rather hard hit!

Whatever may be the outcome of these notes and observations made by the Viceroy, it must be extremely gratifying to all interested in the question to find that they have now a Viceroy, not merely interesting himself in a kind of way in University affairs and finding time in the midst of his multifarious duties, to think about educational questions with a view to their solution, but, *for the first time*, recognizing the responsibilities of the Government of India in respect of the Higher Education of the country—and what is of far greater importance, declaring publicly that there should be—"a *more vigilant and diligent discharge of these responsibilities*."

Lord Curzon's own University experience, his imperial intellect, and his singularly inquisitive spirit, have enabled him to lay his finger on some of the blemishes of University administration, as of some other administrations as well.

A word about the University "Boards of Studies"—As the Viceroy lays so much stress on the subject of *Text-books*, it is necessary, if any substantial and practical reform is to be effected, to organize or rather to reorganize, on some sound basis, the different *Boards of Studies*, which prescribe

Text-books for the different University examinations. They may be made either temporary or permanent. If temporary, they may be constituted somewhat on the lines recently adopted by the Government of Bengal (with probably the sanction of the Government of India), in respect of Text-book Committees—*viz.*, (1) members to go out at the end of every two years; (2) author-members, *i. e.* those who have books of their own, to be entirely excluded.

It would be very desirable, however, to establish *permanent* Boards, both for the purpose of appointing Examiners and for that of selecting Text-books, because *experience*, which is only gradually acquired, is a great thing, in both cases. If the members were to be constantly changed, they would not have the opportunity to acquire the experience that is so much needed. Then again, the number of members in each Board should be limited, for, as is notorious, *too many cooks spoil the broth*.

The members must, as far as possible, be *specialists* in their subjects, (not amateurs of the kind usually admitted), with, if possible, some experience of the requirements of Indian youths. A graduate in Mathematics, for instance, has no business to be on an English Board; nor is a graduate in English likely to be of much use on a Mathematical Board. The Presidents of Boards should have some salary, so that the main responsibility for the work done by the Boards, may be fixed on them.

The gentlemen, generally appointed to set papers and to examine the answer papers of the candidates, are often the favourites of the *leaders of the Syndicate*. The appointment of Examiners and the selection of Text-books should be entrusted to bodies of specially qualified men, with a *preponderant majority of Europeans* in them. A European majority would provide a large measure of security against interested private influences.

I shall conclude with a telling and significant passage from the *Times'* article, referred to above—

"To make *real education possible*, it is evident that the *whole machinery ought to be re-organized*. The masterly utterances which Lord Curzon has lately delivered upon the subject of Education, raise the hope that the necessary reform may at last be inaugurated and carried through. This can only be done with a strong hand and in the face of considerable opposition. The task of the Government will not be an easy one, as far as the reform of the University is concerned. Having once entrusted everything to a body which has *proved*

incompetent, it has now to face the ungracious duty of *taking back what it has given*—a step which must naturally be considered as reactionary and high-handed.”

THE POLICE.

Speaking about the “Police,” Lord Curzon said;—

“Another matter that is of anxious preoccupation to us is the reform of the *Police*. *Grave abuses* have crept into this branch of the service and are responsible for administrative and judicial short-comings that are generally deplored and that have produced a *wide-spread* and *legitimate* discontent.”

Some unfortunate disclosures regarding Executive and Police doings in the mofussil having been recently made by Mr. Pennell, Sessions judge of Chupra, Lord Curzon took occasion to remark—

“This case exemplifies in an aggravated but *typical* form *several evils* which from time to time force themselves upon the Government and which it is *on every ground of the utmost importance to restrain*.”

Further on—

“The case, commonly known as “the Chupra Case,” while discreditable to the majority of the officers concerned, also casts discredit upon the Govt. to which these officers belong.”

The same Mr. Pennell made himself notorious by his extraordinary proceedings and judgment in a murder-case in another district, Noakhali, where he had the boldness to cause to be arrested and put into *hajut*, the local European head of the police, under some section of the Indian Penal Code—a thing never known or heard of in the judicial annals of India. The case accordingly created some sensation at the time. But Mr. Pennell spoiled everything by not only importing various extraneous and irrelevant matter into a judicial document, but also by speaking in highly disrespectful and intemperate terms of the highest officers in the country, the High Court Judges, the Lieutenant Governor, and even the Viceroy himself.

In both these cases (Chupra and Noakhali), it is needless to add that Mr. Pennell, rightly or wrongly, acted under the belief that the Police in this country were generally a bad lot, and that in the mofussil they had it all their own way. This, Mr. Pennell endeavoured to bring prominently to notice. One other point which he laboured to establish was, that whenever a “European” official in a mofussil district was in any difficulty, a sort of *esprit de corps* animated the whole official body there; and they thought it their duty to stand by him to save him from any scandalous procedure, simply out of a

feeling that the *prestige* of the British Government would suffer in the estimation of the people of this country, if any *British* offender were to be officially censured or otherwise punished.

"Considerable improvements" said Lord Curzon, "have been sanctioned in the direction of securing a *better class of men* in the higher grades of the Police, at a higher rate of pay, in Bengal, the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab."

But whilst endeavouring to introduce a better class of men into the middle ranks of the Police (*i. e.* Inspectorships and Sub-inspectorships which are generally filled by natives of India), it behoves the authorities to keep in view that a "better class of men" is also required to fill up the higher or "European" grades of the service, who are to guide, control, and give the tone to the Indian agency under them. I may be permitted to add in this connection, that an impression prevails in this country, that the *European* heads of the district Police in India, who are recruited in England, are generally young men who have failed to qualify themselves for any profession, but who are pitch-forked into the Indian Police, through the interest of influential friends or relatives. This may or may not be the case. What is wanted, however, in case the recruitment is to be confined to Great Britain, is a body of fairly educated and conscientious men, who would devote themselves to their legitimate work, as earnestly, honestly, and diligently as District Magistrates, and who would possess, besides, not merely a *smattering of the vernaculars*, which suffices to pass them in their departmental examinations, but as thorough a knowledge of them as it is possible for a foreigner to acquire. This must be a *sine qua non*.

An experienced Police officer, evidently European, wrote to the *Madras Mail* some time ago—

"When the *personnel* is composed entirely of *Indians*, we find detection vitiated by *concocted evidence*, and power used to secure *dishonest gain*, or in *ill-treating* those who fall into their hands. What we have therefore to find is a *Force*, the lower ranks of which must possess the *caste sympathies* of the country, knowledge of the *language* and *customs* of the people—and the *detective ability* of the "Oriental," combined with the *integrity, sense of responsibility, resources in emergency, and discipline* of the "European." When you have discovered this material out of which to constitute a Police Force, you have solved the problem, but not before.

As regards the policy of the Government to keep out the Natives of India from the higher appointments of "District Superintendent" and to a great extent, of Assistant Superintendent," and to confer them on Europeans only, it is by many looked upon as a grievance. They say, are there not Natives of India who are physically and intellectually as fit to discharge the duties of D. S. P. and A. S. P. as any European? There may be, but their number cannot be large. Indeed, however we may regard and urge the claims of Indians to higher posts in the service of their own country, we must candidly confess (*unpatriotic* though it might seem to be) that the time has not come yet, when Natives of India could be "*freely*" entrusted with the *executive charge* of large and important Districts. Such a charge requires *promptitude of action*, *self-possession* and *resourcefulness* in emergencies, as well as *capacity to endure worry and strain*—qualities which Englishmen alone possess and which but few Indians can lay claim to. The point, however, is that the D. S. P. or A. S. P. of a district should always be a man who will feel an interest in his work and not be content, as is now too often the case, to leave everything in the hands of his Indian subordinates. For, it is a common enough complaint that the investigation of criminal cases is too often entrusted to the lowest policemen (above the rank of illiterate constables) *i. e.* to Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables—and *verily*, these are the men who bring a bad name on the whole Indian Police. They are mostly illiterate or ill-educated, ill-paid, and unscrupulous persons, whose *one object*, whenever there is a case, is to *make as much money out of it*, as they can. If the law is defective, it should be amended, and the investigation of Criminal cases entrusted, according to the degree of their importance, not to ill-paid, corrupt, and irresponsible *Subs*, but to well-paid, fairly educated, and responsible Inspectors. Should the whole scheme involve additional outlay, it should be deemed worth incurring, considering that the preservation of order and peace, of honour, property, and even life, is in the hands of the Police.

An English writer on Indian affairs puts the matter in such clear and forcible language that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it here:—

"Above all," says the writer, "it is necessary that the importance of an *efficient Police in India* should be fully recognized. It is one of those institutions that brings the Administration into close contact with the people.—It is the *coupling-iron that unites the Locomotive with the Train*. Given a perfect Judicial system and Courts presided over by well-trained and efficient Judges.—Given conscientious and hard

working *Magisterial officers*,—Given an *Army* that affords just the amount of protection that it ought to afford to the country.—Given *everything* that can contribute to the comfort and happiness of a well-governed country—but if the *Police* are corrupt, the people are oppressed, and a just and liberal Administration is turned into an instrument of tyranny. It is the British Government and its officers who get the blame of the oppressions exercised by the *Police* in the name of the law."

CHAPTER III.

I have now done with Lord Curzon's twelve Reform schemes, and shall conclude my paper with a few words about a few other points connected with his administration, during the past two years and a half, viz.—

- (A.) The Sugar industry.
- (B.) The Assam Coolie Bill.
- (C.) The Calcutta Municipal Act.
- (D.) The Victoria Memorial Hall.
- (E.) Indian Princes.
- (F.) Denationalization among Indians.
- (G.) Indian Public Opinion.
- (H.) Indian Loyalty.
- (I.) Some Remediable Grievances.
- (J.) Some Characteristic acts of Lord Curzon.
- (K.) Some Striking observations of Lord Curzon.

(A.) The Sugar Industry.

In one of his public utterances, in the early part of 1899, Lord Curzon said that he would do his best to protect *Indian industries* and encourage *Indian enterprise*. An opportunity to give effect to these sentiments soon occurred. There had in recent years been a great decline in the *Indian Sugar industry*, as there had been in other industries as well. The *bounty* on *beet sugar* of other countries had nearly driven out the *Indian Cane and Date Sugar* from our markets. To prevent the ruin of an *indigenous industry*, an Act was passed, which imposed countervailing duties on *foreign and imported sugar*. His Excellency said on the occasion :—

"We are exercising our own legislative competence to relieve India from an external competition. It is in the interests of India and of India

alone that this Act has been passed. There has been an enormous importation of Beet Sugar into India from Germany and Austria. Two millions of men, I see it stated, are employed in this industry and thirty millions sterling is said to be the annual value of the crop."

The most striking part of His Excellency's observations in this connection, was where he said—

"What would be the meaning and value of the speeches I have made since I came to India, about the encouragement of Indian enterprise, if I were to acquiesce in the suppression of this promising branch of indigenous industry?"

(B.) The Assam Coolie Act.

The cost of living having everywhere increased in recent years, Mr. Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, proposed a small increase to the wages of the Coolies employed in the Tea industry in that Province. These Coolies, be it remembered, are not the indigenous people of Assam, but are imported into it from other parts of India. But the opposition of the Planters to such a small measure even, was fierce. And here is what fell from the lips of the Viceroy in reference to it. It explains as clearly and briefly as possible, the whole situation:—

"It seems to be the impression in some quarters that we are taking upon ourselves an *uncalled-for measure*, by interfering with the movements of the Tea industry. Government, however, has no intention to interfere. On the contrary, it sympathises with the effort to open up by capital and industry the resources of a distant and backward Province. In order to serve that end, we have *created* and are now *revising* a Law, which enables the Planter to *procure the labour*, without which he could not cultivate the soil. And in order to render this *labour* continuous and remunerative, we have placed the Coolie under *penal contract*, which enables the Planter—(1) to *arrest a deserter without warrant*; (2) to treat a *breach of contract* as a crime punishable with imprisonment.—These are great privileges, and in return for them, we want a small measure in the shape of a *slight increase* to the wages of the Coolies. They are not shrewd and independent men and often become unknowing partners to the contract. They know no combination or strike. They are compelled to *serve four years*, whether they like it or not. And they are *put into jail*, if they run away."

Mr. Cotton's original proposal was passed in a somewhat modified form. The fact is, the Viceroy having shown a disposition to sympathise with both parties, found himself in some thing like a dilemma, to extricate himself from which he

suggested a sort of compromise between the conflicting interests, which was finally accepted by the Council. This was that *the Coolie* was to have the modified increase, but not immediately, as the *Planters* complained of bad times, and so the increase was to come into effect after two years.

(C.) The Calcutta Municipal Act.

The object of this Act was to adopt more energetic measures to improve the condition of the city, by revising the Municipal constitution, so as to secure the co-operation of a larger number of the European residents, in Municipal affairs.

Some of the provisions of the Bill framed for the purpose, were believed to be rather hard, and protests from the Native community went up to the Lieutenant Governor as well as to the Viceroy. The Bill, however, was passed with some modifications and caused much dissatisfaction among the memorialists.

One unfortunate incident that arose out of the correspondence between the two Governments, was the resignation in a body of so many as 29 elected Commissioners. The Government of India having in their letter to that of Bengal, referred to *charges of corruption* having been made against some of the Commissioners by the late Lieutenant Governor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Commissioners felt it incumbent on them to know who *the black sheep* were and what the grounds on which the charges were based. The Government, however, declined to furnish the information and this was the cause of the resignation. That was an unfortunate affair no doubt, as there certainly were some among the Commissioners who were devoted to their work and who had done a great deal of good work in their time.

It was probably in reference to this unfortunate incident that Sir John Woodburn spoke those warm-hearted expressions of sympathy and friendliness which could only come from a true friend of India and the Indians—

"I trust that I may claim to have been, throughout my service, a true friend of India and of the Indians. That is *no credit*. It is certainly *no boast*. It is the *simple duty* of every Englishman in India. —But to me it has been a quadrupled duty. Four generations of my name have *eaten the salt of India*; and I am the last. On me it was incumbent to do all that in me lay to help forward the people of *this generous country*.

"The sands of my official life are fast running out. Is it possible, that, except under the cogency of a plain and clear *necessity*, I should

set my hand to a measure, which, I know, must hurt and wound those whom *I seek to serve*?

"Even out of evil cometh good; and out of all this pain and wrangle there will emerge a new order and with it a new prosperity to this great city."

Seldom has it been our lot to meet with such frank expressions of genuine sympathy and kindness, from the lips of one, so high in office. They came from the bottom of a feeling and noble heart and ought to be remembered with gratitude by every native of these Provinces—indeed they should be printed in golden letters.

(D) The Victoria Memorial Hall.

On the death of Queen Victoria, Lord Curzon found an opportunity to lay before the public of India a long-cherished idea of his, of having a Memorial of the life and reign of Her Majesty, which would serve the purpose of a "*National Gallery*" for India. England, France, and Germany had theirs in some form or other; but India had nothing of the sort; and yet, as His Excellency said in his letter to the *Nineteenth Century*.—"No period in the history of India has been more remarkable for the triumphs, both of war and peace, than the reign of the late Queen."

At a large meeting held in the Town Hall of Calcutta, His Excellency who presided spoke of the desirability of erecting the Memorial Building in Calcutta, the capital of the Indian Empire; and then set forth his own ideas as to the form the Memorial was to take, in the following glowing words—

"Let us have a Building, stately, spacious, monumental, and grand, to which every *new-comer* in Calcutta will turn and to which all the *resident population* will flock, where *all classes* will learn lessons of history and see revived before them the marvels of the past."

His scheme was—

(1) The Queen will be the *Central figure* of the Hall which is to be under a central dome—and upon its *marble walls* are to be inscribed in *letters of gold*, in English and the Indian vernaculars, the terms of her celebrated "*Proclamation*" and of her various messages to the Indian people.

(2) There are to be *Galleries*—(a) of "*Sculpture*" consisting of statues and busts of distinguished men; (b) of *Paintings, Engravings, Prints*, Pictorial representations of persons and of great historic scenes; (c) A *Court or Hall of Indian Princes*; (d) A collection of the *Documentary illustration* of historic events, (in cases or stands), such as *Treaties, Sanads, &c. &c.*

As to the *types of men*, who are to find a place in the Hall, His Excellency had to run his eye over the whole history of British India to find them—*Pioneers of commerce, Governors, Governors-General, Lieutenant Governors; Generals and Soldiers; Men of Letters and Science; as well as Historians; Reformers, Philanthropists &c. &c.*

Not merely *Englishmen*, but distinguished *Indian* Princes, Chiefs, Statesmen, Scholars &c., were to have their places in this *All-India Memorial Hall*.

"Our object is," His Excellency observed in his letter, "to provide India with that which every civilized nation should possess, for bringing home to the popular imagination the *reality of the past* and for implanting in *future generations* the instincts of *national pride*, of *reverence* and of *patriotism*."

Subscription lists were then opened and large sums subscribed on the spot, the Viceroy himself putting down 10,000 Rs. against his own name and the Maharaja of Kashmir offering 15 lakhs of rupees. In two months and a half the sum amounted to £200,000. These lists are still going round.

One curious feature about these subscriptions was that the amounts put down for the Memorial Hall were often greater than those for the late Famine. What could this mean? Was it that the interests and calls of *Humanity* were, in the estimation of the millionaires of this country, less urgent than those of *Loyalty* and devotion to the Queen? Or, was it a desire on their part, as some suppose, to please the Viceroy, the originator and patron of the Memorial Hall scheme? To give one instance out of several. A certain well-known Indian nobleman, who contributed 10,000 Rs. to the Famine fund, did not hesitate to subscribe 50,000 Rs. for the Memorial Hall. Among *princely* contributions to the Memorial Fund, we may notice the following—

| | | |
|---------------------------|----------|---|
| The Maharaja of Kashmir | 15 lakhs | } (but it was subsequently decided to limit the maximum to one lakh). |
| " Gwalior | 10 " | |
| " Jaypur | 5 " | |
| " Travancore | 1 " | |
| " Ulwar | 1 " | |
| " Indore | 1 " | |
| The Nizam of Hyderabad | 1 " | |
| Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore | 50,000 | |
| The Maharaja of Kuch | | |
| Behar | 25,000 | |
| " Hill Tippera | 25,000 | |

I cannot refrain from citing here in connexion with this Memorial a touching and pathetic appeal to Lord Curzon, on behalf of *Indian Architecture and Art*, made by Mr. Havell, Principal of the Government Art College in Calcutta, in an interesting lecture recently delivered by him—

"Indian Art has suffered much in the past. But it is fortunate now in having found a warm friend and sympathiser in His Excellency the Viceroy. In the scheme for the Victoria Memorial Hall, there is a unique opportunity for giving back to Indian architecture and art some of *its lost prestige*. If the proposed Hall is to become a Memorial, from which future historians are to date the *revival* of Indian art and architecture, it will be the most noble we could erect to the memory of the good Queen. It is to be hoped that the Hall which will commemorate the Queen, will also be *commemorative of Indian Art*.

(E) Lord Curzon on the Indian Princes.

"The Indian Princes are the representatives of a *system*. They are guaranteed the integrity of their dominions and their succession is ensured. I regard the advantage accruing from the secure existence of these States as *mutual*. To us the gain is that *our strain is lessened*. An opening is also given for the *employment of Indian talent*, which the British system does not always and equally provide.

Again,

"They are *links in the chain of the Imperial administration*. But it would never do for the *British links* to be strong and the *Indian links* to be weak. It will not do for the Native Princes to be content with *keeping things going in their time*. They must *keep pace with the age*. Their duty is not one of passive acceptance of an established place in the Imperial system, but of active and vigorous *co-operation* in the discharge of onerous responsibilities. In one word, the Princes and Chiefs of India are *our Colleagues*, quite as much as Governors and Lieutenant Governors of British India are."

In the words of a writer in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*—

"These States are part of the British system, contributing to its *stability*, but *dependent upon it for continued existence*. The Princes must be taught to recognise themselves as factors, not merely in the government of their own States, but in the *Imperial Administration*."

Addressing the young Princes at the Rajkumar College, (November 1900), Lord Curzon said:—

"We want you to learn the *English* language and to become sufficiently familiar with *English* customs, literature, science, standards of truth and honour &c., so as to be able to give your people the benefits of an *enlightened administration*. Beyond this we do not desire you to go. We want you, though educated in a Western curriculum, to *remain Indians*, true to your own beliefs, your own traditions, and your own people. For, remember, you will have to rule not an *English*, but an *Indian* people. You must be one with your own subjects. Remember also that the State you will be called upon to rule, is not *your private property*; that its revenues are not your privy purse; and that *you exist for the benefit of your people, not your people for you.*"

(F) Lord Curzon on Denationalization among Indians.

Lord Curzon must have been struck with the tendency to *denationalization* observable among certain classes and ranks of the Indian people. Mark well what he says to the young princes—"You must be one with your own subjects; you must *remain Indians*, true to your own beliefs &c." Every word there shows how particularly anxious His Excellency is to impress upon the Princes the necessity of their maintaining their own "nationality"; for, where else would it be more undesirable and unfortunate to see a *denationalized* figure, than in the occupant of a throne or the ruler of a State?

"In my eyes," said the Viceroy, "the *Anglicized Indian* is not a more attractive spectacle than an *Indianized Englishman*. Both are *hybrids of an unnatural type.*"

Again, in his Convocation speech of 1900, addressing the young men assembled there—

"A veneer of Western learning and culture upon an *Oriental* substratum furnishes but a flimsy and unstable fabric. You cannot *amalgamate* the subtlety and acumen of the East with the more robust and masculine standards of the West.—*Half-denationalized* types of humanity, who have lost the *virtues* of their own system and assimilated the *vices* of another, are familiar to us."

Is not this true enough and to be deplored? Have we not indeed lost many of the *virtues* of our own race and imbibed many of the *vices* of other people with whom we come into daily contact and whom we glory in imitating?

Where is the *spirituality* which characterised our forefathers? Where that God-fearing spirit and *firm religious faith* which formed the backbone of every Hindu householder of even a generation or two ago, to say nothing of those that preceded them?

Where is the old *reverence* for parents, that *respect* for old age, that *regard* for seniors and elders ?

Have we not lost the *simple and frugal habits* of our ancestors and imbibed a taste for *luxuries* which were unknown to them ? A large variety of articles, some cheap, some fancy, some useful in a certain kind of way, are coming to us from foreign countries, which, though not absolutely necessary, we nevertheless deem it desirable to possess ? We have thus *created artificial wants* which cost us additional outlay, and we have often to go beyond our means to satisfy them. In the case of rich people this is a small matter, but in the case of the average middle-class man, does it not tell on his resources ?

Again, where is that noble *Fellow-feeling* and *Sympathy* for sufferers and neighbours in distress, which formed an essential feature of Hindu life in days gone-by ? Have we not now *concentrated all or nearly all on Self*, having nothing or next to nothing even of the old *family feeling* ?

Mammon-worship is the prevailing creed everywhere, and what wonder that we follow it with all the eagerness and earnestness that we are capable of, in our humble and limited spheres ! Is not this due partly to the severe *struggle for existence* that has arisen everywhere in recent years and partly to the "*ostentatious vanity*" on our part of *appearing in society, as being "above" our proper station in life* ?

Politics, Diplomacy, Policy, Voting, Canvassing and the like, with all their attendant evils were entirely unknown to us before. But it would be no exaggeration to say that the whole atmosphere of the Indian educated world is at present saturated with them, and we are nothing, if not political or diplomatic.

The adoption of *European costume* by some of our younger people is another of the changes which we observe and deplore, as being not only anti-Indian, but as being also inconveniently expensive. The fact is, our young folk are becoming imbued with the idea that *European costume* commands more attention, if not respect, among low-class and illiterate people than our old-fashioned dhuti and chadar, or our pyjama and chapkan. There is, however no denying that it has its advantages, in Railway travelling, particularly. For instance, in nearly every Railway station on the E. I. R. line, there is a room set apart for passengers to be used as a latrine. Outside the room is a sign-board with the word "*Gentlemen*" on it. Now, you must know that this place is reserved only for *English-dressed* persons, be they Englishmen, or Eurasians, or even Indians. But no native of India in his ordinary Indian costume would usually be allowed to use it.

Again, if there is a European or Eurasian in a first or second class carriage, the creature called *the Babu* would seldom be allowed to enter it, or would seldom venture to enter it, unless the Railway people fail to provide him with accommodation elsewhere or help him to do so. Cases of this kind frequently occur; and no amount of respectability or official dignity would help a *Native gentleman* in getting admission, if resisted by European occupants.

Indeed, there is an irresistible under-current of change flowing in all directions; so many forces are acting on us from so many different sides, that we do not wonder that we are gradually giving in, in many respects, and giving up our good old ways and transforming ourselves into what Lord Curzon contemptuously calls *Hybrids* and *Anglicized Indians*.

(G) Lord Curzon on "Indian Public Opinion."

"It has been my constant endeavour to infuse an element of the *modern spirit* into Indian administration. I see no reason why the *official hierarchy* here should not benefit by *public opinion*. Official wisdom is certainly not so transcendent as to be superior to this form of stimulus and guidance. My inclination, when the Government is attacked, is not to assume that the critics are inevitably wrong, but that it is quite possible they may be right.

"In any case, I inquire."

"Of course it is easy to disparage *Public opinion* in a continent like India. It is either the opinion of the Merchants, of the Civil Services, or of Amateurs in general, or, if it is *Indian Public Opinion*, it is only the views of the infinitesimal fraction who are educated. No doubt, this is true. But these are the various sections, upon whose intelligent co-operation the Government depends.

"To the *masses* we can give little more than security and material comfort. In their humble lives they can only lend us *passive support*.

"But the opinion of the educated classes is one that it is not *Statesmanship* to ignore or to despise. I do not, however, say that one should always defer to it. But there are a multitude of ways in which the Government may and should endeavour to enlist *Public Opinion* on its side. For instance, in framing its legislation, it can profit by external advice. Instead of relying solely on the *arcana* of official wisdom, it can look sympathetically into grievances, instead of arbitrarily snuffing them out.

"I have endeavoured to conduct the administration on these principles, and they seem to have won your approval.

"Public opinion in this country can very materially strengthen the hands and lighten the task of the Head of the Government, if he is so fortunate as to possess its support. A Prime Minister in England is strong in proportion to the parliamentary strength of his party. A member of Parliament is strong in his constituency. All India are the constituents of the Viceroy; and his strength is proportionate to their allegiance."

Where was the Viceroy who had ever had the courage to even affirm such sentiments before the Indian Bureacracy, to say nothing of his being able to act up to them?

(H) Lord Curzon on Indian Loyalty or Indian Loyalty under Lord Curzon.

India has hitherto been a part of the British Empire, only in a political sense. But the true conception of the *Imperial idea*, in so far as India was concerned, developed itself during the South African war, when the needs of the British Government became the needs of all parts of the world, under the British crown. There was a sympathy for the Central Government *everywhere*, and a desire to participate in its troubles, in Canada, in Australia, and in India also.

Contingents of troops from India had, it is true, occasionally served with British troops, in foreign countries. But India had hitherto had no opportunity of proving *actively* her loyalty to the Sovereign, in any material and marked manner. It was the South African war that first evoked an *Imperial feeling*, all through the Empire. This war, though unfortunate to Great Britain, as regards the waste of money and life, proved to the world, in a most marked manner, the *devotion* and *loyalty* of the Princes and peoples of India, towards the Queen Empress. And to Lord Curzon is due the credit of having brought forward prominently before the Government and the public of England, of the whole world in fact, the fact that *the people of India were as loyal to her Majesty as the people of Great Britain itself.**

Here are His Excellency's own words on the subject—

"There has never been a year in Indian history, when the *Loyalty* of the Indian Princes has been more triumphantly vindicated. Aroused by the stirring events that were passing in foreign lands and thrilled

* In the Maidan demonstration on the Queen's death, Lord Curzon recognized the same heart-felt sentiments of *loyalty and devotion* to the Queen.

by a sense of *partnership in the British Empire*, they have freely offered their troops, their resources, and their own swords, for the service of the Queen, both in Africa and Asia. It has not been possible to accept all these offers; and indeed in S. Africa, it was not possible to accept any. The principal reason was that if Great Britain transferred to S. Africa a portion of her *Indian army* to fight her battles there, an impression might have been produced that her own strength in *white men* was not sufficient for the strain of a second class campaign. So it was decided that the contest should be entirely between one *white race* and another. Had however, the offer been accepted, it would have provoked an outburst of the heartiest satisfaction in the country, where the manifestations of *Loyalty* were so wide-spread, so conspicuous, and so genuine. The Home Govt. were fully sensible of this, and Her Majesty continually pressed me to lose no opportunity of testifying her admiration for the devoted *Loyalty of the Indian Princes, the Indian Army, and the Indian People.*

"However, the war in China has given me an opportunity of showing how greatly Her Majesty's Govt. have valued these demonstrations of Loyalty.

"It will always remain a source of pride to me," proceeds His Excellency, "to have been instrumental in persuading the Home Government for the first time, to send *Imperial Service Troops* 'outside of India.' These are troops, maintained by Indian Princes, and trained and officered by British officers. They were not originally raised for that purpose; but were only intended to take part in the defence of India. But opportunities for employing them in *India or upon the Frontiers*, are few and far between.—When, however, the Chiefs came forward and begged to be allowed the responsibilities of the Empire and to vindicate their *Loyalty upon a wider field*, he would have been a cold and narrow-minded pedant, who, on such an occasion, would have damped their enthusiasm or waived aside their offer. It was therefore with peculiar pleasure, I urged Her Majesty's Government to accept the offer, so spontaneously and generously made. I have myself superintended the despatch to China of picked contingents from the *Imperial Service Troops.*"

Lord Curzon had good and sufficient reasons to congratulate himself on the success of his policy, and therefore recurs to the subject with pleasure and pride, over and over again. In another place we find him observing—

"The past year (1899) has conspicuously demonstrated the part that is played by *India in the Imperial system*. It was the prompt despatch of a contingent of the *Indian British troops* that saved the colony of

Natal. And there were Indian regiments who accomplished the rescue of the Legations at *Pekin*.—We have rendered *this service to the Empire*, in a year when we were distracted by *Famine and Plague*. If then, our arm reaches as far as *China* in the East and *South Africa* in the west, who can doubt the range of our influence and of the *share of India in the Imperial destinies?*"

Again, elsewhere—

"The most striking instance in recent Indian history, the most conclusive testimony to the *Loyalty* of the Princes and Peoples of India, is the fact that we have spared between 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers from the Indian army for the wars now being waged elsewhere by the forces of the Queen.—We have thus, not unhandsomely, borne our share in that great outburst of *Imperial sentiment* that has marked the close of the old century and the opening of the new."

The crowning testimony to *Indian Loyalty* is that borne by that great organ of English public opinion, the *London Times*, in an article on "Indian Education" in June last—

"But the *Loyal feeling*, evoked at the time of the outbreak of the Transvaal war, and more recently, at the death of the Queen, seems to show that beneath the imposed and artificial layer of school-boy politics there is a deeper spirit of real attachment to *British Rule*."

(I.) Some Remediable Grievances.

"*Famine*" and "*Plague*" are unavoidable evils, which no human foresight can ward off, nor human agency prevent. But there are a few avoidable evils, under which the people of India labour, and which need strenuous efforts and continued vigilance on the part of the authorities to remedy. One of these is *Police Zoolum*, which is already engaging the attention of both the Supreme and Subordinate Governments. I shall here refer to two others which ought to claim His Excellency's attention, if they have not done so already. Lord Curzon would really do an important service to India and its peoples, if he could see these evils remedied, even partially. It is only a man of his powerful head and vigorous hand that can do anything in this direction. One of the grievances of *educated Indians* is,—I will not say, their total exclusion from *State appointments*, but the tendency of things towards it. Pure Indians (Hindus as well as Musalmans) are being gradually cornered and confined absolutely to the *lowest clerkships*, the salaries of which range between Rs. 20 and 50 a month or at the most, Rs. 100. If then, nearly all the higher posts are to be reserved for Eurasians, and the highest ones given to British youths, where are the children of the soil to go?

Except in the subordinate Judicial and Executive branches of the service, which require educational attainments and training of a pretty high order, but the emoluments of which are not sufficiently attractive to *British youths* and for which *Eurasian* youths will not take the trouble to qualify themselves, *Indian* youths have not much to hope for in the services, anywhere.

A well-known retired member of the I. C. S. who is an Indian himself, thus writes to the *London Daily News*,—

"The Cooper's Hill College was founded to train Engineers for India; and Indian students, who desired to serve their own country as Engineers in the higher ranks, went to England, joined the institution, and were allowed to compete with their English brethren for the appointments. Now, one year, a good many Indian students succeeded, and this, instead of pleasing the Secretary of State, alarmed him; and soon after, he made a rule, allowing *only two* appointments to be competed for by Indian students, each year.

The writer proceeds—

"Are my countrymen to be told that, even if they qualify themselves for *high civil appointments*, come to England, and prove their fitness at competitive examinations, they are not eligible for any but a small percentage of the high appointments in their own country, because they are reserved for English boys?

"Run your eye through the lists of the *Civil Services in India*—and you will find that, with small exceptions, not only the *great I. C. S.* but also the *Minor Services*, such as the Medical, the Educational, the Police, the Jail and other services, in fact, all posts, which it is worth an Englishman's while to hold, are reserved for English boys—and thus the *Queen's Proclamation* is a dead letter."

Then there are other branches of the public service, which are *specially reserved for Eurasians*, or to which pure Indians are not ordinarily admitted. I quote Lord Curzon's own words on the subject. Addressing probably, the Calcutta Eurasian Association, in March 1900, His Excellency observed—

"You complain that you no longer have the share you once enjoyed in the *higher* ranks of the public service, and that in respect of the *lower* ranks, you are handicapped by competition with Indians. You claim that a certain proportion of appointments in *all ranks* of the public service should be reserved for you.—But the days to which you refer are gone. Your number then was much less and competition, much smaller.

"And you must remember what the Public Service Commission laid down and the Government of India accepted, that there should be two classes of the Public Service in India—(1) The *Imperial Service* recruited in England; (2) the *Subordinate Services* recruited in India. If Indians desire to join the former, they must go to England and pass the examinations there. These are open to you. It is impossible to ignore the principle upon which the Public Service is recruited, by creating a special exemption in your or any other case.—As regards the latter Service, you must enter by passing *competitive examinations*, in which you enjoy precisely the same opportunities as do other communities in this country. You are equally eligible to employment with them.

"*The Government have gone further in your case than in that of any other.* It has reserved for you a special proportion of places in the Subordinate Departments. In the subordinate Accounts department, in the Survey department, in the Salt department, in the Customs department, in the Opium department—a large proportion of appointments is either reserved for you, or is open to you. For instance, in the Opium department $\frac{2}{3}$ of the appointments are open to your community. But the Govt. of India have received protests from the Govt. of Bengal in favour of recruitment from England, on the ground that sufficiently qualified men are not to be had in India. For a similar reason, the Government of India were obliged to ask that a larger proportion of appointments in the Finance Department, P. W. Department and Railway Traffic Department, should be recruited from England.

"So you see we are more than anxious to employ you. But how is it possible to create special privileges in your favour, when you do not take advantage of those that are already open to you?"

Elsewhere, in reply to another *Eurasian* deputation, the Viceroy said:—

"Well, in so far as I can reasonably and legitimately help you, I will do so. But there are certain things I cannot do. I cannot create special opportunities or special exceptions in your favour. I have thought it advisable to make these remarks to remove from your minds the impression, that Government in its desire to be fair to you, can anywhere consent to be unfair to others; and also to indicate to you the vehemence of public feeling that would be aroused by a *partisanship* in favour of one section of the population, to the exclusion of another."

How luminous the exposition of the principles and how catholic the views upon which the Government should proceed! But Lord Curzon's earnest and clearly expressed desire to be just and impartial towards all classes notwithstanding—Departmental Heads, who have the patronage of offices

in their hands, contrive, as they have of late years done, to set aside the noble spirit of these worthy sentiments—and it is firmly believed that in the matter of *Secretariat clerkships*, there is a growing tendency on their part to give *Eurasians* the preference over pure Indians, without much regard to their qualifications or fitness. Only the other day, it was stated (with what truth I cannot say), that in the Bengal Secretariat, a *third* of the higher appointments (Rs. 50 upwards) were in future to be conferred on *Eurasians*. It is impossible to believe that this can be true or that Lord Curzon can be aware of it. For, however anxious the authorities may be to *push up* the Eurasian community or to silence the noise and clamour some of them are just now making, there is such a thing as a *sense of proportions*—and does the Eurasian population of Bengal or even of Calcutt consist of a *third* of the whole? And is it *sound policy* to *keep down* by *keeping out* pure Indians from such small crumbs even?

Of course, Lord Curzon is in no way responsible for the present state of things, the system or the practice having been in existence from before his time. That he, for his part, does not countenance it, is emphatically indicated by some of his own utterances. For example, addressing some *Eurasian Association*, in S. India in Dec. 1900, His Excellency said—

“I have recently seen in the papers what purports to be a reproduction of certain *new rules* which I am alleged to have issued for your admission to the Government of India Secretariate, as well as of certain *secret instructions* for excluding Natives of India from particular posts, for your special benefit. The Press in India knows a good many things that do exist; but it also knows or affects to know a great many that do not. All I can say is that *these rules or these instructions are unknown to me.*”

Who after this public denial on the part of the Viceroy, and such a Viceroy as Lord Curzon, will dare to say that “*secret instructions*” of any kind are still going on?

By all means let *Eurasians* have their *fair share* of State appointments and emoluments, as they form, no doubt, an important part of the Indian population. But let these appointments bear some reasonable proportion to their number among the Indian population, or rest upon some special aptitude or qualifications they may have for certain classes of appointments in the Government services. The question, however, is, do *Eurasians* avail themselves of the *educational* advantages and facilities afforded to them, in an equal degree with the other sections of the Indian community, or strive to reap the benefits of *high education* in the way the Hindus and Musalmans of to-day do? How many of them are graduates of our Universities

and how many of them are employed in the higher walks and branches of the public service—as *Professors* in the Education service, for instance, as *Engineers* in the P. W. D., as *Doctors* in the I. M. S., or as *Judicial officers* in the Legal line, to say nothing of *Pleaders* or *Barristers*? Very few, indeed. That obviously is the reason why they want *special* privileges in the clerical departments. They will not take the trouble and pains of educating themselves in the manner required and thereby qualifying themselves for the various *learned* and *lucrative* professions, open to them equally with the other sections of the Indian population; and yet ask for a larger share of State appointments.

In his reply to a Musalman address at Madras, praying for *special* favours, the Viceroy's utterances breathe a similar spirit—

"This is a complaint of your relatively backward position and a request to Government to redress the balance by establishing a larger number of *Musalman scholarships* in colleges and by giving you more posts in the higher ranks of service. There seems to be some inconsistency between your frank admission of social and intellectual backwardness and the claim for a larger share of the prizes that fall to social and intellectual distinction."

The principle ever has been, as it should ever be, that the best man available for any post should be taken, be he Hindu, or Musalman, or Eurasian. But of late years there has been a departure from this good old rule, in consequence of the efforts of *interested agitators* on behalf of *educationally backward* sections of the Indian population, and the question of fitness or efficiency as the *criterion* has been set aside; and it has been ruled that a certain proportion of Government appointments, must be reserved for such backward sections. Lord Curzon had evidently something of this kind in his mind, when he said to the Moslem deputation—

"For the last 30 years it has been the consistent instruction of successive Secretaries of State and of the Government of India to extend a fair and even more generous treatment to the *Musalmans*. The execution of this policy has certainly produced a vast change in your position. With the superior *educational advantages* now open to you, it rests with you to justify still further progress."

And to leave no doubt in the minds of the deputation as to what His Excellency meant, he declared his view in the most pronounced and unmistakeable language possible. Here it is—

"You want the Persian and Hindustani Translatorship to be conferred on a Muhamedan. My answer is that *it must be conferred on the best man, whoever he be. Efficiency is the criterion.*"

CRIMINAL TRIALS—Trials of *criminal* cases, in Indian courts, between Indians and Indians, and between Europeans and Europeans, are always *unexceptionable*, and no one complains. But the impression *generally* is, that in cases where the parties are Indians on the one side and *Europeans* on the other, the result often is not such as to convince the people that *in the eye of the law all men are equal*. Right or wrong, such is the impression. A well-known English writer, speaking of Egyptian affairs in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, says :—

"We have done much to familiarize the Natives with our English ideas of *Justice*. But the force of the contention, that *our laws make no difference between Foreigners and Natives*, is greatly impaired by the extraordinary amenities accorded to the Foreigner."

We often hear of cases, serious ones sometimes, in which *Non-official Europeans* are involved, but which generally end in their complete acquittal, or in the infliction of some nominal punishment.* The result too often is, that the European in the *mofussil*, who perhaps lives far away from the centres of public opinion, thinks it a small matter to assault or even to shoot a *Native*. Didn't a well-known Anglo-Indian paper say, the other day—

"Was ever European hanged for murdering a Native, or even sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for that offence?"

Educated Indians, whose number is gradually increasing, see all this and cannot but feel the evil keenly. It would be better far, they say, if the Law laid down distinctly that in *Criminal* trials, a European accused should not be put on a par with an Indian accused, and that the measure of their punishments, if found guilty, should be regulated by the colour of their skin. This would of course perpetuate the evil complained of and rankle in Indian minds, all the same. But it is better that they should know that such is the Law and that it cannot be helped.

* A single instance will suffice to show how things get on in the *mofussil*. I quote from a paper conducted by a Native gentleman.—"A European Planter was hauled up on a charge of *assaulting*, a *Native gentlemen of respectable family* (as the Magistrate styles the complainant in his judgment; and characterises the assault as *utterly unwarrantable and unprovoked*)—the head and front of his offence was that he had gone into the garden *on the back of a pony and with shoes on*. The accused was sentenced to a *small fine*."

We know that the Viceroy has no power over Law Courts. We know also that in criminal trials where the accused is a European, Jurors, often consisting of Europeans wholly or mainly, show a tendency to acquit and that Judges are under the law bound to accept their verdict. The law and the procedure are of course all that they should be. But it ought to be somebody's business to see that they are properly applied, so as to make it impossible for a European offender to escape the punishment he deserves under the law.

I find in an article, in the *Nineteenth Century* of June 1900, on "the Native Races of South Africa," that the condition of things existing in this country in the matter of *criminal trials* is not very different from what obtains there. Says the writer:—

"Cases occur where white men are charged with the murder of Natives; and the evidence may be overwhelming. But the *white Jury* gives a verdict of *not guilty*. Every one, from the judge on the bench to the man in the street knows that the verdict is false; but there is no remedy for it."

A late issue of the *Indian Empire* has the following—

"In this country it is getting more and more difficult every day to get justice, when the accused is a European, the more so when the trial is held before a *Jury*, which or the majority of which must under the law be composed of Europeans. An opinion is gaining ground, as we said the other day, that a European Jury is sure to acquit a European prisoner, no matter what his offence is and no matter how satisfactorily it may be proved. They acquit the European accused probably in consideration of the fact, that the *prestige* of Europeans would suffer in case there was a conviction of a European on the complaint of a Native."

This is rather strong writing; but it does, to some extent, reflect Indian feeling on the matter.

Indeed, these are sore points in the administration of the country, and demand the serious attention of the authorities. That there should practically be no offence committed, if a *European* be the accused, even to the killing point—that the Police should misbehave and oppress in the way they do—that Indians should be assaulted, if they do not *salaam* *sabehs* whom they do not know—or, that they should be excluded from *durbars* or courts, if they appear with their *shoes on*—are things which should no longer be tolerated. A little more alertness and vigilance on the part of the Heads of Local Governments, some share of the earnest disposition of the present Head of the Supreme Government, and things are

bound to improve, if not disappear altogether, in the course of a few years. It is the neglect or indifference of the authorities at the head, to take prompt notice of bad cases that occur, that is responsible for the existing unhappy state of things. If the subordinate officers who administer justice and *really* govern the country, could be impressed with a belief that their proceedings were being vigilantly watched, how long would it take to mend or end this state of things? It is a pity, as well as a misfortune that those responsible for the welfare and good government of the country do not always see the mischief of all this; or, at any rate, sufficiently realize the effect these *things* are likely to produce on the minds of, at least, the educated and thinking portion of the people of this country. The great point to be remembered is, whether such things are calculated to inspire in the people that "*confidence in British Justice and Impartiality*," upon which Lord Curzon lays so much stress.

Let all concerned, therefore, in the administration of the country, great or small, lay to heart and remember what Lord Curzon said at Bombay in 1900—

"I have never lost sight of the motto, (which I declared when I first landed at Bombay) *to hold the scales even*. It is not certainly an easy task, but it is always the right one.

"By one party I will be suspected of disloyalty to the interests of my own countrymen; by the other, of imperfect sympathy with its aims and aspirations. These may sometimes worry and sometimes impede. But they do not for one moment affect *the conviction* with which I started two years ago—that it is *by the Indians' confidence in British Justice* that the *Loyalty* of the Indian peoples is assured. Any man who shakes that confidence deals a blow at British dominion in India."

Talking of "*Race-feeling*," a high Anglo-Indian officer, now retired, said in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, about twenty years ago—

"When the whole question is fairly regarded, it will be admitted that the attitude of ordinary Englishmen to Natives is *kindly enough*. If there is little Sympathy between the races and no Affection, there is still *neither Dislike nor Hatred*."

But look here what another Englishman says upon this very point in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, of only April last—

"There is a phase of policy and conduct in which Lord Curzon, in the face of much *criticism* and at the risk of much *unpopularity*, has

gone fearlessly on his way. It is indeed lamentable that on the threshold of the 20th century, the "*Racial feeling*" should be so very strong in India.—The older men say that it tends to grow not better, but worse. An evidence of the truth of this assertion is supplied by the increasing number of cases of violent collision between *Englishmen and Natives*.—Sometimes, the fracas is between soldiers (out shooting) and a band of Native villagers—sometimes, it is between the soldier (in his barracks) and the coolie who pulls (or neglects to pull) his punkha—sometimes, between the Managers of Tea-gardens in Assam and the Labourers on their estates.

"The *Native Press* complains of the arrogant temper of the Europeans and deplores that there is one law for the white and another for the black—an assertion which the result of criminal trials where a European is the accused party, does not tend to disprove.

"The *European Press* protests against the increasing insolence of the Native and demands full protection for the rights and dignity of the Ruling race."

"The situation thus created is not precisely a garden of roses in which a Viceroy may choose to saunter. He can win little credit; he may provoke much animosity; he cannot be quite sure of the result.

"Nevertheless, Lord Curzon has not shrunk from letting it be known what his line is. He has made it clear that, so far as rests with him, he will insist upon even justice between the two Races; and that stern punishment shall be meted out to the offender, whatever his colour or his creed.

"It is well-known that but for his attitude in the *Rangoon Outrage case*, the whole of that disgraceful affair would have been hushed up.—Then in the *Chupra scandal*, where some European officers had attacked and grossly persecuted a Native, he spoke in language of similar plainness.—More recently, he had the *Soldiers' Shooting Pass Rules* revised, the neglect of which had caused much of the trouble between Englishmen and Natives."

The extract is rather long, but will repay perusal, as it shows in a remarkable manner the desire, nay the earnest anxiety of the present Head of the Indian Government to mend, as far as in him lies, the unfortunate state of things which exist in this country and which only a Viceroy of his stamp can do anything to mend. Unfortunately for the country, his term of office will soon be over; and things will probably relapse into their usual condition.

What more proofs of the *Courage*, the *Sympathy*, and the sense of *Justice* of Lord Curzon could the Indian world

desire to have? Of course, he cannot be expected to go into the details of every case that occurs. As supreme head of the Government he can only indicate "what his line is." It is for the Subordinate Administrations to carry it out and do all the rest.

There is yet another subject which demands attention. "*Outrages upon women (Indian or European) in Railways*" have become rather common of late years. Of course, all cases of this kind do not come to the knowledge of the public; only those where complaints are made, or which appear in newspapers, come to light. The public eye has been drawn to cases of this kind, since the sensational Assensole Outrage case tried by Sir Comer Petheram, some years ago. Only in November last, two cases were reported in two papers—one, in which a European engine-driver, was charged with assaulting a *European lady*, while she was travelling on the Bengal Nagpur railway; another, in which an *Indian female* was sought to be outraged by a European (from Assensole). Whether the two papers reported the same or two different cases, we cannot say. But as one of these, it is reported, has drawn the attention of the Viceroy, who, it is said, has ordered the taking-off of the inquiry from the hands of the *Railway Police* and directed it to be conducted by an expert detective of the *Bengal Police*, though it does not lie within the jurisdiction of the latter,—we have every hope that some good may come out of it, at any rate some course is sure to be adopted to minimise the evil as far as possible. But why should everything depend upon the *initiative* and action taken by the Viceroy? Cannot Local Governments move and co-operate with the Railway authorities, so as to relieve the Viceroy of some of the burden which sits upon him?

CHAPTER IV.

Before concluding my paper, I shall note one or two *characteristic acts* of Lord Curzon and some *striking observations* made by him, in the course of the various speeches delivered by His Excellency in this country.

A Characteristic Act.

The Maharaja of Jaypur having offered 15 lakhs of rupees for the purpose of creating a *Famine Fund*, desired to associate His Excellency's name with it and to name it after him. The following was the reply which the Maharaja received—

"The Viceroy appreciates your Highness's unselfish proposal to associate his name with the Fund. But he feels that the accident of his being Viceroy (at the time when the liberality of one of the Indian Princes inaugurated so splendid an undertaking) does not entitle him to any such honour."

Equally *characteristic* was his letter of congratulation to the Principal of the Poona College on the brilliant success achieved by an ex-pupil, a young Marhatta Brahman, named Purushottam Paranjpe, who came out *first* or *Senior Wrangler* from the Cambridge University. Never before did a native of India win such a high place in an English University; and seldom had a Viceroy of India had occasion to notice such an achievement on the part of an Indian. A distinguished University man himself, Lord Curzon fully appreciated the character of the distinction gained by young Paranjpe.

Redress of some *individual* grievances.—Appeals to the Viceroy in such cases usually received but little attention and generally ended in the *stereotyped curt* intimation—"sees no reason to interfere or to re-open the case." But a better day seems to have dawned in this respect, with the advent of Lord Curzon. Grievances are now looked into and decided according to their merits, instead of being summarily disposed of or shelved in the old way, according to the caprice of Departmental Heads and Secretaries, who felt themselves bound to support each other in all such cases.

Lord Curzon's sympathies for poor ill-paid clerks in Government offices are well-known. His circular that these poor people should not generally be punished with *fines*, as they often used to be, is a proof in point. We all remember the case, which was noticed in the papers, shortly after His Excellency had assumed office. It was that of a poor clerk, who (I write from memory) had not been allowed to resume his work for having over-stayed his leave, but who, when the papers came up before the Viceroy, was reported to have been *dismissed* and this, after 23 years of service, the ground of dismissal, as alleged by the head of the office, being *incompetence*. We remember this case, because of the remarkable observation reported to have been made by Lord Curzon, who after going through the papers said—"The incompetent man is not he who has served Government for 23 years, but he who has taken 23 years in discovering that he is incompetent," or words to that effect. Needless to say that the man was reinstated.

Another case of a similar character occurred more recently, in which an Indian permanent way Inspector on the Oudh-

Rohilkund line, was summarily dismissed by his Departmental superiors. He too was reinstated on appeal.

We also remember the case of Ghasilal of Indore, who was turned out of the cantonment limits by the officer commanding, but who, on appeal to the Viceroy, was permitted to return to his residence within the cantonments.

These are but a few of the instances of *individual grievances* redressed, on appeal to the Viceroy. There might be others of which the papers have said nothing and are therefore unknown to the public. Lord Curzon has his eyes everywhere; he "refuses to wear the trappings of custom" and is certainly above routine and groove.

Some Striking Observations of Lord Curzon

(1) The first and most important of these was that which His Excellency uttered at Bombay, on his arrival in India, on 30th December 1898—

"It is by the confidence of the Natives in British Justice that the Loyalty of the Indian people is assured. Any man, who shakes that confidence, deals a blow at British dominion in India."

Later on, at Bombay again.—

And, if to *Justice* we can add that form of mercy, which is best expressed by the word *Consideration* and which is capable of being shown in almost every act and incident of life, we have a *key that will open most Indian hearts.*"

Again, at Bombay in November 1900.—

"I have never lost sight of the motto, which I declared when I first landed here, to hold the scales even."

(2) In his Plague speech at Bombay in November 1899—

"The head of the Government of India should not, in my opinion, be a *passing phantom* that comes and goes amid pageantry, processions, and firing of salutes. The interests of all India are his interests. The salvation of all India is his duty. There are none so humble or so remote, none so powerful or so independent, as not to fall within the legitimate scope of his care.

(3) Referring to an appeal for *money* by the Bombay Municipality (Nov. 1900)—

"I sometimes wonder, if a Viceroy, as he goes round on tour, were at each place at which he halts, to accede to only one-half of the petitions for *financial help* that he receives, what sort of welcome he would meet with from his colleagues when he returns to Calcutta. The

first event, I take it, would be the arrival of a letter from the *Finance Minister*, handing in his resignation. The second would be the receipt of a telegram from the Secretary of State, to say that a *Royal Commission* was about to sail from England to investigate the straits to which the Government of India had been reduced, by a too blind philanthropy on the part of its Chief. Inasmuch, however, as I desire to escape from both these forms of rebuke, and as, you gentlemen, having expressed an interest in the continuance of my administration, cannot possibly wish that I should incur them—you will understand that the most tender-hearted Viceroy on tour is more often compelled to refuse than he is able to grant them.

How *humorous* and yet effective withal !

(4) Here is another bit of *humour* (Convocation address of Feb. 1900)—

"For my part, if I did not think that Higher Education was producing satisfactory results, I should be ready to proscribe your examinations, to burn your diplomas, to carry away in some old hulk all your teachers and Professors, your Syndicate, your Senate, your Vice-Chancellor and your Chancellor himself, and to scuttle it all into the Bay of Bengal."

(5) Dwelling upon the *value of India* to the British Crown, Lord Curzon said in England—

"My reason for being glad and proud to take up the high office to which I have been appointed, is that to me *India* has always appeared to be the political *pivot and centre of our Imperial system*. Ours was, before and beyond everything else, an Asiatic Empire ; and the man who had never been east of Suez, did not know what the *British Empire* was. In India we were doing a work which no other nation had ever attempted to do before. In the heart of that Asian continent lay the *true fulcrum of dominion*. *There was the touch-stone of our national greatness or our failure*. The time would come when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge would not be the hobby of a few individuals, but the *interest of the whole nation*. The secret of proper treatment of Oriental races in general, consisted in treating them as if they were men and of like composition with ourselves.

And, in India, at the Victoria Hall meeting—

"India is the mightiest and most loyal dependency of the British Crown. It is the possession of India which has given birth to the idea of *Imperialism* in England ; and that India is the empire of which *par excellence* Queen Victoria was the mighty and motherly Empress."

Again, in his letter to the *Nineteenth Century*.—

"In ~~this~~ wonderful portion of her dominions, the *cors* and the crown of the Empire, the Memorial to be erected must be worthy of her august name."

(6) The *Royal Proclamation of 1858* has always been looked upon by the people of India as a great Charter of privileges accorded to them by the supreme sovereign of the British Empire. I cannot find out what Lord Curzon's personal views and utterances were in respect of that famous document. But I find the following in a speech made by a well-known Bengal Raja at the Victoria Memorial meeting—

"Her famous Proclamation of 1858, which we are grateful to find, your Excellency call "the Magna Charta of India and the Golden Guide to our conduct and aspirations' &c."

(7) At the great *Famine meeting in Calcutta*—when towards its close, some Raja of Bengal made some complimentary remarks about the Viceroy, His Excellency observed—

"I thank the Raja for the words he used, though I think I would prefer to wait till the end of my five years, to see if I deserve all the good things said of me, instead of accepting them on the present occasion." And His Excellency spoke to the same effect, when the people of Bombay welcomed him on his first arrival as Viceroy—"I would like to be judged when I have laid down my harness."

(8) In the course of his remarks on some of the evils of the system of administration in India, notably, the *frequency of official transfers* (March 1901), Lord Curzon said :—

"Any Administrator, who in his time, can feel that he has done something to draw closer together the ties between Rulers and Ruled in this country and to bring about that *Sympathy* that can only result from *mutual knowledge*—may go away with a consciousness of not having altogether failed."

(9) But the most striking and solemnly impressive of his observations was that which he made at the Simla Army Temperance Association in June 1901—

"We are not here to draw our pay and do nothing, and have a good time. We are here, because Providence has before all the world laid the *solemn duty* upon our shoulders and that that duty is to hold this country by Justice and Righteousness and Good-will, and set an example to its people."

"There never was such a *responsibility* in the whole world. That is why it behoves every one of us, great or small, who belong to the British race in this country, to set an example.

"We have come here with civilization, education, and morality, which, we are vain enough to think, are the best that have ever been seen ; and we have been placed, by the Power that ordains all, in the seats of the mighty, with the fortune and future of this great continent in our hands."

राष्ट्रीय पुस्तकालय, कोलकाता
National Library, Kolkata



"EDUCATION IN INDIA."

THE ENGLISHMAN, Calcutta, 17th December, 1901.—

Babu Krishna Chandra Roy has written a *thoughtful paper* on University Education. He recognizes the fact that the whole machinery needs to be re-organized, and some of his suggestions are *valuable*. It is encouraging to find that Indians are bent on Educational reform and with Lord Curzon's views on the subject, something practical should be accomplished.

THE PIONEER, Allahabad, 17th January, 1902.—

Mr. Krishna Chandra Roy, who writes a pamphlet on "Education in India," has had 35 years' experience of the Bengal Educational office and it is therefore to be presumed that he knows something about his subject. * * * Mr. Roy is eloquent on (1) the evils of *cramping*, (2) on the unsatisfactory character of the *Text-books*, (3) the faulty nature of *instruction in English*, (4) the substitution of *lecturing for teaching*, (5) the careless way in which the Calcutta University affiliates schools, (6) and the *tyranny of the Entrance examination standard*, which has become almost the *sole aim* of the modern schoolmaster.

Most *common sense men* will sympathise with Mr. Roy in his opinion that Sanskrit, like Greek, Latin, or French, may well be left for the higher examinations.

Indeed, he insists on the necessity of a *majority of Europeans* on the Syndicate of the Calcutta University and holds that at present Babus have a dangerous ascendancy in matters of University government. He does not hesitate to use such words as *patronage* and *jobbery*, more especially in connexion with the *Selection of Text-books*; the success of a Text-book, says he, depends upon the *canvassing power* of its author. A *European majority* would provide a large measure of security against *interested private influences*.

On the whole, Mr. Roy's experience of the inner working of the Educational machine confirms in the strongest manner the opinion formed by independent observers on the disastrous influence of the Calcutta Babu on Education in Bengal.

THE HON'BLE T. RALEIGH D. C. L., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.—

"You may rest assured that the points to which you call attention were carefully considered by the *Conference*. The discussion was very thorough; and I hope that the practical results may be such as to improve the Universities."

THE REV. DR. W. MILLER, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University—

"I have read your pamphlet. With some, indeed with *many things* in it I entirely sympathize. The great interest which the Viceroy takes in Education and the information which he has now got, give me the hope that steps will ere long be taken which will do something to remedy not a few of the evils, of which you appear to have many more in Bengal than we have in Madras; though we are by no means free from evils and dangers."