of 1902, when a famine does occur it is so overwhelming that a rupee more or less of taxation has absolutely no effect one way or the other. But a reduction of the rate in ordinary years would decrease the possibility of the Government being able to give a sufficient amount during a time of distress. Still it is no doubt true that at the present day there is a much larger proportion of poverty than there was forty or fifty years ago. This, however, is the inevitable result of civilisation. In a more primitive or Arcadian state of society, there is scarcely any poverty in ordinary years; but at the same time there is very little wealth. There is, ordinarily speaking, a sufficiency. Such a condition of things existed in the time of the Patriarch Jacob. But even then when a famine occurred there was not a reserve in the country with which to meet it, and the Patriarch had to send to Egypt for corn with which to feed his people. But as civilization advances and the population increases, the conditions of society must inevitably change. The same factors that bring about the accumulation of wealth lead also to the increase of poverty. The more thrifty and those of greater strength of character will gradually get into their possession a larger portion of the

country's wealth. This has been the result of the increase of communications and of irrigation works in India; and it is the result of a natural law, that, as individuals increase in wealth, so will there be an even larger individual proportion of paupers, of labourers, fairly well off in ordinary years, but who, when a famine occurs, at once collapse. Forty or fifty years ago it took at least two bad seasons to bring about a famine. At the present time if one monsoon fails there will be thousands who are in need of relief or employment. The majority of the peasant proprietors, who in patriarchal times were able to support themselves and their families in ordinary years have, with the increase of civilization, become labourers. A number have emerged from this condition, and have become proprietors and capitalists, and give to the others employment which in a usual season is sufficient to provide a sufficiency of food and comfort. The old saying that money attracts money, holds good, and, as years go on, the capitalists and proprietors increase, but not in the same proportion as the population increases. The actual wealth of the country increases in the same ratio. But when a failure of rain occurs in an agricultural country like India, there is no cultiva-

tion, consequently there is no demand for labour, and a large proportion of the populace has to look to the Government for relief. In the meantime the collections of revenue are suspended, and the proprietors, employing no labour, are able to sit quietly until the rains come in due season. The burden of a famine does not fall so much upon the agricultural proprietors as upon the Government, which has to give the labourers employment on the relief works. If a proof of this is required it will be found in the extraordinary vitality which enables a tract of country which for twelve months has been the scene of famine horrors, to recover as soon as the rains fall. If the actual proprietors and agriculturists had been ruined, this would not be possible, but past history teaches us that the year succeeding a famine is generally one of extraordinary prosperity. A hundred years ago this was not the case, because the three-acre-and-solitary-cow proprietors took longer to recover than do the larger proprietors in the present time, and the labourers are maintained by Government until the rains fall and there is plenty of employment to be had.

One attack that has been made against the Government of India is the introduction of periodi-

cal settlements, and, judging from the results of the permanent settlement in Bengal, it is argued that a permanent settlement in other provinces would bring about a larger amount of prosperity. The argument is a plausible one, and under the native Government of former times would be almost unanswerable. But under the modern system, in which the Government spends annually enormous sums in the development of the country's resources, by railways, canals, communication and general improvements, a permanent settlement would mean that the Government could take no profit from the increased prosperity. This would manifestly be unfair. As prices rise and the general condition of the people improves, the Government has a right to expect a return for the money that it has expended. Personally I should wish to see the time when the settlement throughout the Empire is permanently fixed. I believe that that time is approaching and that the enormous stock of information that has been collected by the various commissions of enquiry that Lord Curzon has instituted, will enable some future Viceroy to announce that as far as the greater part of India is concerned, the limit of settlement has been reached and will not in future be exceeded.

CHAPTER VI.

POLICE REFORM AND EDUCATION.

If Lord Curzon had done nothing else he would have earned the gratitude of India for his courage in taking up and grappling the question of Police reform. It is only the lower classes that know how heavily the hand of the law can oppress them and how those whose ostensible duty is to protect, can become their oppressors at almost every stage of their lives. For years it has been known that almost all the subordinate ranks of the Police were corrupt to the very core, and that no one could be safe from their depredations and extortions. It was not long before that Lord Curzon became convinced that it was not even necessary to place this department on the anvil in order to find out whether there was a flaw, and, if so, where. But in order to be sure of the extent of the evil, a most searching enquiry was made by a Commission which visited every part of India. Previous to the visit of the Commission local enquiries and reports had been made by District Committees

especially appointed, so that in a way the ground had been prepared in each district. The unanimous report of this Commission revealed a state of things which took very few persons by surprise, and it speaks well for the moral courage of the members, most of whom were high officials, that they did not hesitate to speak out boldly, and for that of the Government that it was not deterred from publishing their report, but accepted their recommendations almost in their entirety. I will venture to make a few quotations from this lengthy report. After giving a short sketch of the history of Police organizations in India from the time of Akbar, it quotes from a letter written by the late Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that "in no branch of the Administration in Bengal is improvement so imperatively demanded as in the Police. There is no part of our system of Government, of which such universal and bitter complaint is made, and none in which for the relief of the people, and the reputation of the Government is reform in anything like the same degree called for. The evil is essentially in the investigating staff. It is dishonest and it is tyrannical." The Commission at once proceeds "as the result of their enquiries, emphatically to record their

full concurrence in the views of the late Sir John Woodburn. There is no province in India to which these remarks may not be applied." And again. "Everywhere they went, the Commission heard the most bitter complaints of the corruption of the Police. These complaints were made not by non-officials only, but also by officials of all classes, including Magistrates and Police Officers, both European and Native * * * the corruption of the constable is more intolerable because of the greater opportunities of oppression and extortion which his police powers afford, because of the intimate connection he has with the general life of the town and country, and because of the possibility of his being brought at any time into special relations with the individual * * * To pay a constable Rs. 6 or even Rs. 7 per mensem, especially when certain deductions are made for uniform, etc., is to offer strong inducement to dishonesty. It is urgently necessary to remove any excuse for dishonesty which Government should never allow to exist by giving to the constable a living wage and reasonable means of supporting himself and family without resort to dishonest practices. To this underpaid official duties are often assigned for which he is not

qualified. The strongest complaints are made in the country regarding the beat system and regarding the permission too frequently given to constables to investigate cases, and in the towns regarding the powers of constables in reference to nuisance cases. It is not difficult to see how the performance of duties such as these by an inadequately paid agency must lead to corruption and extortion. The evil is still further intensified by the utterly inadequate training given to constables and by the general absence of any attention to the necessity for keeping the temper, being civil and respectful to the public, avoiding brutality or unnecessary harshness, and seeking by all legitimate means to make their performance of duty as little distasteful to the people as possible. When it is considered how much all this is insisted on in England, it is not difficult to understand how frequent are the complaints of the high-handed indifference of Police here to the feelings of the people, nor does one wonder at the coarse and brutal way in which the Police often treat crowds or individuals with whom they have to deal. This is alleged everywhere as a cause of Police unpopularity, as a reason for the people dreading the Police and making every effort to avoid having

anything to do with them. These men, too often rough, ill-trained, and underpaid, are clothed with authority to report on the work of village headmen, to investigate cases in remote villages, or to arrest respectable citizens for alleged nuisances in towns. The annoyance and vexation which their practices of extortion and oppression often inflict on the people have been strongly urged before the Commission."

Again: "The forms of corruption are very numerous. It manifests itself in every stage of the work of the Police station. The Police officer may levy a fee or receive a present for every duty he performs. The complainant has often to pay a fee for having his complaint recorded. He has to give the investigating officer a present to secure his prompt and earnest attention to the case. More money is extorted as the case proceeds. When the officer goes down to the spot to make his investigation, he is a burden not only to the complainant but to his witnesses, and often to the whole village; people are harrassed sometimes by being compelled to hang about the Police officer for days, sometimes by having to accompany him from place to place, sometimes by attendance at the Police station, sometimes by having him and

his satellites quartered on them for days, sometimes by threats of evil consequences to themselves or their friends (especially to the women of the family) if they do not fall in with the view of the case; sometimes by invasion of their houses by low-caste people on the plea of searching for property, sometimes by unnecessarily severe and degrading measures of restraint. From all this deliverance is often to be bought only by payment of fees or presents in cash. The station-house officer will sometimes hush up a case on payment of his terms; he will receive presents from parties and their witnesses; he will levy illicit fees from shopkeepers and others for services rendered, or to obviate vexatious espionage. He has a specially rich vein in cases concerning disputes about land, water or crops, and sometimes in the management of cattle-pounds. Both parties are often willing to pay him well for maintaining neutrality; or one party will pay well for intervention on his behalf. The illicit gains in some Police stations in Bengal in connection with *chur* (or alluvial) lands are almost incredible. It may be incidentally remarked that the Government of Bengal should endeavour to devise some means for the summary and prompt settlement of such cases by

Revenue officers, subject (if necessary) to revision by the Civil Courts, so as to prevent the Police from having anything to do with them."

I have considered it necessary to give the quotations at such length, in order that the picture officially drawn may be clearly put before my readers, so that they may understand the gigantic nature of the task which Lord Curzon undertook when he resolved to reform the Police. The only thing that can be compared to it was the task allotted to Hercules of cleansing the Augean stables. In Lord Curzon's case, however, it was a whole Empire that had to be cleansed from this corruption and not a mere stable. This of course is not a task that can be completed in a year, but the result of the Commission's labours has been to propose a scheme which has been frankly accepted by the Government even although it involves an enormous additional cost, and will, it is hoped, gradually bring about an improvement. It is of course out of the question that I should discuss the whole of these proposals here. They may be briefly summarised by saying that by raising the pay of all the ranks it will be possible to raise the status of the men who will be recruited. Provision is to be made for the efficient training

and education of every member of the force, and the various duties of the town and rural Police are laid down. There is to be uniformity over the whole of India, and provision is made for better supervision. The report was submitted in May 1903, but before any orders could be passed upon it, it had to be referred to the various Governments for their opinions. This involved a reference to the district officials, and when they were in possession of all these reports, the Government of India proceeded to pass its orders, which were published a few months ago. The whole scheme will involve an additional cost of about 150 lakhs of rupees, and for the first year a sum of 50 lakhs has been sanctioned. It has been very rightly decided, since only a limited amount of money is available, that the improvement in the pay should commence with the lower grades, since it is they who come chiefly in contact with the people. As money is available from year to year, the remaining ranks will share in the benefits, but the people must be served first. It is of course premature to say how far the reforms suggested will prove efficacious, but the history of this Commission is a fair example of the thoroughness with which Lord Curzon met each of the

subjects which he promised to investigate. A long time must necessarily elapse before such wholesale traditions of corruption can pass away, but the manner in which it can be done has been demonstrated and the first step has been taken. The question of the incidence of the land tax is a controversial one, but about the necessity of Police reform there is no controversy, but yet such is the ingratitude of some people that, for a hundred voices raised in denunciation of the land-revenue policy of the Government or of the partition of Bengal, not half a dozen are to be found to express an appreciation of this reform so essential to the well-being and contentment of the people generally.

And now I have to approach a subject which has excited the minds of even larger numbers than have interested themselves in any other of the reforms undertaken by Lord Curzon. The question of the land-revenue policy and taxation has been criticized chiefly by a few philanthropists and faddists; the partition of Bengal excites interest in the Province itself, but the question of education comes home to every district and township in the Empire. There are two parties who are chiefly concerned in this controversy. A large majority of the middle classes who have been benefited by the

system hitherto in force, and a minority of thehigher classes who are able to see that the new education given by the Government at the cost of so much expenditure has conferred benefits upon the classes rather than on the masses. Outside these two parties there is the huge majority of the Indian population which fifty years of a liberal educational policy has left absolutely untouched. It is still steeped in ignorance and superstition and clings to its old traditional habits. The limit of the educational policy hitherto has been to give a higher instruction to those on the few top rungs of the social ladder, and to leave neglected those on the lower ones. The general result of making a higher education cheap has not been to increase good learning, Education having been made the test of qualification for Government appointments, it has been eagerly sought after as a means towards that end. Those who have been successful have attained the object of their ambition, and their official occupation prevents them from following the pursuits of knowledge. But the supply of appointments has not been able to meet the demand of the qualified candidates. These have gained their qualifications mainly by a pernicious system of 'cram' and having failed to obtain the object of their ambition,

are converted into a class of discontented, and too often disloyal, citizens. They have learnt enough to give voice to their clamorous disappointment, but not enough to make their knowledge the means of achieving a useful career. They can write and they can talk and the result is that they become, for the most part, vaporous journalists, or half-starved members of the legal professions. To a poverty-stricken huge majority of agriculturists has now been added a considerable minority of poverty-stricken and half-educated journalists and vakils, who can only earn a livelihood by writing and by talking. I have endeavoured to sketch a picture of the evils of the Police system which Lord Curzon found on his arrival, and I believe that I have fairly shown the evils of the educational policy. Too much had been done in the matter of book-learning and too little in the matter of technical knowledge. If India is to take her proper place in the rank of other civilized countries, she must not depend entirely upon agriculturists, writers and talkers. She must have manufactories and industries in which she can invest the millions of money which during the last 70 years have been retained in the country and which remain unutilized. This is, in a few

words, the object of Lord Curzon's educational reform. But here again the step has not been taken hastily. Another Commission formed of representative men; pursued an enquiry and submitted a report—it is true that it was not unanimous, and when that had been fully discussed, the new policy was inaugurated. As regards this I cannot do better than quote Lord Curzon's most recent utterance on the 20th September of this year (1905) delivered to the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla:

"Gentlemen, when I came to India, educational reform loomed before me as one of those objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative reconstruction. I thought so for several reasons. In the first place, vital as is education everywhere as the instrument by which men and nations rise, yet in a country like India in its present state of development it is perhaps the most clamant necessity of all, for here education is required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things.

It is a social and political, even more than an intellectual, demand, and to it alone can we look to provide a livelihood for our citizens, to train up our public servants, to develop the economic and industrial resources of the country, to fit the people for the share in self-government which is given to them, and which will increase with their deserts, and to fashion the national character on sound and healthy lines. The man in India who has grasped the education problem has got nearer to the heart of things than any of his comrades, and he who can offer to us the right educational prescription is the true physician of the State.

"For the first two years we surveyed the ground and reconnoitred the position of the opposing forces, and then all began. I look to the meetings of the Simla Conference in the month of September 1901, just four years ago, as the first act in the real campaign. That Conference has often been denounced by those who knew not the real nature of its labours as a sort of star chamber conclave that was engaged in some dark and sinister conspiracy. Some of you were present at its meetings, and you know how much of truth there was in that particular charge. I do not hesitate to say that a conference more independent in its character

more sincere in its aims, or more practical and far-reaching in its results never met at the head-quarters of the Indian Government. The meeting was a body of experts, non-official as well as official, convened in order to save Government from making mistakes and to assure me that we were advancing upon right lines. Our programme was laid down in the published speech with which I opened the proceedings. We covered the whole field of educational activity in our researches, and we laid down the clear and definite principles which, so far from being concealed, were published at full length later on in the Education Resolution, and which for years to come will guide the policy of the State. Then followed the appointment of a Director-General of Education, most fully justified by the devoted labours, the enthusiasm and the unfailing tack of Mr. Orange. Next in order came the Universities Commission, presided over by a former colleague, Sir Thomas Raleigh, in 1902. Then followed the Universities Legislation of 1903-04, of which, looking back calmly upon it, I say that I do not regret the battle or the storm, since I am firmly convinced that out of them has been born a new life for higher

education in India. Finally, came the comprehensive resolution of which I have spoken. Since then the policy of reform laid down by the Simla Conference has been carried into execution in every branch of educational effort until at last the Directors of Public Instruction from every Province have been sitting here for a week in conference to compare notes as to what has already been accomplished and to discuss fresh plans for the future. These are the main landmarks of the great enterprise upon which we have all been employed for so long, and a moment has arrived when it is not impossible to some extent to reckon up the results.

"What was the state of affairs that we had to redress? I will try to summarise it. As regards primary or elementary education of the children of the masses in the vernaculars, the figures which appeared in the Resolution were sufficiently significant. Four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school; three out of every four Indian boys grew up without education, only one Indian girl in every forty attended any kind of school. These figures are, of course, less appalling in a continent of the size, the vast population, the national

characteristics and the present state of advancement of India than they would be in any western country, but they are important as illustrating if not the inadequacy of past efforts, at any rate, the immensity of the field that remains to be conquered. We found primary education suffering from divergence of views as to its elementary functions and courses, and languishing nearly everywhere for want of funds. In secondary education, we found schools receiving the privilege of recognition upon mostly inadequate and untrained and incompetent teachers, imparting a course of instruction devoid of life to pupils subjected to a pressure of examinations that encroached upon them out of school hours, and was already beginning to sap the brain power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. Inferior teaching in secondary schools further has this deleterious effect,—that it reacts upon college works and affects the whole course of university instruction, of which it is the basis and starting point. We found these schools in many cases accommodated in wretched buildings and possessing no provision for the boarding of the pupils. As regards the vernaculars, which for long must be the sole instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among all except a small minority

of the Indian people, we found them in danger of being neglected and degraded in the pursuit of English—and in many cases very bad English—for the sake of its mercantile value. By all means let English be taught to those who are qualified to learn it; but let it rest upon the solid foundation of the indigenous languages, for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease. But in higher education the position was still worse, for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of the community as a page scribbled over with all sorts of writing, some of it well formed and good, but much of it distorted and wrong. We found in some of the affiliated colleges a low standard of teaching and a lower of learning, ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings, the cutting down of fees in the interests of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles. Finally, coming to the universities, we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality while steadily increasing the volume of the human output; students driven like sheep from lecture room to lecture room and examination to examina-

tion, text-books badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with over-swollen numbers selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers, a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of 'cram.' Of course, there were better and reassuring features in the picture. But we have to correct the worse even more than to stimulate the best, and, like a doctor, it was our duty to diagnose the unsound parts of the body rather than to busy ourselves with the sound parts. Moreover, there were some faults that were equally patent everywhere."

I feel that I owe an apology for reproducing so much borrowed matter, but my excuse must be that it shows far more clearly and in infinitely better language than I can command, what the objects of Lord Curzon's educational policy are. Nothing could be truer than his picture of the neglect of primary education:—

"What I think we may claim to have effected has been the following. In primary education, we have realised that improvement means money. We have laid down that primary education must

be a leading charge on provincial revenues, and in order to supply the requisite impetus we give in our last budget a very large permanent annual grant of 35 lakhs to be devoted to that purpose alone. This will be the real starting point of an advance that ought never to be allowed henceforward to slacken. Most of the money will go in buildings to begin with and a good deal in maintenance afterwards. Thousands of new primary schools are already opening their doors under these auspices, and in a few years time the results should be very noteworthy. In building, we lay stress upon the provision of suitable and airy school houses in place of the dark rooms or squalid sheds in which the children had previously been taught. Training schools for teachers are similarly springing up or being multiplied in every direction. We have defined the nature of the object lessons that ought to be taught to the children in primary schools, and the courses of study and the books that are required for the instruction of the cultivating classes. We have everywhere raised the pay of primary teachers where this was inadequate, and are teaching them that their duty is to train the faculties of their pupils and not to compel them to the listless repetition of phrases in which the

poor children find no meaning. I look as the result of this policy to see a great development in elementary education in the near future. It is apt to be neglected in India in favour of the louder calls and the more showy results of higher education. Both are equally necessary, but in the structure of Indian society one is the foundation and the other the coping stone; and we who are responsible must be careful not to forget the needs of the voiceless masses while we provide for the interests of the more highly favoured minority who are better able to protect themselves. In secondary education the faults were largely the same and the remedies must be the same also. More teachers are the first desideratum; more competent teachers the second; more inspectors the third. The increase that we have everywhere effected in the inspecting staff is remarkable. Next comes reform in the courses of study and buildings. All these necessities are summed up in the duty which we have undertaken of laying down sound tests for official recognition."

And now one more extract regarding the necessity of commercial, agricultural and female education :—

"From this we pass on to the development of the commercial and industrial sides of these schools

as against the purely literary, since there are thousands of boys in them who must look to their education to provide them with a practical livelihood rather than to lead them to a degree; and above all, to the reduction of examinations. That is the keynote everywhere. Have your tests sifted out, the good from the bad; furnish the incentive of healthy competition, but remember that the Indian boy is a human being with a mind to be nurtured and a soul to be kept alive, and do not treat him as a mechanical drudge or as a performing animal which has to go at stated intervals through the unnatural task to which its trainer has laboriously taught it to conform. I hope that the Government of India will not be indifferent to the claims of secondary education in the future. When the universities and the colleges have been put straight, we must look to the feeders, and these feeders are the high schools. Indeed, we cannot expect to have good colleges without good schools. I am not sure if a vote were taken among the intelligent middle classes of this country that they would not sooner see money devoted to secondary education than to any other educational object. The reason is that it is the basis of all industrial or professional occupation in India. There is just a

danger that between the resonant calls of higher education and the pathetic small voice of elementary education the claims of secondary education may be overlooked, and I therefore venture to give this parting testimonial. When we come to higher education, our policy, though based on identical principles, assumes a wider scope, and has, I hope, already effected an even more drastic change."

"There is a class of education which deserves and has attracted our particular attention, namely, that which is intended to qualify its recipients for the professional occupations of Indian life. The Agricultural College at Pusa, which is intended to be the parent of similar institutions in every other province, each equipped with a skilled staff and adequate funds, has been specially devised to provide at the same time a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science and practical instruction in State management and farm work. These institutions will turn out a body of young men who will spread themselves throughout India, carrying into the management of States and estates, into private enterprise and into Government employ, the trained faculties with which the college courses will have supplied them. Agriculture in India is the first and capital interest of this huge

continent, and agriculture, like every other money-earning interest, must rest upon education. Neither have we forgotten female education, conscious that man is to a large extent what woman makes him, and that an educated mother means educated children. Since the Simla Conference, Bengal has already doubled the number of girls under instruction. The female inspecting staff has been overhauled in most provinces, and ladies possessing high qualifications have been sent out from England. Good model girls' schools and good training schools for the female teachers are a desideratum everywhere. It will take a long time to make substantial progress, but the forward movement has begun."

And finally as regards technical education :—

"There remains the subject of technical education which has occupied an immense amount of our attention, both at the Simla Conference and ever since we have had Commissions and reports and enquiries. We have addressed Local Governments and studied their replies, but we are only slowly evolving the principles under which technical instruction can be advantageously pursued in a country where the social and industrial conditions are what they are in India. Whether we look at

the upper or at the lower end of the scale, this difficulty is equally apparent. People wonder why Mr. Tata's Institute of Science comes so slowly into being; and in a country where it is the custom to attribute anything that goes wrong to the Government, all sorts of charges have been brought against us of apathy or indifference or obstruction. No one would more readily acknowledge than Mr. Tata himself that, so far from discouragement or opposition, he has met with nothing at the hands of Government but sympathy and support. But Mr. Tata wisely wants not merely to start the magnificent conception of his father, but to make it practical and to ensure its success; and I can assure you that the rival views that prevail as to the best methods of accommodating this great idea to the necessities of India are extraordinary. We have experienced similar difficulties in our own smaller undertakings. As is generally known, we have instituted a number of technical scholarships of £150 each for Indian students in Europe and America, but, strange as it may seem, it has not invariably been easy at first to find the candidates qualified to fill them. However, we now have a number of Indian scholars from Bengal who are studying mining at Birmingham, and our

latest step was to grant three scholarships for textile industries in Bombay. Other attempts will follow, and in a short time there will, in my view, be no lack either of candidates or subjects.

"Similarly with industrial schools, which we have been anxious to start on a large scale for the practical encouragement of local industries, there is the widest diversity of opinion as to the principles and the type, for it must be remembered that although India is a country with strong traditions of industrial skill and excellence, with clever artisans and with an extant machinery of trade guilds and apprentices, these are constituted upon a caste basis which does not readily admit of expansion, while the industries themselves are as a rule localised and small, rendering co-ordination difficult. We are, however, about to make an experiment on a large scale in Bombay and Bengal, and I have every hope that upon the labours and researches of the past few years posterity will be able to build."

No doubt there are and will be opponents to this drastic reform, but impartial and uninterested persons will probably admit that a reform was urgently needed, and that the one which has been introduced after lengthened enquiry and full deliber-

ation is one which is intended to benefit those who need it most. Of course it will be opposed, but no one can deny that the object of Lord Curzon's educational policy has been to benefit the great mass of the people and the country generally. Unfortunately Lord Curzon will not be here to carry it into full effect, and its ultimate success or failure remains therefore in the womb of the future.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER REFORMS—IRRIGATION AND AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS; CURRENCY; ANCIENT BUILDINGS; INDIAN ARTS EXHIBITION AND ARCHÆOLOGY

One of the most important of the enquiries set on foot by Lord Curzon is unfortunately not yet completed, or at all events the results are not yet published. I allude to the work of the Irrigation Committee. At present scarcely a year passes without some portion of the Empire being endangered by a deficiency in, or a failure of, the monsoon. It is only in the deltas of the great rivers where there has been made a net-work of irrigation canals, fed from dams thrown across the rivers, that the cultivation may be said to be independent of the monsoon. Sir Arthur Cotton was the great advocate of canals, but although much can be done by irrigation canals where there is a constant supply of water in the snow-fed rivers of the North of India, it is manifest that in

other parts, where the rivers are dependent upon the rains for their supply, there must be vast tracts of country where, when the rain fails, there will be no water in the rivers with which to supply the canals. The problem is how to supply means of irrigation to those parts of the country where canals cannot be made. This can only be done by large reservoirs where the surplus water of good years can be stored for use in times of drought or by tapping the subterranean streams of water by means of wells. Of late years, especially since the great famine of 1876-77, much attention has been drawn to wells as a means of ensuring irrigation even in time of the severest drought. It has been found that in the upland tracts where there has been a complete failure of the rains, where the rivers are almost empty, and the irrigation tanks are nothing but dry beds of mud, there is always water to be found at a certain distance from the surface; and during the worst famines, when nine-tenths of the country is a desert without a blade to be seen, there is always a small patch of green crops around an irrigation well, if only it has been kept in proper order and is of sufficient depth. Wells therefore form a more reliable source of irrigation than tanks which depend mainly upon the rain

and surface drainage for supply. From time immemorial the natives of India have been alive to the necessity of storing the rain in reservoirs, and it is difficult to find a suitable site which has not already been utilised for this purpose. In some parts of the country where there is generally an ample rainfall, such as the Berar Province, where until 1899-1900 the rains had not been known to fail for 100 years, the construction of storage tanks has been more or less neglected. The object of the Irrigation Commission was to find out from local enquiries in all parts of the country what possibilities existed for the development of canals, reservoirs and wells. A mass of information has been collected, and the publication of the report is looked forward to with considerable anxiety. In the meantime, however, Lord Curzon has shown himself to be fully alive to the great importance of the subject. In his Budget speech of 1900 he already gave a forecast of the irrigation policy of his government in the following words :—

"Now I have had a very careful estimate made out for me of the extent of fresh ground in the whole of India which we are likely to be able to bring under cultivation, either by new irrigation projects or by extensions of existing systems.

Under the head of Productive, that is works which may be expected to yield a net revenue that will more than cover the interest on the capital outlay, the estimated increment is about 3½ million acres, and the estimated outlay between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 sterling. Under the head of Protective works, that is works which will not pay and which, inasmuch as they constitute a permanent financial burden on the State, can only be undertaken in exceptional cases, and then as a rule do very little towards the prevention of famine, we contemplate spending about 10 lakhs a year (£66,000), and shall probably in this way about double the area of 300,000 acres which is covered by that character of work at the present time. It seems, therefore, that the total practicable increase to the irrigation area of India under both heads will not amount to much more than 4,000,000 acres.

"The total area already irrigated is estimated at 19,000,000 acres, so that the anticipated increase is not very large. This estimate does not include irrigation wells, and whether or not a still larger increase can be expected from a systematic construction of these important sources of irrigation remains to be seen."

As regards canal irrigation the great field of operations has been in the Punjab, and during Lord Curzon's period of office very considerable activity has been shown. The great schemes are those known as the Chenab, the Jhelum, and the Bari Doab, and another one, the Sind-Sagar, has been or is about to be started at once. The Chenab canal has a total of 2,489 miles of main line, branch canals and distributaries. It can irrigate an area of 2,646,000 acres, of which 1,828,800 acres were actually cultivated in 1900-01. In a few years the value of this land has risen from £3 an acre (Rs. 45) to £7-10-3 (Rs. 112-8). Where was formerly a desert is now a colony of 800,000 souls, and a railway built for the express purpose enables them to send their grain to a profitable market. The Jhelum scheme has been actually started under Lord Curzon's regimé (1901) and already irrigates about 50,000 acres. It is expected to supply water to an area ten times that extent and to maintain a population of 500,000. The lower Bari Doab will, when completed, serve a similar area, and from the Sind-Sagar project it is expected to reclaim 1,750,000 acres. Altogether there are (says Mr. Lipsett) in the Punjab 16,345 miles of main canals, branches and distributaries. The Punjab,

with its five great rivers fed from the snows and the glaciers of the Himalayas, offers of course enormous opportunities for irrigation schemes, which are not to be found elsewhere, but wherever a probability exists, the means of developing it are being investigated. When the Irrigation Commission was appointed, Lord Curzon spoke of its objects in the following terms :—

"I want to be quite sure that no sources of water-supply or water-storage are neglected or ignored in this country. They may not always be great rivers flowing down unimpeded to the sea, though people at home seem to think that any river ought to be capable of being tapped in the Himalayas and diffused either into the Central Provinces, or Gujarat, or Berar. Neither do I postulate everywhere profitable or remunerative schemes. What I want to ensure is that in each province the sources of water-supply best suited to it, whether they be canals, or tanks, or wells, shall be scientifically investigated and mathematically laid down, so that we may be presented with a continuous programme, which we may pursue in ordinary years as an insurance against the bad years when they come."

Madras is a province which also possesses great irrigating capabilities, being watered by the Godavery, the Krishna, the Pennair, and the Cauvery which take their rise in the mountains of the western coast and flow across the Peninsula into the Bay of Bengal. Much has been done here already, but under Lord Curzon's fostering care a good deal more is being undertaken. One great project is for utilizing the water of the river Tungabadhra before it joins the Krishna. The land to be taken up for this purpose consists of about 120 square miles, the greater portion of which is situated in the territory of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. It was regarding the acquisition of the land required for this purpose that H.E. Lord Ampthill recently visited Hyderabad in order to confer with His Highness' officials, with what results is not yet known. As to what has actually been done in the Presidency of Madras a reference to the last Irrigation Report will be of interest. The total amount spent on the various irrigation works during the year was Rs. 74,29,333, irrigating an area of 7,093,168 acres and yielding a revenue of Rs. 2,40,87,153. No less than Rs. 5,95,583 were spent in the investigation of new projects, of which there are twenty-two

in number. Many of these works are extremely remunerative to the Government as well as being a source of prosperity to the country. For instance the eight principal works at the Godavery, Krishna, Cauvery, Periyar, etc., on a total cost of Rs. 6,53,50,031 yield a net revenue (after paying for working charges) of Rs. 69,76,170 or more than 10 per cent. Seeing that the Government can borrow at 3½ per cent., there can be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary funds for any sound irrigation project, and Lord Curzon's aim has been to investigate, to estimate for, and to place on record every possible scheme which can tend to an increase of prosperity. Of course it will take years before the whole programme can be carried out, but it will be due to Lord Curzon's initiative that future Viceroys can never be at a loss to know of some productive enterprise which can be started when funds are available.

Connected with irrigation comes agriculture. During the last 7 years quite a new impulse has been given to the study of agricultural problems. Not only has a great agricultural college and institution been founded at Pusa, but in every Presidency there is now an agricultural department. Agricultural schools and experimental farms have

been established at various centres, new crops are being experimented with, and the people are being instructed as to the most productive manner of raising existing ones. The different kinds of manures are experimented with, and the results periodically published. A kind of wholesome rivalry has been raised in each Presidency as to which can show the best results in this respect. Of course time must elapse before the results of this experimental work can be utilised, but in the meantime it is due to Lord Curzon that a fresh impulse has been given in a much needed direction.

In a former chapter I have dwelt upon the increase of trade. This increase has been especially marked during the last five years and has occurred after the Currency regulations introduced by Lord Curzon in 1899-1900. These regulations were an endeavour to obtain a fixity of the exchange value of the rupee, for there is nothing that interferes more with the movements of trade than a fluctuating exchange. It can scarcely be said that the rupee has attained an absolute 'fixity' of value, and perhaps a better phrase to use would be 'stability'. This it has acquired in an eminent degree, and the way is now clear for a further advance by which

it will become permanently fixed at Rs. 15 for the sovereign. As a matter of fact, although the Government offices such as the Post Offices and Treasuries frequently make payments in gold at the rate of Rs. 15 for the sovereign, the actual exchange rate for mercantile transaction fluctuates between Rs. 15 and 15-4-0, and is generally the latter. The exchange is certainly more stable but it is not fixed.

The interest which Lord Curzon has shown in India has not been confined to political problems, but has extended also to the historic remains of former dynasties. Soon after his arrival he made a speech to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in February 1900, in which, amongst other things, he said :—

"India is covered with the visible records of vanishing dynasties of forgotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out-of-the-way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient building

the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience. All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon government in India."

He went on to define his own purpose as follows :—

"I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, 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."

This is another of the promises held out which has been amply redeemed. The annual reports submitted by the Experts employed in each Province in Archæology and Epigraphy show how carefully the country is being searched for the relics of former times, for inscriptions and for copper-plates which can throw more light upon ancient history. Two works may be specially mentioned which are due to Lord Curzon's personal initiative. The restoration of the windows of the Ahmadabad Mosque to their original

design and the restoration of some of the splendid buildings at Delhi and Agra and Sikri. Those who saw the Taj and its barren approach ten years ago would be astonished at the change which has been made in its environment. This priceless pearl of beauty is now to be seen in a proper setting. But Lord Curzon has not only been interested in the preservation of ancient buildings from ruin, he has also endeavoured to give a stimulus to Indian Art Manufactures in which the former skill seemed in danger of dying out. It was with this object in view that in connection with the Delhi Durbar he organized an exhibition of Indian Arts which is to form a permanent feature and institution. His reasons for this can be best given in his own words in the speech that he made on September 5, 1902, at the Legislative Council, in which he justified the cost of this great historical pageant :—

"I have, as is known, endeavoured still further to utilise the opportunity in a practical spirit, by arranging for a great Exhibition of Indian Art Manufactures to be held at Delhi at the same time. I confidently assure the public that they will be greatly astonished at the range, the variety, and the beauty of this exhibition. Whether it is true

that the old Indian arts are being killed by European competition, a charge that is frequently brought by those who do not make the smallest effort to keep them alive themselves, or whether they are perishing from this apathy, or whether India merely provides, as I suspect, an illustration of a world-wide law, the fact remains that the process of extinction has not been carried nearly so far as many suppose, and that artificers still exist in India, even in these days of commercial ideals and debauched taste, who are capable of satisfying the demand for the artistic and beautiful and rare, if such a demand there be. I cannot pretend by a single exhibition to create it; but if it already be in existence, as I cannot but think, though perhaps dormant and abashed, then we may do a good deal by an opportunity such as this to revive and stimulate it, for we shall, I hope, both advertise to the world what we are capable of turning out, and also, which is much more important, encourage the aptitudes and educate the taste of our own people."

Whilst I am on this subject I may mention that since I copied the above extract, there has been put into my hands the last report of the Archæological Survey of Madras and Coorg for 1904-05. I am

CHAPTER VIII.

OTHER REFORMS—CIVIL SERVICE; REPORT WRITING; "EFFICIENCY"; TELEGRAPHIC AND POSTAL CHARGES; PASSENGER TRAFFIC AND AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS.

ALL of the subjects cited at the heading to this chapter were alluded to by Lord Curzon in his Budget Speech of 1901 (in addition to those which I have already discussed) as those in which reform was required. It was the interest which he had in the welfare of the people that induced him to take them up, for every one of these reforms is intimately associated, in a greater or less degree, with their well-being.

The result of the old leave rules of the Civil Service was that the administrative staff of each district was in a continual state of change. But it is impossible for the few Civilians in the higher branches of the service to properly administer a district with which they are not intimately acquainted. Constant change means a loss of touch

between the rulers and the ruled. Individuality is still a great factor in the successful administration of India. It requires time to produce that confidence on behalf of the people without which a foreign rule cannot possibly be a success. It also requires time for a Collector of a District to become acquainted with the conditions and requirements of the little kingdom which is placed under his charge, and for which he is answerable to the Government. Under the former system it frequently happened that after a year, or even a few months only, the Civil officer was sent to another district where everything had to be begun over again. This has now been altered. An element of permanency has been introduced, which was wanting before, with the result that there has been a marked improvement, not only in the district administration but also in the comfort of the officers themselves. It was with the same object in view that Lord Curzon found it necessary to curtail the growing tendency to indulge in lengthy reports, the composition of which occupied the greater part of the District Officer's time, and prevented him from exercising the personal supervision which is so essential. As years have passed a great change has taken place in this respect. Fifty or sixty

years ago the District Collector ruled his people and the country in a more or less patriarchal manner. His decisions were considered final, and few dreamed of appealing against them. This primitive state of affairs, however, had become changed. Not only had the people become more enlightened and litigious, but a host of new subjects had cropped up regarding which the Collector was called upon to report, so that his time was almost entirely occupied in clerical work. Lord Curzon's order reducing the number of reports and diminishing their bulk has been felt to be a much desired relief. In his own words "the real tyranny to be feared in India is not tyranny by the Executive Authority, but by the pen." No doubt this change has been resented by some, who, trained up in an atmosphere of report, had made it their business. To them it was a labour of love, and they hoped to write themselves into favour and promotion. To them it was unwelcome that reports should consist of merely the bare outlines of the year's work, and they felt aggrieved to find that a report which had formerly taken weeks to compile and contained a ream of paper, should be now cut down to a few pages of letter-press and statistics, whilst others were abolished entirely.

But the best class of officers welcomed the change, and it has most certainly had the effect of increasing the efficiency of administration—"Efficiency" is the great keystone to the whole of Lord Curzon's work in India. In his last utterance at the Simla Club, whilst paying a noble tribute to the colleagues and officials who had rendered it possible for him to carry out the many reforms that he has inaugurated, he said that he had read in a native newspaper which had bitterly attacked him that: "As for Lord Curzon he cares for nothing but efficiency." and his Lordship went on to say "But I hardly think that when I am gone this is an epitaph of which I need feel greatly ashamed." We all know the saying of "Heaven preserve me from my friends," but in this respect Lord Curzon might well exclaim: "I thank Heaven for my enemies." The case for the prosecution must be a very bad one if one of the indictments is that the accused made efficiency the ideal to be aimed at. In this same speech the Viceroy gave an admirable example of a system which he has endeavoured to reform, and I may say with eminent success:

"There were three respects in which a short experience taught me that a higher level of

efficiency under our administration was demanded. The first was in the despatch of business. Our methods were very dignified, our procedure very elaborate and highly organised, but the pace was apt to be the reverse of speedy. I remember in my first year settling a case that had been pursuing the even tenor of its way, without, as far as I could ascertain, exciting the surprise or ruffling the temper of an individual for 61 years. I drove my pen like a stiletto into its bosom. I buried it with exultation and I almost danced upon the grave. Gentlemen, I really think that not merely the new rules that we have adopted, but the new principles that are at work, have done a good deal to assist the despatch of business, and I hope that there may not be any backsliding or relapse in the future. It was one of John Lawrence's sayings that procrastination is the thief of efficiency as well of time, and though I would not say that an administration is good in proportion to its pace, I would certainly say that it cannot be good if it is habitually and needlessly slow. Our second object was the overhauling of our existing machinery which had got rusty and had run down. There is scarcely a department of the Government or a branch of the service which we have not, during

the last few years, explored from top to bottom, improving the conditions of service where they were obsolete or inadequate, formulating a definite programme of policy or action, and endeavouring to raise the standard and the tone. And, thirdly, we had to provide new machinery to enable India to grapple with new needs. Perhaps there is nothing which the public has shown so general an inability to understand, as the fact that a new world of industry and enterprise and social and economic advance is dawning upon India. New continents and islands leap above the horizon, as they did before the navigators of the Elizabethan age. But if I am right, if agriculture and irrigation and commercial industry have unknown futures before them, then Government, which in this country is nearly everything, must be ready with the appliances to enable it to shape and to direct these new forms of expansions. You cannot administer India according to modern standards but on the old lines. Some people talk as though when we create new departments and posts we are merely adding to the burden of Government. No, we are doing nothing of the sort. The burden of Government is being added to by tendencies and forces outside of ourselves,

which we are powerless to resist, but not powerless to control. We are merely providing the mechanism to cope with them."

I trust I shall be pardoned for reproducing so long an extract from a speech which must be fresh in the minds of many of my readers, but it is a point of such importance to the country and is so essential towards the forming of a proper estimate of Lord Curzon's policy during his term of Government that it deserves to be rescued from the ephemeral existence of a newspaper report. It has sometimes been made a matter of reproach to Lord Curzon that he is a hard task master. This is only to be expected from a man who sets before him so high an ideal, but no one will deny the truth of his remark that "I have never imposed upon others a burden which I was not willing to accept myself." It may be said with truth that whenever Lord Curzon has asked for eight annas in the shape of work, he has himself given freely one rupee. And he has always been ready to recognize and reward those who came up to his standard of efficiency. Lord Curzon might well exclaim in the words of the epitaph: "If you seek for a monument look around." He leaves India with every department

in a far higher state of efficiency than he found it, and the practical results of that efficiency are to be found in the increase of prosperity in every direction.

I will allude cursorily to the great benefits that have resulted not only to trade but also to the social comfort of the people in the reductions that have been made in the postal and telegraphic rates. These are matters which come home to everybody, to merchants as well as to private individuals. But the desire to introduce these reforms was caused by a keen sympathy with the wants of the people. The same may be said of the proposed improvement in the 3rd class passenger arrangements for railway travelling. It is the interests of the great voiceless bulk of the people that Lord Curzon thinks of. It is more or less a thankless task, for being voiceless the people cannot respond. Their appreciation will be found in the future results. But such appreciation must necessarily be slow, and the great majority of the people will require time before it can understand the advantages and benefits that have been conferred. In the meantime there is always a voiceful minority that is clamorous in its denunciations whenever it considers that its interests, which are

opposed to those of the voiceless majority, are attacked. But I maintain that if every measure of Lord Curzon's administration is analysed, it will be found that the principle at the bottom has been the good of the majority. I will not pretend to say—and probably Lord Curzon would himself hesitate to say—that everything is perfect. There can be no such thing as perfection in human affairs. Modification will, no doubt, be required in many matters, but perfection is what has been aimed at, and even though some of the shots may have fallen short of the high aim, they will still be higher than those aimed at mediocrity. This is an axiom which will surely be admitted by those of a growing class of our population—the "failed B.A.'s."

The problem of agricultural indebtedness is one which unfortunately Lord Curzon leaves unsolved. It has occupied much of his most anxious time and consideration, and various experiments have been made, notably in the matter of agricultural banks, the results of which must be left to the future to determine. That with the increase of wealth there is also an increase of poverty is, I think, undoubted. In a former chapter I have already alluded to this subject, and I therefore need say

nothing more beyond expressing my opinion that the one is the necessary and natural result of the other. In course of time the remedy will find itself, and the prospect arises in the increase of trade and manufactures to which Lord Curzon's policy has given an initial impetus. When, instead of denouncing the investment of foreign capital in India, the voiceful minority impresses upon the hoarders of the millions of pounds that are annually absorbed by India, like the waters of a useful river in the sands of an Indian desert, that they would do well to put out their capital in industrial enterprises, the remedy will perhaps be found, but until that time comes, any change for the better will probably be slow. The hereditary curse of centuries is not to be removed in the period of one Viceroyalty, even though it be as active an one as Lord Curzon's. But the commencement has been made, and there are many men left in the country imbued by his spirit of perseverance against all obstacles, who may be trusted to carry the work through.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

It seems scarcely necessary that I should do more than allude to the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi, or to the magnificent memorial which is being erected at Calcutta to the memory of the great Empress of India. The one was a historical event which will long live in the memories of the people, and was a pageant well calculated to create a deep and lasting impression on the minds of the people of India. There are, of course, not wanting those who say that it was a needless expenditure of money, but the opinion is not shared by the majority of the people in whose hearts the love of an Imperial display still survives. This is what Lord Curzon himself said in a speech delivered shortly before the Durbar was held: "Personally I deprecate the tendency to apply to every act of State, great or small, the sordid test of its actual equivalent in price in annas and rupees"; and again: "There are some who were in all sincerity

when they made the contention that, desirable and even necessary as the function may be, the public money should not be needlessly squandered upon it. This plea seems to me to be so reasonable that I propose to give to it the answer that it deserves. It emanates, I think, from two classes of persons—from those who think that no money ought to be spent at Delhi at all while parts of India are suffering from drought or scarcity, and from those who are anxious that while some money is spent it should not be too much. I will deal with the first class first. A few weeks ago it is true that we were in the greatest anxiety and trepidation as to what might be in store for us in Gujerat, in parts of the Deccan, in Ajmer, and in portions of the Central Provinces and the Punjab; but I can truthfully say that the reports of the past three weeks show that it will not be necessary to take, from the public purse, a single anna that would otherwise be consecrated to the service of the poor. They have the first claim upon our consideration, and that claim we should regard as an obligation of honour to discharge.

"Then there is the second class of critics who recognise that the Durbar must cost something, but are apprehensive lest it should be run on too

exorbitant a scale. I am old enough to remember that the same criticism was rife at the time of Lord Lytton's assemblage in the autumn of 1876. Famine was at that time abroad in the land, and loud were the denunciations both in the Indian press and even in Parliament at home of his alleged extravagance and folly, and yet I have seen calculations made by Lord Lytton which show, that when all recoveries had been made, the net cost to India of the Delhi assemblage was only £50,000 and of the entire rejoicings throughout India, Delhi included, £100,000. In one respect we are in a somewhat different position now. The assemblage of 1877 was an almost exclusively official assemblage. I have tried to gather at the impending Durbar representatives of all the leading classes of the community from every part of India. I want to make it a celebration not of officials alone but of the public. This means that we shall have at Delhi in the forthcoming winter larger camps, more guests, and as a consequence a greater outlay than in 1877. Quite apart from our own arrangements, the improvement in communications and the social progress that have taken place in the last twenty-five years will bring together a much larger concourse of

persons. Nearly every one would like to be present, and the number who will actually be present will be very large. All these features will tend to increase the scale of the proceedings. Notwithstanding these considerations, I desire to assure the public, who have a right to know, that the proposed arrangements are being run on strictly business-like and economical lines."

The above undertaking was certainly carried out to the letter, and it is only a very small minority that does not say that the money spent in bringing together the representatives of all the races in India to celebrate the Coronation of our august Emperor was not well spent.

As regards the Victoria memorial, it is perhaps premature to say anything now, as it is not yet completed, beyond that it has been planned and designed so as to be in every way worthy of the great Queen whose memory will for ever live in the hearts of the people. When finished in all its beauty, the country will owe it to Lord Curzon's unceasing care and supervision, for not even the slightest detail has been allowed to escape his attention, and it is right to add that when Her late Majesty was consulted regarding the form which a memorial to the Prince Consort should take, she

expressed her opinion that it should, if possible, be in the nature of a permanent memorial. It was therefore that Lord Curzon decided that the memorial to the Empress of the 19th century should again, if possible, be equal to that erected to the Empress of the 17th century.

I have now passed in review some of the chief features which have marked Lord Curzon's administration. I have shown what he promised and what he has performed. It is not my intention to deal with the last phase of his brilliant career, with the controversy which sent a thrill of surprise and regret throughout India. Into the merits of this controversy I will not presume to enter. In Lord Curzon's own words at the Simla Club dinner :—

"I do not stand here to-night to discuss the controversial topics; they will work out to their appointed issue by processes which we cannot discern, or at any rate cannot at present discern. History will write its verdict upon them with unerring pen, and we need not anticipate the sentence." But there is one point which I wish to emphasize which should ever be remembered by the people, and that is, that rather than be a party to a policy which—rightly or wrongly does not matter —Lord Curzon considered to be detrimental to the

best interests of the country, he threw up his splendid position, and leaves India with the work he has so much at heart only partially completed. I would ask whether this is not another splendid proof of his devotion to, and of his sympathy with, the country? There is, I think, a sense of personal honour, and a feeling of unselfishness about such an act that must appeal to every one, whether he agrees with Lord Curzon's reasons or not. His whole career has been a constant devotion to the highest ideal of duty. Again, in his own recent words: "I stand as one who has laboured and wrought amongst you to the best of my ability, through these long and striving years," and truly his life during that time has been one of unceasing labour without one thought of self. Speaking at the same banquet at Simla Mr. Hewett said, with regard to the work necessitated by the Education Conference in 1901: "Having been behind the scenes at the time, I can assert without fear of contradiction, that the work which he then undertook was too much for any man, and that I have met no one in the country but Lord Curzon who would have attempted it." It is with this spirit that he has approached and dealt with every subject that has come before him, and this little book is but an imperfect record of how important and far-

reaching they have been. And what compensation does a Viceroy receive for such a life of incessant toil and anxiety? As Mr. Hewett said further on in his speech: "The life of a Viceroy is one of splendid isolation. He can make no friends, he can share no intimacies. In the troubles and anxieties which necessarily at times accumulate around him, he must turn for support to the members of his own family." Truly seven of the best years of a man's life spent in this atmosphere of "splendid isolation", are a heavy price to pay, even for the honours and dignities of a Viceroyalty, and the principal reward must always be the consciousness of having done his duty. The least that we, on whose behalf he has thus incessantly toiled, can do is to show him our gratitude and affection, and this I believe to be the feeling of the vast majority of men throughout India. Our sympathies will go with him across the sea, and we shall at all events have the satisfaction of knowing that there will be one distinguished man at home, familiar with every Indian problem, with her interests deeply rooted in his heart, who will be always ready to uphold her cause in the Councils of the Empire. And he will be accompanied by one who has stood by his side throughout this arduous career of duty; one whom Mr.

Hewett happily termed "a splendid comrade-in-arms," the only one to whom, in times of anxiety he could turn for consolation. It is of this "splendid comrade" that Lord Curzon himself remarked that "the part which India fills in the memory and affections of Lady Curzon is not inferior to that which she fills in my own, and when we have left this country my heart will not alone be left behind, but a considerable portion of hers will be here also." I repeat what I said in the opening chapter that I believe I am voicing the feelings of the country generally, and of Mahomedans in particular, when in bidding Lord and Lady Curzon "Godspeed," we tender them our humble and grateful thanks for the inestimable benefits which, during their stay in India, they have been the means of bestowing upon the country; and if it be true, as we do not doubt, that a portion of *their* hearts will be left here, ours too will go out towards them, and we shall feel that the bond of union between us has not been severed, but like an elastic band has been merely stretched, so as to extend over a greater distance of sea and land. In remembering Lord Curzon the Indian people will always associate with him the aspiration so tersely expressed in his old school motto:

"*Floreat et florebit.*"