Notable Speeches

OF

LORD CURZON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Whether we agree with, or whether we differ from, what Lord Curzon had to say in his many public speeches in India, we cannot fail to find in His Lordship's utterances much that compels thought and much that is worth remembering. Merely as historical records, too, they have a peculiar value of their own; for in Lord Curzon's public speeches were mirrored all his public acts. For example, those masterly orations in the Supreme Legislative Council during the Debates on the Budget, summed up with remarkable lucidity, though in a form very different from that of the stiff, uninspiring Blue Book or Report, the results of each year's Administration, the progress of each attempt at reform.

In themselves these speeches constitute an almost perfect epitome of Lord Curzon's many-sided activities. Never before has a Governor-General taken the public so fully into his confidence in Administrative matters. By printed Resolution and by uttered speech, Lord Curzon set himself frankly and whole-heartedly to inform the public of the purposes and performances of his Government. This, he has told us, was part of "a definite policy," to vindicate the sincerity of every act and aim of Government. He claimed to call himself the best friend of the educated and articulate classes of

Indians, for, as he said, "I endeavoured to be frank and outspoken, to take them into open confidence as to the views and intentions of the Government, to profit by public opinion instead of ignoring it, not to flatter or cozen, but never to mystify or deceive. I have always held that Governors are the servants of the public, and that policies are not such high and holy things as not to admit of clear exposition and candid argument for all who care to hear." To his Lordship there is "something manlier in treating your critics with respect than in pretending that you are unaware even of their existence."

An oratory of "vindication" naturally has its drawbacks and its weaknesses; indeed it has more often the flavour of advocacy than of oratory. But in Lord Curzon's case at any rate it was splendid advocacy—high of purpose, instinct with noble enthusiasm, backed by indomitable energy and tireless industry. When such qualities are joined to the sharpest intellect, to the keenest insight into human affairs, to the experience gained by world-wide travel and years of activity in the Parliament of Parliaments, the result cannot but be notable.

Furthermore, Lord Curzon's speeches in India were not the brain products of a moment: they were almost all carefully thought out and prepared—even written out—beforehand. No one has less occasion to rely on "manuscript eloquence" than Lord Curzon, for he is a past master of extempore speaking and debate: but while holding the high and responsible

and difficult office of Governor-General in India his Lordship seems to have felt that careful preparatory study and consideration were necessary preliminaries to anything in the nature of an important public utterance. Thus it is that his Lordship's speeches "read" so well and that they are so complete in themselves.

As remarked before, we may agree with or we may differ from what his Lordship has to say in his speeches, but we must one and all acknowledge that they are well worth preserving and studying both as a very comprehensive epitome of the most strenuous Indian Administration of modern times and as a very striking record of the workings of a highly gifted mind.

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H. K. BEAUCHAMP.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
INTRODUCTION	iii
Speech at the Eton Dinner ...	1
,, ,, Southport ...	10
,, ,, Derby ...	13
Luncheon at the P. and O. offices ...	16
Reply to the Bombay Municipal Address ...	9
,, ,, address of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce ...	14
,, ,, ,, ,, Mysore Family ...	16
,, ,, ,, ,, Calcutta Corporation ...	17
,, ,, ,, ,, British Indian Association ...	20
,, ,, ,, ,, Jain Community ...	22
,, ,, ,, ,, Mahomedan Literary Society ...	23
,, ,, ,, ,, Oudh Talukdars ...	26
,, ,, ,, ,, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce	27
,, ,, ,, ,, Calcutta Trades Association ...	32
,, ,, ,, ,, Central Mahomedan Association ...	35
,, ,, ,, ,, Zemindary Punchayet ...	38
,, ,, ,, ,, Imperial Anglo-Indian Association	41
,, ,, ,, ,, Indian Association ...	43
,, ,, ,, ,, Lahore Municipal Address .	45
,, ,, ,, ,, Muttra Municipality ...	49
,, ,, ,, ,, Brindavan Municipality ...	52
,, ,, ,, ,, Agra Municipality ...	54
,, ,, ,, ,, Anjumani Islamia of Lahore .	58
,, ,, ,, ,, Cawnpore Municipality ..	62
,, ,, ,, ,, Lucknow Municipality ...	63
First Speech in Council ..	67
On the Sugar Duties Bill ...	68
On the 1899-1900 Budget Statements ...	74
On the New Currency Bill ..	84
On the Punjab Land Alienation Bill ...	88
On the Famine in India ...	92
At the Convocation of the Calcutta University (1899) ...	97
Dinner to Sir J. Westland and Mr. Chalmers ...	102

Annual Meeting of the Dufferin Fund ... 108
Speech at the Aitchison College, Lahore ... 115
" " Simla Railway Conference ... 122
Foundation-Stone Laying of the Bombay Improvement Trust Scheme ... 128
Poona Plague Volunteers meeting ... 133
Speech at the Bhopal State Banquet ... 139
" " Gwalior State Dinner ... 141
" " opening of the Victoria College and the memorial Hospital at Gwalior ... 148
Presentation to Sir Pertab Sing ... 152
Speech at the Lucknow Durbar ... 155
Reply to the Tezpur address ... 162
" " Gauhati address ... 169
" " Karachi Municipal address ... 178
" " Address of the Chamber of Commerce at Karachi ... 185
" " Mahomedan Deputation at Karachi ... 191
" " Bijapur Municipal address ... 196
" " People's address at Silchar ... 198
" " Addresses at Manipur ... 203
" " Address of the Chin Chiefs ... 209
On Ancient Buildings in India ... 212
At the Famine Meeting in Calcutta ... 227
At the Calcutta University Convocation (1900) ... 239
Valedictory address to the Lumsden's Horse ... 251
Annual meeting of Dufferin's Fund (1900) ... 254
Reply to the Deputation of the Imperial-Anglo Indian Association ... 260
Farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins' ... 275
Speech at the Quetta Durbar ... 282
Speech at the Rajkumar College at Rajkote ... 289
" " Rajkote Durbar ... 295
Contents of the Victoria Memorial Hall ... 305
Speech at the Guildhall ... 333
Speech at the Mansion House ... 353
The Calcutta University Convocation Address, 1905 ... 357
1905 Budget Speech ... 370
Speech at the Byculla Club, Bombay ... 405

Lord Curzon's Speeches.

SPEECH AT THE ETON DINNER.

[On the 28th of October, 1898, Lord Curzon, the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon and Lord Minto, on their appointment respectively as Viceroy of India, Bishop of Calcutta and Governor-General of Canada, were entertained at dinner by a large number of their old friends and fellow-Etonians. Lord Rosebery presided. The toast of "The Queen" having been drunk, the Chairman in giving the toast of "Our Guests" thus referred to Lord Curzon's previous career: "Taking the case of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, I am sure he has shown in his position at the Foreign Office qualities of eloquence, of debating power, of argument, which have hardly been surpassed in the career of any man of his standing. (Hear hear). I cannot say—it would be difficult to say—that he has done so in defence of difficult positions, because that would be at once to raise a political issue of the very gravest kind. (Laughter.) But I am quite sure that no Under-Secretary has ever had to defend in the House of Commons any but positions of difficulty, and I think the foreign situations are always of that character. I am quite sure that when Lord Curzon has had to defend these situations he has defended them with not less than his customary success. He has devoted special study to India. I believe he has even entered into amicable relations with neighbouring potentates. He will pass from his home of Kedleston in Derbyshire to the exact reproduction of Kedleston in Government House, Calcutta. We all hope that in his time India may enjoy a prosperity which has of late been denied to her, and that immunity from war and famine and pestilence may be the blessed prerogative of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. (Cheers).

In responding to the toast, Lord CURZON, who was received with loud cheers, said] :—

THIS gathering to-night, composed as it is, of old schoolfellows, old friends, of men who have inherited the same traditions and are loyal to the same collegiate mother, is a compliment which, I am sure, the happy trio who are fortunate enough to be your guests are never likely to forget. But if there is anything that could enhance the special significance and value of that compliment, it would consist in the fact that Lord Rosebery has consented to occupy the chair, and in the speech to which we listened a short time ago. (Cheers). It will ever be memorable to me, whose public life has been associated with one political party, that, at this turning-point in my fortunes, my health has been proposed by one who has been the leader of the rival political party. (Cheers). And it will be memorable to all of us, your guests this evening, that, as we are starting for different spheres of work, the farewell to which we have listened should have proceeded from the lips of an ex-Prime Minister of England. (Cheers). Surely there is something of good omen in this combination. For, after all, we, each of us, are going out to occupy, if the expression may be permitted, a different seat in that craft of Empire of which Lord Rosebery once pulled the stroke oar. (Hear, hear). From his lips we have all of us, on many occasions, imbibed the lessons of an Imperialism, exalted but not arrogant, fearless but not rash —(cheers)—an Imperialism which is every day becoming less and less the creed of a party and more and more the faith of a nation. (Loud cheers). I have said that we are especially fortunate in our hosts and in our Chairman. But may I, for myself, also claim a particular good fortune in the person of

one of my fellow-guests ? When twenty years ago Welldon and I lived together in Paris, in the house of a French apothecary, to study the French language—(laughter)—when, at a later date, we crossed together the United States of America, and together viewed the glories of Niagara and the Yosemite Valley ; when on another occasion, in the company of a very dear friend, also present to-night, the headmaster of Haileybury, we rode together across the mountains and valleys of Greece, little did we think that the day would one day come when at the same time he and I should be going forth to the same great continent to take our share in that noble work which I firmly believe has been placed by the inscrutable decrees of Providence upon the shoulders of the British race. (Cheers). I congratulate India upon having obtained such a successor to the See of Heber and of Cotton. (Cheers). I congratulate myself that I shall have as my spiritual and episcopal master one of my oldest and dearest of friends. Lord Rosebery has spoken in gracious terms of the circumstances under which I have accepted this appointment. There is a passage in the writings of Thomas Carlyle which, in this connection, has always haunted my mind. This is what that acute, but rugged, old philosopher said :

"I have sometimes thought what a thing it would be could the Queen in Council pick out some gallant-minded, stout cadet, and say to him, 'Young fellow, if there do lie in you potentialities of governing, of gradually guiding, leading, and coercing to a noble goal, how sad it is that they should be all lost. See, I have scores of Colonies. One of these you shall have as vice-king. Go you and buckle with it in the name of Heaven and let us see what you will build it to."

Well, though these words were spoken of the West Indian Colonies, I think that, *mutatis mutandis*, they are equally

applicable to the East Indian Empire, and they indicate to me the spirit of courage, but yet of humility, of high aspiration, but still more of duty, in which any man should approach such a task. (Hear). I have often seen during the past few weeks, my acceptance of this office attributed to a variety of causes—to personal ambition, to the disappointment of Parliamentary hopes, to failing health. (Laughter). My own experience of public life, such as it has been, leads me to think that the simplest explanation of the phenomenon of human action, human beings being more or less always cast in the same mould, is apt to be the most correct, and the recondite is often the fallacious as well as the obscure. (Laughter). Is it permissible, therefore, for me to say in this company of old school-fellows and of personal friends that, whatever may have been the views of those who thought me worthy of this office, I gladly accepted it, because I love India, its people, its history, its government, the absorbing mysteries of its civilisation and its life? I think it was first while I was at Eton that a sense of its overwhelming importance dawned upon my mind. There we were perpetually invited by a body of assiduous and capable mentors—I need hardly say I allude to the Eton masters—(laughter)—and we responded with greater or less reluctance to the appeal to contemplate the majesty, the law, and the living influence of the Empire of Rome. We had at Eton, and I hope it still flourishes, an institution called the Literary Society, of which, I believe, my friend Welldon was the first president, and in which I afterwards had the honour to follow in his footsteps. To this society, from time to time, came down eminent men to preach to us about the wider world outside. Among those distinguished persons who came in my day was Sir James Fitz James Stephen but just returned from India—the father of my dear friend Jim

Stephen, the "J. K. S." of the literary world, that brilliant but meteoric intellect that all too soon plunged into the abyss and was lost from view, (Hear, hear). Sir James Stephen came down to Eton and told the boys that listened to him, of whom I was one, that there was in that ancient continent an empire more populous, more amazing and more beneficent than that of Rome; that the rulers of that great dominion were drawn from the men of our own people; that some of them might perhaps in the future be drawn from the ranks of the boys who were listening to his words. Ever since that day and still more since my first visit to India in 1887, the fascination and, if I may say so, the sacredness of India has grown upon me until I have come to think that it is the highest honour that can be placed upon any subject of the Queen, that, in any capacity, high or low, he should devote such energies as he may possess, to its services. (Cheers). But may I carry my suggestion one step further? May I not say that the growth of the ideal of duty has been the most salient feature in the histosy of our relations with India during the past hundred years and still more during the reign of the present Queen? (Cheers). A century ago India, in the hands of the East India Company, was regarded as a mercantile investment, the business of whose promoters and agents was to return as large dividends as possible, and the larger, of course, the better, to the pockets of their shareholders at home. In the course of these proceedings many of those men amassed great wealth almost beyond the dreams of avarice—wealth, the display of which was apt to be vulgar and the source of which was often impure. Indian posts, low as well as high, were the spoils of political patronage at home and were exclusively distributed according to the narrowest and most selfish exigencies of party polemics at home. We

have only to look to the treatment of Warren Hastings to realise how little the welfare of India was thought of in comparison with the loss or gain to Whigs and Tories in London. I do not say that we have altogether extricated India from the perils and the contamination of the party system. I do not say that our administration of that great empire is altogether free from blemish or taint. But I do say that it is informed with a spirit of duty, and that it is edified and elevated by that influence. I do say that we think much of the welfare of India and but little of its wealth;—(hear, hear)—that we endeavour to administer the Government of that country in the interests of the governed; that our mission there is one of obligation and not of profit; and that we do our humble best to retain by justice that which we have won by the sword. (Cheers). May we not, indeed, say that at the end of this nineteenth century the spectacle presented by our dominion in India is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal? (Cheers). What, then, is the conception of his duty that an outgoing Viceroy should set before himself? I have no new or startling definition to give, but the light in which it presents itself to my mind is this. It is his duty, first and foremost, to represent the authority of the Queen Empress, whose name, revered more than the name of any other living sovereign by all races and classes, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, is in India both a bond of union and a symbol of power, and, associated with the personal attributes that cling about that name, the conviction that the justice of her Government is inflexibe, that its honour is stainless, and that its mercy is in proportion to its strength. (Cheers). Secondly, he should try to remember that all its people are not the sons of our own race, and that it is only by regard

for their feelings, by respect for their prejudices—I will even go so far as to say by deference to their scruples—that we can obtain the acquiescence as well as the submission of the governed. (Cheers). Thirdly, it is to recognise that, though relatively far advanced in the scale of civilisation compared with the time of Lord Wellesley or even Lord Canning, India is still but ill-equipped with the material and industrial and educational resources which are so necessary to her career, and so to work that she may, by slow but sure degrees, expand to the full measure of her growth. And, lastly, it is to preserve intact and secure either from internal convulsion or external inroad, the boundaries of that great and Imperial dominion. (Loud cheers). This, I would venture to suggest, is the conception which every outgoing Viceroy sets before himself. He is probably unwise if he attempts to fill in the details too closely in advance. The experience in which he must be sadly lacking at the start, but which will come to him in increasing volume day by day, will, with slow, and sometimes with painful touch, fill in the details as he proceeds. For, after all—and I speak to those if there are any here present who have travelled in the East, and have caught the fascination of its mysterious surrounding—the East is a University in which the scholar never takes his degrees. (Hear, hear). It is the temple in which the suppliant adores but never catches sight of the object of his devotion; it is a journey the goal of which is always in sight but is never attained. There we are always learners, always worshippers, always pilgrims. I rejoice to be allowed to take my place in that great band of students and of wayfarers who have trodden that path for a hundred years. I know I have everything to learn, I have, perhaps, many things to unlearn. But if the test of

the pupil be application, and if the test of the worshipper be faith, I hope I may pass through the ordeal unscathed. (Cheers). At any rate, I have, among the long list of names inscribed on the back of this menu, the example of three immediate Eton predecessors to guide me—of Lord Dufferin—(cheers)—whose Indian Viceroyalty was but the culminating point in a career which for over thirty years has been the property less of himself than of his country—(cheers)—of Lord Lansdowne—(cheers)—who left India amid greater manifestations of popularity and of regard and esteem than any departing Viceroy since the Munity—(cheers)—and of my immediate predecessor, Lord Elgin—(cheers)—who has confronted a time of storm and stress with a fortitude and a composure which are worthy of the high name he bears, and of the race from which he is sprung. (Cheers). I know that with these distinguished predecessors I cannot hope to compete. But there is one characteristic which I share in common with them, and which we possess from our common part in the Eton heritage, and that is the desire to be true to the honour and the credit of that ancient foundation. (Cheers). I am not so foolish to-night as to utter any vain prophecies or to indulge in any illusive hopes. But I should be satisfied if I can carry out the work which they have begun, and if at the end of my time it can be said of me that I have not been unworthy of the traditions of the greatest and the noblest of schools. (Loud cheers).

REPLY TO THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[Lord and Lady Curzon arrived in Bombay at day-break on the 30th December, 1898, and landed punctually at seven o'clock. Large crowds assembled to welcome his Lordship and the Municipal Corporation of Bombay presented an address of welcome, in the course of which they referred to the intense gratification with which all classes of the people had hailed the announcement of His Lordship's fixed determination that in discharging the great trust reposed in him he would be "guided by regard for their feelings, respect for their prejudices and even deference to their scruples, and, above all, by a frank and generous recognition of a common bond of manhood, and an element of common humanity." The address went on to refer to the heavy affliction and dire distress through which the country at large and the Bombay Presidency in particular had just passed, and in conclusion, implored His Lordship to start them again on a renewed career of vigorous progress and improvement to which the Presidency had been for more than two years a stranger. Lord Curzon in reply spoke as follows]:

MR. President and gentlemen of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay,—I have received with pleasure the address which you have just read to me, and I have been struck by the cordiality and eloquence of the terms in which it is expressed. No Viceroy can set foot upon these shores, which are to be his home and the scene of his labours for five years, without a keen and almost overpowering sense of the magnitude of the vista that opens out before him, or without a corresponding sense of gratefulness for the first words of welcome that fall from the lips of those over whose fortunes he is about to preside. To me, Sir, it is something of an alleviation at a moment like this to feel that I do not come altogether as a stranger to your country, and that the

intimate concern which I have long entertained in its people and in its problems, is one which is not based exclusively upon hearsay, or upon reading, but which rests upon some small personal acquaintance with India. This is the fifth time, Sir, that I have gazed from the sea upon the majestic panorama of your city of palaces and palms, and if my previous experience and visits here have been those of a private traveller, yet they have given me an interest which official experience can but enhance, in your city itself, so worthy a gateway to a land of enchantment, and in your occupations, so typical of the busy industry to which peoples of this country have turned under the security assured to them by British rule.

I have been glad to notice, Sir, in the address which you have just read to me that you speak of earnest and devoted loyalty which the whole Empire entertains for the Queen-Empress. The first sentiment in accepting this high office, when it was betowed upon me, was one of pride that it had fallen to my lot to be one of the Governors-General, the fifteenth in number, but not, I would fain hope, the last of her long and illustrious reign (Applause). Such a recollection awakens and fires a wonderful train of memory, for it brings before one a stately procession of great names which have passed into the valhalla of history, and it recalls a period at the commencement of which India was but a scattered dominion, while at its close it is a comparatively homogeneous empire. It also awakens in the breast of any incoming Viceroy an ardent sense of duty, for it inspires him with a desire to emulate those distinguished predecessors, and to act in a manner not unworthy of that august and benignant sovereign whom he is privileged to represent. I believe, Sir, that the loyalty of which you have spoken, to the person and throne

of the Queen-Empress is as widespread, as it is more than any other factor the bond which holds together in harmonious union the diverse races and creeds of this country, and which secures to them the blessings of internal peace and tranquillity ; and during my stay in India I shall spare no efforts, so far as in me lies, to fortify, to diffuse, and encourage that feeling. (Applause).

I have seen it somewhere stated that I am expected on this the first occasion that I speak upon Indian soil, to say something of the principles which are likely to be the basis of my administration. I hold myself dispensed from any such obligation for more reasons than one. In the first place, I have before leaving England given a halting expression of the spirit in which I approach this undertaking, and the fact that you have, in the address just read to me, quoted with approval some of the sentiments to which I have given utterance, leads me to think that I need not repeat them now. In the seeond place, I think there would be something presumptuous in assuming that any one Viceroy enters upon his office with a conception of its duties more generous or more exacting than his predecessors have done before him. Each one, I think, as he has landed upon this quay, has felt that he has been summoned to no mean calling, and has mentally resolved that justice and magnanimity and prudence and sympathy shall be the key-notes of his administration. (Applause).

I remember a great countryman of mine, on being sent out to a mission, not indeed comparable with this, but one which brought him into contact with races and creeds different from his own, in a remote and difficult country, said he went out to hold the scales even. Such might be no contemptible motto for the Viceroy of India, for with what

mosaic of nationalities and interests he is confronted, with his own countrymen, few in number, and scattered far and wide, in a trying climate, in a foreign land, and with manifold races and religions so composite and yet so divergent of the indigenous population in its growing and ever multiplying millions! To hold the scales under such conditions is a task that calls indeed for supple fingers and yet for nerves of steel, but there is another reflection that leads me to place some restriction upon anything that I may say about the future.

No one can be more conscious than myself that the verdict to be passed upon my administration depends not upon glittering promises or fair prophecy now, but upon actual performance later on. The time for rejoicing is not when a man putteth on his armour, but when he taketh it off. (Hear, hear). I thank you for your kindly greetings because no man can be insensible to the encouragement of a generous welcome, but I shall be tenfold better pleased if, when I weigh anchor from these shores, and when all eyes are turned towards my successor, any of you who are now present can come forward truthfully to testify that during my time I have done something, if it even be but little, for this land, which, next to my own country, is the nearest to my heart. Gentlemen, in your address you call my attention to the fact that during the past few years India has been subject to the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine. In connection with the ravages of the two latter in particular our hearts in England have gone out to you in your trouble, and our purse strings have, as you know, been unloosened on your behalf.

The unceasing and devoted efforts of your rulers, of the present illustrious Viceroy, in this place, of your Governor,

whose application to the onerous duties and work imposed upon him by the plague has excited widespread gratitude and admiration—(cheers)—have, I believe, enabled India to cope with these trials in a manner more successful than on any previous occasion. (Cheers). In this great city the patience of your people, the voluntary co-operation of your leading citizens, and the natural vitality of your resources, have greatly assisted in the work of recuperation, and I would fain believe that the corner has now been turned, and that an era of reviving prosperity is already beginning to dawn. (Cheers). To that movement it will be my agreeable duty to lend whatever impulse I can, and it is with feelings of sympathy that I regard, and shall take an early opportunity of inquiring into, the great undertaking to which, with so marked a combination of courage and wisdom, you are about to address yourselves in this city of Bombay.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to thank you for the gracious welcome that you have extended, along with myself, to Lady Curzon. She comes to this country with predispositions not less favourable, and with sympathies not less warm than mine, and with me she looks forward with earnest delight to a life of labour, but of happy labour, in your midst. (Loud cheers). Allow me, Sir, to thank you in conclusion for the address and for the handsome and artistic casket in which it is enclosed.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

[In reply to an address of welcome from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Viceroy-Elect said]:—

WITH peculiar pleasure I have received at the hands of your Chairman, Mr. Macaulay (in whom I recognise an old school-fellow and friend of my own), the address which you have just read, and the courteous and instructive contents which I desire to acknowledge. I say, with peculiar pleasure, because in this great industrial and trading city, which along with beauty all its own, reminds me of some of the great hives of manufactures and labour in my own country, it seems befitting that the views of the mercantile classes should be placed before me by the authorised exponents of those interests, and because experience elsewhere has already brought me into frequent and agreeable contact with the Chambers of Commerce. As Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office at Home, and head of the Commercial Department there, I have, during the past three years, been placed in constant communication with analogous organisations in England, and have learnt to what extent the views of the Government may be shaped and their action assisted, by the advice and information which such bodies are in a position to afford. I doubt not that similar experience awaits me in India, and to any representations that you or Associations of a like character and influence may come from time to time to address to me, I can promise, in advance, a respectful and interested attention.

You have been good enough to congratulate me upon my appointment to the high office which I am about to assume

I accept your congratulations, and I may in return ask you to be the recipients, by proxy, of the thanks of Lady Curzon and myself for the magnificent welcome which we met with to-day at the hands of all sections of the population of this great city. The continuous lines of people in the streets, and the enthusiasm wiih which they greeted us, were incidents that will live long in our memory, and that will never fail to revive delightful recollections of Bombay.

You bring before my notice a number of subjects in which you are keenly interested, but upon which, while you are, from the nature of your experience and your occupations, qualified to form and to express a definite opinion, I shall be doing no injustice to your imaginations if I say that you do not at this stage expect any similiar declaration from myself. A Viceroy, setting foot in that capacity for the first time upon these shores, can hardly be expected, and would be singularly ill-advised, within four hours of his landing, to make a pronouncement upon such abstruse questions as currency reform, the attraction of British capital to India, the utilisation for commercial purposes, of cash balances, temporarily accumulated in the coffers of Government, and particular railways which ought not to be included in the programme of construction. Upon these matters I shall, of course, profit by the counsel of your Governor, and by the advice of the expert colleagues by whom I shall presently be surrounded; and, while studying them, I shall bear in mind the authoritative character of the representations which you have made.

It only remains for me to endorse the hopes with which you conclude your address, that a period of returning peace and prosperity, of which I think that there are already some signs, may await this recently

affected country. A sensational administration is not the best prospect that an incoming Viceroy can desire, and, although the cup of Destiny is filled by other hands than his, he may yet, with a clear conscience, promise during his term of office, the fullest devotion of which he may be capable to domestic interests and to the material and moral development of the vast population committed to his care.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE MYSORE FAMILY.

[On the 11th January, 1899, the Viceroy in acknowledging an address from the princes of the Mysore House, said] :—

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me much pleasure to meet the members of so distinguished a family as that to which you belong, and to receive at your hands the cordial words of welcome which have just been read out to me. Previous Viceroys have been approached by you on the occasion both of their arrival in this country, and of their subsequent departure ; and it is only a few days ago that I was reading a report of the friendly interchange of courtesies that has recently passed between my predecessor and yourselves. I hope that the same happy relations may prevail between us, and that I may have further opportunities of improving the acquaintance, which I have already made, with the leading representatives of your ancient line. Of such experience as I have been enabled to gain by travel in foreign lands, a good deal has been acquired in Eastern countries, and among peoples who are co-religionists of your own. For that faith, and for those who practise it, I have always entertained the highest respect ; and my residence in India will doubtless

strengthen those feelings ; at the same time that it will give me opportunities of testifying an equal interest in all classes and creeds in the Indian continent. I must, before I conclude, add a few words of acknowledgment on behalf of Lady Curzon to the ladies of your house for the gracefully-worded address in which they have expressed to her their good wishes and aspirations. It is her desire to follow the noble example set by our Gracious Sovereign, whose heart has always gone forth to her subjects in this great dependency, and who has entered with equal sympathy into the joys and sorrows of the women of India. Gentlemen, I thank you again for the two addresses.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION.

[In reply to this address Lord Curzon spoke as follows] :—

MR. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta,—I have already had the pleasure of being introduced to you on the occasion of my arrival at the station at Howrah ; and your words of welcome now are but a more formal echo of the friendly reception which you accorded to me then. To a new Viceroy the opening days of his life at Calcutta cannot fail to be fraught with a deep interest ; for, after his long journey from England, here at length he finds himself at the seat of Government and the capital of the Indian Empire amid surroundings that have been rendered historic by the labours and services of many generations of illustrious Englishmen. It is a spot which, long before his term of office has expired, will have become invested in his eyes with all the familiarity and with many of

the attractions of home. Here, too, he is brought for the first time into contact with the trained counsellors, by whose assistance he is destined during that period to profit so largely, and with the leaders of a community whose assiduous enterprise has made this city an immense emporium of commerce and one of the leading ports of Asia. From all these points of view Calcutta must be to any Viceroy a place of exceptional and enduring interest. The opening remarks of your address might lead me to suppose that my resignation of political life in England upon acceptance of the post which I now have the honour to fill involved in your opinion some self-sacrifice. Such is far from being my own view of the case. There is no office in the Government of the Queen-Empress which in my judgment should more appeal—I will not say to the imagination, but to the sense of duty and the patriotism of any of her subjects than the charge of her great Indian Dependency. I will venture further to say there is no post in Her Majesty's gift which arouses in a higher degree her personal solicitude and concern. Great in my eyes as were the fascinations of Parliamentary life at home, it was therefore in no spirit of self-denial, but with an eager, though humble, anxiety to render some service to Her Majesty and to a country which should be as dear to all Englishmen as it is to the heart of their Sovereign, that I surrendered my seat in the House of Commons in order to devote the best years of my life to the task which had for long been its favourite pre-occupation. In your third paragraph you speak of the internal and external troubles with which my predecessor, Lord Elgin, was confronted, and which a consensus of opinion, both in India and abroad, concurs in recognising that he met with no common fortitude and sagacity. You then proceed to

express a hope that my period of office may be devoid of similar complications, and may be marked by efforts directed to the well-being and prosperity of the people. Such is my own earnest aspiration and desire. But even a limited knowledge of India has confirmed the impression, which I might have derived from the experience of previous Viceroys, that prophecy in Asia, the home of surprises, is a rash and perilous thing, and that the most praiseworthy intentions are liable to be frustrated by the unforeseen, and not always controllable, compulsion of event. I therefore refrain either from promise or from prediction. But I record my ready agreement with your underlying proposition which I take to be that what India requires is a period of tranquillity for the steady development of her resources, and for the examination, and if possible, the removal, of such obstacles as may be found to retard the smooth path of her progress. I have not yet had time to make myself acquainted with the full details of the Municipal problem to which you conclude by inviting my attention. At a later stage it will doubtless come before me; and I will give to it the thoughtful consideration which its intrinsic importance demands. Gentlemen, in accepting your address, allow me to thank you for the encouragement which it conveys, and to express the hope that during my residence in Calcutta I may be so fortunate as to retain the confidence of the Municipal Commissioners of this great city.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

[On the 11th January, 1899, in reply to this address the Viceroy said]:—

GENTLEMEN, the address which you have just presented to me, and which I gratefully acknowledge, adds a contribution of no small value to the generous volume of welcome which has been accorded to me upon my arrival to take up the post of Viceroy of India. It is, I think, the first address that has reached me from an exclusively Indian source; and it furnishes me, therefore, with the opportunity of conveying my thanks not merely to yourselves, but to the many thousands of your countrymen who throughout India, have combined to testify in so marked a manner the loyalty to the Queen-Empress by the reception which they have accorded to her representative. The Queen has herself enjoined me to profit by the first occasion of expressing her sentiments of warm interest in her Indian subjects; and I shall not assume any undue prerogative if I say that the intensity of those feelings is only matched by the reciprocal attachment and veneration which they have aroused in the bosom of the Indian peoples towards their Gracious Sovereign. I derive additional pleasure from the presentation of your address owing to the fact that, as long ago as 1891, when I was Under-Secretary of State for India in England, I was made acquainted with the influential and representative character of your Association, and with the excellent work which it has done. Your address contains a brief epitome of the recent vicissitudes through which the Indian Empire has passed. Those vicissitudes, comprising as they have done the almost simultaneous trials of frontier warfare, plague and famine

have laid a heavy tax upon the resources of the country and the patience of its inhabitants. The teachings of previous experience and the results of long preparation enabled the Government of Lord Elgin to encounter the famine with greater success than on any previous occasion; and the manner in which these periodical visitations, inseparable from the Indian climate, are now met constitutes in itself no mean justification of British rule. The plague has not been similarly stamped under foot; but the methods adopted for its eradication have, I believe, been shaped into the requisite harmony of sanitary precaution with respect for natural susceptibilities. You call my attention to the interests of the landed proprietors and the preservation of the old and influential families of the Province of Bengal. My own inclinations, whether in England or in India, are conservative in respect of the land, because I hold that a territorial proprietary long associated with the soil, trained in its management, familiar with its traditions, and conscious of their responsibilities, is an element of stability in a community. In this respect my views are but a reflex of that which has been the constant policy of the British Government in India, and notably in this Province of Bengal. The future of Self-government in Municipal institutions is, as you justly observe, a question which will claim my attention. It would be presumptuous in me as yet to make any opinion derived from Western experience the basis of an induction as to the principles or methods which may be feasible here. The measure of the growth of any civilised community is however, its capacity to assume within safe and well-ascertained limits the responsibility for its own regulation; and in India, as elsewhere, there is required for this problem of political and ethical evolution not merely the goodwill of the

deponents of power, but the aptitude of the depositories for the exercise of the functions that may be committed to their care. In Eastern countries, which are lacking in the traditions of Self-government, the rate of progress is relatively slow; but the future historian of India will record that during the 40 years which have elapsed since the direct Government of India passed to the Crown, it has been steady and sure. Gentlemen, I am much obliged for your address, and I should like to add one word of personal thanks to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna for the graceful additional phrases of welcome with which he preceded the printed address, and also for his kindness in remembering that to-day is my birth-day, and in according me his own felicitations and those of your important Association.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE JAIN COMMUNITY.

[On the 11th January, 1899, the Viceroy's reply to this address was as follows]:—

GENTLEMEN,—Among the various communities who have addressed me since my arrival in India, there is none whose words of welcome awaken a more responsive echo in my breast than the Jains. I am aware of the high ideals embodied in your religion, of the scrupulous conception of humanity which you entertain, of your great mercantile influence and activity, and of the ample charity that has characterised your public and private dispensations. Previous travels in India have also familiarised me with many of your temples, in whose architectural features I have observed a refinement that reminded me of the great days of Asiatic art. I rejoice to think that under the ægis of British Government you

enjoy full toleration for the practice of your faith and the necessary security for the pursuance of your honorable avocations. The office to which I have been called will not be one of labour if I continue to receive the sympathy which has been so spontaneously accorded to me, upon my arrival, by all classes in this country. In the career of any Viceroy there will be inevitable fluctuations both in the tide of fortune and in the impulses and attitude of men. But I hope that whatever form these may take, the feelings of genuine regard which I venture to think prevail between the peoples of India and myself at the opening of my term of office may not be shaken or impaired.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE MAHOMEDAN LITERARY SOCIETY.

[On the 13th January, 1899, His Excellency the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, to which His Excellency replied as follows] :—

GENTLEMEN,—I have already received several addresses from important bodies and Associations since my arrival in Calcutta ; but I do not know that among them any has been couched in language more felicitous, or has breathed sentiments more manifestly sincere, than yours. Perhaps the fact that you are the Committee of what I observe is styled a Literary Society may account for your proficiency in the former respect. Your experience of the good-will and just administration of the British Government has, I hope, inspired the feelings of loyalty and devotion to which I allude. I am acquainted with the history of your Society, which indeed is only a little younger in years than myself and with the admirable exertions of your late founder. A

combination of the resources of Western knowledge and discovery with the teachings of Oriental learning is, as you say, the indispensable condition of an intellectual equipment which shall enable the cultured Mahomedan to hold his own in the competitive struggle of the modern world. Perhaps the Mahomedans of India have been for a while somewhat handicapped in the race by an inadequate supply of the facilities requisite for such a training; although the great institution founded, after a life-work of honourable activity, by the late Sir Syed Ahmed and kindred efforts organised or supported by yourselves, should enable you to recover the lost leeway, and to claim your share in the development of the inheritance of your forefathers. At the same time I am glad to hear you speak with legitimate pride of the wealth of Oriental literature as being included in your curriculum, because the acquisition of the resources of modern science, indispensable though it be, should blind no student to the substantial merits of the philosophy, the poetry, and ethics of bygone times. Imperfectly as these may conform to be standards of a more progressive age, they have yet contributed no inconsiderable quota to the moral elevation, as well as to the intellectual enjoyment, of mankind. To any Mahomedan Literary Society, therefore, and more specially to yourselves, whose prestige and influence are so high, I would say, "Pursue your modern studies,but do not altogether neglect your ancient prophets and guides and remember that the fountains of an obsolete erudition have not infrequently distilled the precious drops of truth."

Gentlemen, no one with the smallest knowledge of India can be ignorant of the great part that has been played in its past by Mahomedan dynasties, Mahomedan literature, and

Mahomedan customs. No one with the least appreciation of the present can ignore the powerful and stable element contributed to Indian society by the existing Mahomedan States and communities. I have, as you remark, been so fortunate as to visit on various occasions the courts of most of the principal Mussulman potentates of Asia, and I have, perhaps, thereby acquired some slight insight into the working of your institutions as well as into the practical application of your religion. I am also aware that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, whose Representative in India I am privileged to be, is the Sovereign of a larger number of Mahomedans than any monarch in the world. All these considerations are an explanation of the peculiar interest which I feel in your community, and of the satisfaction which it gives me to receive your congratulations. I accept your statement that upon any occasion of appeal I may implicitly rely upon the faithful allegiance of the Mahomedans of India. But I rejoice to think that the happy harmony existing between the various races and religions of this country, which is the glorious outcome of Her Majesty's reign, and the loyalty which is common to them all, are likely, should any emergency ever arise, to enlist in her enthusiastic service not one section alone, but the whole of the peoples, and the votaries of every creed who own her sway. It will be with the utmost pleasure and with profound respect that I shall receive from you during my tenure of office any representations that you may care to address to me; and I confidently rely upon such communications to assist me in the task of government, as well as to broaden both my acquaintance and my sympathies with the Mahomedans of the Eastern world.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE TALUKDARS OF OUDH.

[On the 10th January, 1899, in reply to an address from the Talukdars of Oudh, Lord Curzon spoke as follows]:—

IT was within my knowledge before I landed in India that among the agreeable duties awaiting a new Viceroy upon his first taking up the reins of office, is that of receiving a deputation from the Talukdars of Oudh. That body, conspicuous for its representative and influential character, is always among the first to welcome the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and your appearance here to-day is an indication that your attitude remains unaltered, and that, in commencing my administration, I shall receive at your hands the same support which you have consistently accorded to my predecessors. My studies of Indian history have rendered me fairly familiar with the history of your body, from the time when your relations with the British Government were re-adjusted by the skill and impartiality of Lord Lawrence, down to the legislation of more recent years. Throughout this period the Talukdars of Oudh have been animated by the same spirit of loyalty and of good sense, which I think it is no exaggeration to say has now assumed almost the fixity of a tradition The work of internal administration is, as you justly remind me, one that applies as searching a test to the capacities of statesmanship as the more dramatic issues involved in external policy. There is no standing still in the growth of nations; and the adaptation of the condition and environment of life to the increasing stature of a people is a task that calls both for vigilance and foresight. I hope to devote much of my time and energies to this task, the importance of which is measur-

able by the enormous numbers of those whose welfare it affects in the crowded but often obscure by-ways of industry and toil. I am grateful to you for having included Lady Curzon in the welcome which you have extended to myself.

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

[On the 23rd January, 1899, in reply to an address of welcome presented by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, His Excellency the Viceroy said]:—

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to thank you for your address. I will not repeat what I have said, in reply to somewhat similar addresses with which I have been honoured by other representative bodies since my arrival in India, concerning both the circumstances of the country and the requirements of the hour. That India has suffered severely from recent afflictions, and that the task of recuperation should be the first interest of Government, are propositions of universal acceptance, to which I have previously signified my assent. The realisation of any such ambition, while subject to vicissitudes which none of us can control, will nevertheless be greatly assisted by the harmonious co-operation of all parties and classes; and the theory of a common interest in the National progress is one, which though it is in the nature of a truism, I commend to the attention of all sections of the population native and foreign, as capable of very practical application, both in the efforts of individuals and in the action of the larger units which compose our corporate existence.

In your address you call my notice to a number of subjects which excite your own interest, and which should

appeal to mine. I am not disposed to cavil either at the contents or at the order of your enumeration. Relief from the financial uncertainty and fluctuations which have for so long hampered the Government and interfered with trade by a currency reform which shall give stability to our monetary system is in my opinion the first step, though I am far from saying that it is the sole step, towards economic and commercial revival in India. While this difficult problem is still under investigation by an expert Committee in London, it is useless, and would be premature for me to forecast the issue. Nevertheless the symptoms, both here and in England, appear to be not unfavourable to an ultimate realisation by the Indian Government of the objects with which the policy now in course of operation was initiated by them a few years ago.

Concerning Railways and Irrigation, I find that my Railway programme has to a large extent been fixed for me in advance by the sanction, which has already been given, to the contemplated expenditure of the next three years. Irrigation, which in my eyes is a problem of not inferior importance, will be one of the first subjects to receive my patient study. A great deal is said in India—but, it appears to me, there has hitherto been much more said than done—about scientific and technical education—a topic to which you also allude. I have a word to say to you on that matter in a moment.

I have so far dealt with the subjects which you have yourselves selected for recommendation to me. Will you now allow me to reciprocate the compliment by making some counter-observations to you? Acquainted as I am with the immense resources and teeming population of Bengal, and familiar as I have long been with the quick and receptive

intelligence of its peoples, I felt confident on coming here that in this city and province I should find abundant evidence of the application of those advantages to industrial and mercantile exploitation on a large scale. I cannot say that the investigations which I have so far made have altogether confirmed those anticipations. If I take the number of Joint Stock Companies registered in India, I do not find that there has been during the last decade the same development, either in number or in capital, in Bengal that there has been in Bombay, while in ratio to the total population, which is four times greater in Bengal, it has been considerably less. In Joint Stock enterprise in Bengal it appears further that native capital plays as yet only a very subordinate part.

If I look to cotton mills, I find similar results. Whereas in 1880 there were 5 mills in Bengal as compared with 44 in Bombay, in 1897 the number had risen to 10 only in Bengal, but to 114 in Bombay; and whereas in Bombay a large majority are under native or Parsi management, in Bengal only four are managed by natives, and not one of the latter is a native of Bengal. Jute, it may be said, however, stands to Bengal in much the same relation as cotton stands to Bombay, and affords, therefore, a fairer field of observation. While I am glad to note that the number of jute mills of which enterprise Bengal enjoys a practical monopoly, is slowly but steadily increasing, I yet find that of the 33 mills in Bengal only one is at present under native management.

In Bengal and Bombay there is the same number of paper mills, but the capital, the number of employees, and the production of the Bengal mills are largely owing to Government patronage much greater than in Bombay. On the other hand while the mills in the Bombay Presidency are

REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE CALCUTTA TRADES ASSOCIATION.

[On the 31st January, 1899, in reply to an address of welcome from the Calcutta Trades Association, His Excellency the Viceroy said]:—

I am glad to receive at your hands, Sir, at the termination of what I believe has been a successful year o office, this address of welcome from the Calcutta Trades Association. Your society represents, as I am informed, with much ability and discretion, the manifold trading interests of this city; and, as such, it is brought into contact with, and must have an intimate knowledge of, many aspects of industry and business. I am certainly of opinion that English money should be attracted to India, and that Government should do what lies in its power to encourage that movement. The opposite theory which I have seen argued, *viz.*, that the employment of British capital in India constitutes a drain upon the natural resources of the country, I regard as a mischievous delusion. Capital, both British and native, is, in my opinion, required for the development of India. Native capital is somewhat shy, and requires to be coaxed. It is not as yet habituated, at least in Bengal, to large ventures, and is satisfied either with landed investment, or in smaller fields with the high rate of interest upon loans which is procurable here. British capital is, therefore, a *sine qua non* to the national advancement; and it is, I believe, sound economic policy, as well as good citizenship, to desire that India should become one of its chosen fields of investment, and that this great and expanding dominion should attract some portion of that wealth which appears to be equally at the disposal of the petty and venal republics of the Western hemisphere and the moribund kingdoms of the East.

You tell me that India possesses all the requisites of a self-supporting nation. I am afraid that, at present at any rate, this is the language of hopeful anticipation rather than of demonstrable fact. I have spoken of the absence or of the timidity of capital. Do we produce silver? How much native iron ore is smelted in Indian furnaces? Do not the only rolling mills in India work up imported iron? I take note of your phrase, therefore, as an aspiration rather than as an assertion; but it may help to widen our outlook and to stimulate our energies for the future. You proceed to say that there is an impression that a disposition exists on the part of the Government to obtain their requirements from England without first ascertaining whether they can be supplied on equally advantageous terms on the spot. I am glad that this is only an impression; because an impression is something that is capable of effacement, unless it be well founded. I have looked into the matter, and I have not so far found sufficient justification for the belief. As long ago as 1823, the Government of India issued special orders to the local Governments to purchase, whenever possible, in the local markets articles of *bonafide* local manufacture, and unless price or quality compelled a different choice, invariably to give the preference to Indian over European manufacture, such preference to extend also to articles locally manufactured from raw material imported from Europe. A schedule was at that time drawn up of all the objects that might be so preferred, and on more than one occasion since, notably in June of last year in the case of articles of iron and steel manufactured in India from imported material, that list received a considerable extension; while certain firms of high standing, some of whom are, I believe, members of your Association, were

selected as qualified to tender for the Government contracts in articles of steel and iron. I find, indeed, that of all the stores purchased by Government, a proportion of one-third, amounting to a total value of 154 lakhs, or over one million sterling, was in 1896-97 procured in India. These consisted of iron, copper, hardware and cutlery, explosives, cotton and silk fabrics, and many other sorts of goods. When the Viceroy drives in a Calcutta-made carriage, with Calcutta-made harness, and writes his notes for this speech on paper manufactured in a Bengal mill, it cannot be said that he exhibits any reprehensible indifference to the patronage of local industry or enterprise. When the British soldier goes into action, or performs his regimental routine in India, in clothing, and in foot gear that come from Indian factories, his energies are directed to the defence of an interest, the produce of which he carries upon his own person. So far, therefore, from holding that there is ground for lament, I think, on the contrary, that there is much cause for congratulation and that India is daily asserting her reasonable pretensions in louder and more insistent tones. While I am here—and I think I may safely say for long afterwards—she will receive from me in the prosecution of these evergrowing claims, the whole of my sympathies, and as much as may be given to me of strength. Gentlemen, may I thank you, in conclusion, for this singularly beautiful casket, as happy in its symbolism as it is elegant in its execution? It is a specimen, I understand, of local design and manufacture; and it reflects, if I may say so, infinite credit upon a handicraft in which I have long been keenly interested, *viz.*, the native silver-work of Hindoostan.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL NATIONAL MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION.

[On the 31st January, 1899, replying to an address of welcome from the Central Mahomedan Association, the Viceroy said] :—

GENTLEMEN,—Your words of welcome to me, upon my arrival in India, and entry upon the arduous duties of my office, are characterised by a sympathetic warmth to which my heart would be dull did it not respond. The first essential, in my opinion, to the orderly rule of a community of one race and religion, and still more of a community of many divergent races and religions, by a governing class of another origin and faith, is the recognition by both parties of that fellow-feeling which substitutes mutual respect for distrust, co-operation for antagonism, and kindliness for social indifference, There are many departments of life, both public and private, in which this spirit may manifest itself with advantage, whether in the official association which the free spirit of British Government opens with so liberal a hand, irrespective of birth or creed, to those who are well qualified among its citizens or in the more modest but not less obligatory amenities of every day subsistence. I apply these reflections, gentlemen, to a consideration of the topics to which you have especially called my attention. The education of Mahomedans and their employment in the higher as well as in the lower ranks of the State's service, and their adequate representation on public bodies on a scale proportionate to their numbers and capacity, have long been features of the declared public policy of the Government of India ; but the attainment of these ends will also be

facilitated by the mutual recognition of the feeling which I have described. My inquiries have acquainted me with the fact that, ever since the days of Lord Mayo, there has been a continuous effort on the part of the State to extend the educational facilities offered to the Mahomedans of India, by encouragement to their language, by additions to the teaching faculty, and by financial aid; the object being not to create for you exceptional advantages in the struggle of life —for this your own sense of proportion and fairness has never led you to claim—but to remove the drawbacks under which you formerly laboured, and to provide for you an open approach to a fair field. For I imagine that upon these principles we shall all be agreed, namely, that the patronage of the State must be regulated in the main by public competition, and by the reward of merit; and that the true law of progress is not the depression of the educational standard to humour the limitations of the individual, but the elevation of the individual to the level of modern competition. In this effort, which has been met by a corresponding activity on the part of the Mahomedans of India, a considerable and gratifying advance has already been made. The latest figures which I have been able to procure show me that, in 1892, when the percentage of the Mahomedan population to the entire population of India was 21, the percentage of the Mahomedan scholars in public educational institutions was 19—no great disparity; while in this Province of Bengal the percentage of Mahomedan population was 32, and that of Mahomedan scholars 25. I believe that these, on the whole, very creditable figures, are not as yet reproduced in the higher stages of education, in the professional, technical, and art colleges. But the impulse has been communicated, the movement has begun, and there is no crying 'halt', in the modern march of

enlightenment and emancipation. Subject to the principles which I have laid down, I believe that the share given by the State to Mahomedans in its public service, is both just and generous, For the posts which are decided by public competition, discrimination, or selection, is obviously impossible; but in the case of posts which are filled by Government by nomination or otherwise, the object is to secure that fair and proportionate representation which you legitimately claim. When the Public Service Commission reported some years ago, it was found that of 2,588 persons engaged in executive and judicial work, 1,866, or 72 per cent. were Hindoos, and 514, or 19 per cent.,.Mahomedans : proportions that very nearly corresponded to the actual proportions of Hindoos and Mahomedans in the total population of India at that time, which were respectively 75 and 20 per cent. A revised calculation would probably show figures even more favourable to your community. Of the representation of Mahomedans on local bodies and District Boards I cannot speak from first-hand knowledge; but local Governments are expected, in their appointment of nominated members to have regard to the due representation of classes and interests otherwise unrepresented; and I believe that they acknowledge and act up to this obligation. In the Legislative Councils I find that there are two Mahomedans in the Councils severally of Bengal, Bombay, and the Punjab; and one each in the Councils of Madras and the North-West Provinces. I have also the advantage of one Mahomedan colleague upon the Legislative Council of the Government of India. These figures are not fixed and there is no reason why they should not in your case, as in that of other constituent classes, correspond to the expanding capacity and power of the community. I may summarise what I have said by the

remark that the symptoms of Mahomedan advance, educational and otherwise, seem to me to be encouraging; and by reminding you that, while your efforts are watched with a friendly eye by Government, the future rests for the most part in your own hands. I have not alluded, gentlemen, to the question of wakf properties, because I understand that you propose shortly to address a memorial to me on that subject. As regards a Moslem University in India, if it is intended to carry to a further stage the work already undertaken by the Aligarh College which has so abundantly justified its existence by the production of a number of first-class men, it is a project to which all must wish well. I am pleased, gentlemen, to have had the privilege of meeting you to-day; and I hope that the Deity whom we equally revere may look with blessing upon our respective labours.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE ZEMINDARY PUNCHAYET.

[On the 3rd February, 1899, a deputation of the Bengal Zemindary Punchayet waited on His Excellency the Viceroy with an address of welcome—headed by the Maharajah of Durbhanga. The Viceroy replied as follows]:—

GENTLEMEN, many of the expressions in your address, which I gratefully accept, along with the beautiful silver casket in which you have placed it, recall, both in kindliness of tone and in generosity of sentiment, similar passages which I have already acknowledged and commented upon in addresses from other bodies. You will not, I am sure, think me guilty of any insensibility to the flattering character of your welcome if, without reiterating the warmth of my own sympathies and the sincerity of my desire to act up to

the high responsibilities imposed upon me, I pass at once to an examination of the points which you bring more specifically under my notice.

I understand that you are dissatisfied with the system of education prevailing at both ends of the social scale with which your property and interests bring you into connection. Of the education given to the ryots, you report that it is inadequate and unsuited to their actual avocations of life. These avocations I take to be in the main the pursuit of agriculture ; and I, therefore, assume that you desire a system which shall better qualify the rural classes for the industry which it will be their life's occupation to pursue. I believe that this also is the view of the Government of India. In recent years great efforts have been made to analyse and to supply the deficiencies in existing systems of elementary education ; and much progress has been made, for example, in the provision of more suitable text books, in what are called object lessons, and in physical instruction. Upon this I have to make two observations : the first, that Government ought not to be left to grapple with this problem alone, but that the initiative and effort of private individuals and bodies should be freely placed at their disposal ; the second, that in teaching agriculture we must not lose sight of the still greater importance of training the faculty to understand what agriculture is. The basis of any practical education must be the acquisition of such knowledge as will enable a man to use his senses, to exercise his reason, and to have some intelligent understanding of that which he is required to perform.

As regards the education of the higher ranks, you record your opinion that, as at present pursued, it fails to qualify its pupils for their proper stations in society, or for partici-

pation in public life. Now it is true that the system of public school-training, as we call it in England, is not indigenous in this country, and is not at once adaptable to the traditions or habits of Oriental society. Nevertheless the Rajkumar Colleges in various parts of India are now established on a firm footing, and appear on the whole to be producing excellent results. Here, again I would call your attention to the fact that in England this class of education has been supplied almost entirely by private initiative and without the assistance or support of the State. Should, however, there be any suggestions in this respect which are present in your own minds, and which you think capable of translation into practice, I shall be glad if you will appoint a committee of your own body, with whom I would associate an educational officer to assist in formulating your views for my further consideration.

In your ensuing paragraph you deprecate Western methods of judicial administration as foreign to Oriental instincts, and as unfortunate in their results. I have never myself felt any personal attraction towards the law courts of any country, whether Eastern or Western ; and, while the law-giver who evolves order out of chaos has been justly regarded in all ages as a great man, I think that an even greater would be he who could persuade his fellow-creatures to abstain from drinking too deeply of the wells of justice. The thirst is frequently not appeased until it has entailed some exhaustion to the constitution of him who drinks. Litigiousness, however, has always struck me as the result not so much of the temptations of law courts as of the temper of peoples ; and I do not know that it would be altogether correct to say that litigation, according to Western rules, has been found in practice to be abhorrent to the instinct of

Eastern peoples. However that may be,—that simple cases should not be taken to the law courts, but should be settled by arbitration, or by some other outside method; that the costly and dilatory procession of appeals should be discouraged; and that society should learn to regard the courts as a refuge, and not as a relaxation—these are propositions which few will be found to deny. Your Punchayet institutions are, I gather, accustomed to deal with questions of a particular character rather than with the cases, or disputes, that commonly end in a reference to courts of justice. But that the Government are keenly interested in the employment of arbitration as a substitute for judicial proceedings, is shown by the Arbitration Bill which has only lately been introduced by one of my colleagues, the Legal Member of Council. I conclude with the hope that the interest thus testified may be met by a corresponding inclination on the part of the people.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your good wishes in the career of pleasurable resposibility that lies before me.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE IMPERIAL ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

[In reply to an address of welcome presented by the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, His Excellency the Viceroy said]:—

GENTLEMEN,—Your address differs from every other that has so far been presented to me in this important particular—that while, as you say, there are topics of special interest to you which you might have brought to my notice, anomalies or drawbacks that you might have pleaded to have redressed, urgent measures that you might have desired to recommend, you have refrained from pressing your views

upon any such points, and have been content to swell the volume of generous acclamation which has greeted the assumption on my part of the Viceroyalty of India with a contribution which I count as inferior in interest or importance to none of those that I have previously received. Allow me in the same spirit, gentlemen, to thank you for your welcome, so gracefully extended to Lady Curzon as well as myself; to assure you, in my capacity as head of the Government, of my confidence in your loyalty—a loyalty which, as you remind me, you have not been slow to testify by personal service in the past—and to wish well to your exertions and interests in the future. You rightly observe that the community which you represent occupies a unique position, midway between the social extremes of Indian society. In my judgment this is a position which, while not unattended with difficulty, and while accompanied by apparent disqualifications, is yet endowed with some positive advantages. There are many functions in a social economy like that of India which can be best performed hy those who have ties of blood with both the European and the indigenous peoples; and who to the bringing-up and associations of Englishmen, add the familiarity with native character, language, and habits of thought which descent from an Indian parentage, whether recent or remote, can scarcely fail to impart. In particular it seems to me that these faculties should find a ready field of employment in the mechanical industries which are being developed with so much rapidity in modern India, and not least in Bengal. The fact that, on the one hand, Anglo-Indians, by their education and mode of life, are in touch with the European proprietors or managers of such enterprises, while, on the other hand, they must have a closer understanding of the interests and feelings of the native

artisans than a foreigner can ever acquire, should render their services in many cases as foremen, or as intermediaries in some capacity or other between the two ranks, of great practical value. I am informed by those who can speak from an experience of many years that such has in many instances proved to be the case. I invite your attention, therefore, to this arena of honourable occupation for Anglo-Indian youths, and I would respectfully represent to your Association that great dignity, and no reproach, attaches to manual labour; and that the community that succeeds best in the world is that which most speedily determines its true adaptation to the environment in which it is placed.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

[In reply to an address of welcome from the Indian Association, His Excellency spoke as follows]:—

GENTLEMEN,—The address which you have been good enough to present to me covers, I think, a wider field than any of those which it has been my agreeable task to receive and acknowledge during the past month. At the same time it is not one whit behind them in its sympathetic expressions of welcome and in the good wishes which it formulates for my administration. I need not either allude to or recapitulate expressions which have occurred in previous speeches of my own, and to which you have paid the compliment of quotation. I do not know that sentiments gain in intensity, even though they may earn a wider publicity, by frequent repetition; and I will therefore content myself on the present occasion with saying that I hold by what I have

previously said, both of my anxiety to serve this country and its peoples, and of my deeply-rooted conviction that as Great Britain succeeds or fails in India, so to a large extent will she be judged by the High Court of History. If there is sound reason for not repeating this afternoon what I have so often been called upon to say elsewhere, I have been supplied by yourselves, gentlemen, with an equally valid reason for not advancing on to new or debatable ground. In your fourth paragraph you justly remark that it would be altogether out of place on an occasion like this to discuss the great public questions of the day, and that you would not be justified in soliciting an expression of my opinions with regard to them at so early a date. I observe with pleasure that your disclaimer in the former respect has not prevented you from conveying to me with considerable amplitude and with abundance of argument your own views on several of those topics. I say "with pleasure," because while you deprecate discussion or the premature extraction of any pronouncement from me, it must yet be an advantage to me to be made acquainted, as early as possible, with the attitude that is adopted towards these subjects by the important Association to which you belong. I take note, therefore, of what you say with regard to Local Self-Government, to the separation of Judicial and Executive functions and to the employment of natives of India in the service of the State; and while deferring to your canon that any utterance on these questions is not at present called for from me, I may yet be at liberty to add that they are topics which have constantly occupied my attention, and will, no doubt, while I am in India, frequently come under my eye. I would observe, however, that they are questions, some of which are of a controversial character, and admit of a good deal of debate;

and which are not settled, even though they be advanced, by a consideration of one side of the case only. It will be my duty to look into both sides, and to decide, so far as decision is called for, impartially, and without fear or favour. In the discharge of this duty I cannot always expect to carry with me the assent, or even the approbation, but I hope that I may at least never forfeit the respect, of the community which I regard as so high an honour, while energy and hope are still strong within me, to serve.

REPLY TO THE LAHORE MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[On the 30th March, 1899, at the Government House at Lahore, in reply to an address of welcome from the local Municipality, the Viceroy spoke as follows]:—

YOUR Honor and gentlemen,—I am glad at this early stage of my period of office to have the pleasure of visiting the historic and important city of Lahore. Every Viceroy must desire to become as soon as possible acquainted with the Punjab, and with its capital. A good deal of the success and the greater part of the tranquillity of his administration will be decided by what passes during his term upon the frontiers of this province. In its leading city he will observe the relics of a kingly past. He will be brought into contact with a race that still begets, not merely men, but heroes, and he will have the opportunity of consulting with the officers upon whose tact and experience the management of what are more than provincial interests in the main depends. If in my case, these experiences are not entirely novel, they do not render it any the less agreeable to me to return as Viceroy to a locality which I have more than once visited as a student,

and which has always possessed for me a peculiar fascination.

We are in the habit in England of celebrating important anniversaries in our history, with the object either of recalling great events, or of commemorating great men. I cannot fail, therefore, to notice upon the present occasion that yesterday, when I arrived at Lahore, was the exact fiftieth anniversary of the day on which the treaty was signed by which the Punjab was included in the dominions of the British Crown. Were the Gevernor-General now living who concluded that treaty, he might indeed congratulate himself upon the issues of his policy, and upon the reception accorded half a century later to his eleventh successor in that high office.

While I sympathise with you in the sufferings from famine and plague which have in recent years visited the Punjab, in common with so many other parts of India, I may yet congratulate you upon having escaped far more lightly than some of them have done. As the head of the Government, I cannot be insensible to your gratifying recognition both of the efforts of the administration in India and of the generosity of the British public. They have not merely contributed greatly to the mitigation of your hardships, but they have testified to the unity of the interest and sentiment which it is my desire to encourage in both countries.

In the fourth paragraph of your address you assure me of loyal support from the inhabitants of this Province in the pursuance of a policy that shall at once protect and pacify your frontiers. This is not the occasion for any pronouncement upon frontier affairs. It will be sufficient for me to say that my desire is to keep India safe, to respect tribal

independence, to be friendly to those who will be friendly, but firm towards those who attack without provocation. No man can forecast what may happen in a region so fertile in surprises as the Indian border; but I shall perhaps not err if I record my own conviction that frontier politics are not an exact science, and that their prudent management is less dependent upon hard-and-fast rules than it is upon methods and manners, and, still more, upon men. The ideal frontier is that in respect of which its own sons are largely enlisted in its defence.

In the next place, you call my attention to the efforts which you have long been making, and are continuing to make, for the improvement of the drainage and water-supply of your city. I have been brought up in England as a member of a political party whose leader once prescribed for it the motto "Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas." I have, therefore, what I may almost call a hereditary political prepossession in favour of such exertions; which, I may observe, are even more urgently called for in the conditions of an Eastern climate, an Eastern soil, and Eastern habits of life, than they are in the West.

Having thus appealed to a predisposition upon which you can safely rely, you proceed to ask me to evince my sympathies by reducing the rate of interest upon a loan which you have already contracted with the Government as well as upon another for which you are about to apply. That the Government do not take altogether the same view of the question as yourselves, is apparent from the fact that you included the same appeal in your address to Lord Elgin five years ago, Its repetition in substantially the same form now would seem to indicate that you have not been able to

convince the Supreme Government in the interim. It will, of course, be both my duty and my pleasure to consider any fresh application that may reach me from your Government which is the proper channel of communication; nor will there be any predisposition on my part to treat such an appeal from the exclusive standpoint of official or financial pedantry. I must, however, point out to you on the one hand, that in every country in the world State loans to local bodies are only granted upon a margin beyond the actual burden incurred by the State, because its credit is to a certain extent diminished by this hypothecation of its resources; on the other hand, that there is a growing tendency in India to regard the State as a milch-cow, whose duty it is to provide universal sustenance, whereas the real function of the State as a money-lender is to lend in quarters which cannot borrow on their own account, rather than to supplement and to prop up an independent and already existing credit.

You conclude by inviting my attention and support to the provision of technical education in the Punjab, either by the founding of suitable institutions, or by the gift of grants-in-aid. By technical education I understand you to mean the sort of education that will fit a man for the professions of life, rather than for the arm-chair in the study. In this respect I concur with your aspirations, and I have ascertained that the Local Government already support a Medical College, a Veterinary College, a school of Art, and a number of Industrial schools, and that the number of pupils under technical training in the Punjab exceeds 2,000.

There are two observations, however, which I am tempted to make in this connection. In England such matters as technical education are largely taken up and pressed forward

by Municipal Corporations. [May I ask if the Lahore Municipality have taken any independent steps on behalf of the interest which they have so much at heart? The second observation is this: Technical education while not precluding State assistance, may be largely assisted by private entrerprise. I have heard of one such Industrial school at Rawalpindi in this province, but of one alone. Grants-in-aid are available on easy terms for any similar institutions that may be founded and if the demand be as urgent as is represented, there should be little difficulty in enlisting public or private generosity up to the point at which the State may legitimately be called upon to assist.

In conclusion, allow me to thank you, gentlemen, for your loyal address, which I understand it is intended to enclose in a specimen of the silver work of Lahore. I would give a great deal to revive the ancient art industries of this once ingenious and artistic country.

REPLY TO THE MUTTRA MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[On the 4th December, 1899, the Municipality of Muttra, presented the Viceroy with an address of welcome. His Excellency replied as follows]:—

MR. Chairman, and Members of the Municipal Board of Muttra, I have been brought to this city by my desire, wherever I can in India, to see the main centres of population and the sites of history or religious importance, as well as to show my own interest in that which is invested with interest or with sanctity in the eyes of the people. Muttra has been for so many centuries associated with memories of religious devotion or of secular power that its name occupies no mean

place among Indian cities; and although the monuments of successive religions have for the most part been mutilated or swept out of existence by the iconoclastic zeal of rival faiths, its sanctity in Hindoo eyes has remained unimpaired; while, during a period of close upon a century that has elapsed since it passed under British rule, it has recovered that material opulence and dignity of aspect in keeping with its illustrious past. It is a striking fact that, at the close of the century of which I am speaking, I, as Viceroy of India, should be addressed by a Municipality, itself a British institution, successfully introduced into an almost exclusively Hindoo city, which attributes to British ascendancy and influence the revival of its prestige and renown. To one among the gifts of Western civilization, as you have indicated, are especially due both the rehabilitation of the ancient sanctity and the growth of the modern prosperity of this place. I speak of the railroad, which brings pilgrims in tens of thousands to your shrines, and exports the rich harvests of grain from your markets. I have myself, in the course of my Oriental travels, seen enough of hardships endured by bands of pious devotees wending their way for weary months across mountains and deserts in order to visit the hallowed places of their faith, to be able to appreciate the benefit to you of the means of locomotion that carries the pilgrim to your very doors. When Muttra has been linked with the broad-gauge system of railways by the construction of the Agra-Delhi chord, your advantages in this respect will be increased, while the connection should give great impetus to local trade.

I believe that it is with justice that the Municipality has claimed credit, in the address which has just

been read to me, for the good sanitation, and for the efficient local government of the city. I understand that the Lodging House Act of 1892, which was passed in order to secure a more vigilant control of house accommodation in Muttra, has been administered with much tact and discretion by the board; and I think, therefore, that I am entitled to congratulate you upon the results. You have mentioned with reasonable pride the liberal contributions that are made in Muttra, both to the charitable entertainment of poor travellers and to the alleviation of exceptional distress. I am glad to hear that the Municipal Board takes the lead in these eleemosynary undertakings and that, at the same time, it does not ignore the claims of education or of medical relief. In the circumstances of the present winter, though they are fortunately much less severe in this neighbourhood than they are in other parts of India, an unusual demand will probably be made upon your generosity, and I rejoice to hear that private charity is coming forward to supplement the necessarily limited assistance which you are able to render form the Municipal funds.

In conclusion let me thank you for the agreeable terms in which you have welcomed Lady Curzon and myself to your town. Every place that we go to deepens, by the warm-hearted reception that it affords to us, our interest in this delightful country and strengthens my desire to utilise my term of office, in so far as I have the opportunity and the strength, in the service of its people.



REPLY TO THE BRINDAVAN MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[On the 5th December, 1899, in reply to an address of welcome from the Municipal Board of Brindavan, the Viceroy spoke as follows]:—

MR. Chairman and members of the Municipal Board of Brindavan,—I have learnt, with no small interest, from the address that I am only the second Viceroy who has visited the picturesque and sacred town of Brindavan. I once saw an album of photographs of the temples and shrines of this famous spot, and I resolved that, if ever again I found myself in the neighbourhood, Brindavan should at all hazards be included in my itinerary.

A great and becoming reverence is paid by humanity to the birth-place of heroes, and to the sanctuaries of nations. Whatever has attracted the enthusiasm or has inspired the devotion of large masses of mankind, is deserving of more than a superficial attention, since it is by such sentiments that men have, as a rule, been impelled to exceptional deeds. In Brindavan the piety of your devotees has adorned this locality with some of the most magnificent temples that have been erected in modern times—all of them, I may remark, under the secure and even-handed protection of British rule. But your most considerable ancient structure, the temple of Govind Deva, which I have seen described as the most impressive religious edifice, erected by Hindoo art in Northern India, also owes its restoration to the British Government, which, twenty-five years ago, allotted a sum of more than Rs. 30,000 to the task.

I do not quote this fact so much as illustrating the considerate impartiality which the supreme power has consistently displayed in India towards the sectaries of rival creeds, as

because it exemplifies what, in my opinion, is one of the primary duties of the Government in this country. I regard the stately, or beautiful, or historic fabrics of a bye-gone age, independently of the purpose for which they were set up or the faith to which they were dedicated, as a priceless heir-loom, to be tenderly, and almost religiously, guarded by succeeding generations; and during my administration of the Government of India, no one shall find me niggardly or grudging in the practical realisation of this aim. We are not ordinarily so rich in originality ourselves as to afford to allow memorials of an earlier and superior art or architecture to fall into ruin, and I accept the conservation of the ancient monuments of India as an elementary obligation of the Government.

When Lord Ripon came here in 1881 the Municipality which his legislation had called into being, might have been described as still in its cradle. I am now confronted with a healthy adult, which has since justified itself by its works. In keeping the town of Brindavan clean and healthy, in safeguarding the health of thousands of pilgrims, who annually crowd your festivals and fairs, and in warding off the pestilence from your doors, the Municipal Board has acquitted itself with credit in a delicate and onerous task. I am glad that you recognize the sagacious advice in this respect that you have received from your present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Antony Macdonnell.

In the concluding words of your address you ask me to convey to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress an expression of your deep and earnest feelings of devotion. I am well aware that it is solely as her representative that I am accorded the friendly welcome that you have extended to me this morning, and

in conveying to Her Majesty your loyal message, I feel that I may truthfully assure her, in the opening words of your address, that she is regarded in this remote, but not insignificant Indian town, not merely as a Sovereign, but as the Royal mother of her faithful subjects.

REPLY TO THE AGRA MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[The Viceroy reached Agra at 5 p. m., on the 5th December, 1899, and was presented with an address of welcome by a deputation of the Municipal Commissioners of Agra. The Viceroy replying to the address said] :—

MR. Chairman and gentlemen,—There was an old saying in Europe according to which all roads were declared to lead to Rome. This was a confession of the political and ecclesiastical importance of the imperial city. May we not similarly say in India that all roads lead to Agra? Hither comes the traveller of every nationality and clime, intent upon seeing the incomparable memorials of a by-gone age; hither comes the merchant drawn to a locality which is yearly becoming more and more an emporium of trade; and here, in due course, is to be seen each successive Viceroy, alternately engaged in a reverent contemplation of the marvellous relics of the past, and in a study of the new phenomena which the restless energy and commotion of the modern life are perpetually introducing to his gaze.

There is a further sense in which Agra may be said to be increasingly becoming a junction of the ways. Already three railway systems meet in your city, which has become, next to Delhi, the principal railway centre of Northern India, and which will attain an even greater importance when the new

line has been constructed, which is to connect you, *via* Muttra, with that old capital of the Mogul Empire. To one, before whose eyes the past and present are always mingling, as at Agra, in the mysterious haze of interwoven fancy and fact, there is something peculiarly dramatic in the emulous nineteenth century enterprise of these two great cities, which, three hundred years ago, looked out upon each other from their separate sites on the bank of the sacred river with their rival coronets of domes and minarets and palace towers.

You have reminded me in your address that you have been able to turn these advantages of position and communication to a very practical acd remunerative service in the past few months. They have enabled Agra to figure as a great distributing centre for the relief of the neighbouring States and districts that have been suffering from the aggravated scarcity that we all deplore. The North-West Provinces and Oudh have poured their superfluous stores of grain into this city so rapidly that the rolling-stock has sometimes proved inadequate to carry them, while simultaneously the country roads have been thronged with carts bringing in grass from the interior of the district. From Agra both of these supplies have been discharged again into the distressed States of Rajputana and even over a still wider area.

If the sufferings of others have thus proved to your merchants a source of commercial gain, they need not damp your legitimate satisfaction at having found yourselves in a position to lend assistance to your neighbours, while I hope that you will have been careful not to deplete your own resources, in view of contingencies by which, should the winter rains fall short of their normal volume, you might yourselves be gravely affected in the future. For the present I am glad to learn that there is no prospect of such an emergency. The district

appears to be well provided with wells and canals, and in spite of the failure of the autumnal rainfall the total outturn of the year's harvest will, I am told, exceed an eight-anna crop. When the test works, to which allusion has been made, were started last month, they did not fill, and the city poor-house still happily attracts but a few inmates. These are favourable symptoms, but they do not exempt you from the duty of unremitting vigilance, since the experience of the past summer supplies offers but little ground for confidence, either in the recurrence of normal conditions, or in the fulfilment of meteorological forecasts.

I am glad to learn, now that the affairs of your Corporation have been placed upon a sounder basis, that you are about to proceed with the final measures still required to ensure a full and adequate water-supply for the city, and also with the new drainage works that are necessitated as a complement to the above scheme. Our standards in both respects are much more exacting even than those of the preceding generation, and a municipality that furnishes its citizens with decent homes, pure water, and well-flushed drains, from a revenue raised by equitable taxation and administered with honesty, is one that will find quite enough to fill its own hands, and that will deserve well of the public.

You have not erred in calling my attention, even in a passing paragraph, to the glorious monuments of the past that have made the name of Agra a household word throughout the civilised world. I said, in my reply to the municipal address that was presented to me at Brindavan this morning, that I regarded the conservation of national monuments as among the first duties of the Government, and if such be my views, you may imagine with what scrupulous

and jealous care I shall apply this canon to the case of the priceless relics of the Mogul epoch at Agra. The British nation has, I hope, now purged itself of the spirit of stupid and unlettered Vandalism, which led it, in earlier days, wherever possible, to turn a disused palace in India into a barrack, and to obliterate, with a uniform whitewash, the exquisite decorations of the classical age.

An immense amount of care has been devoted in recent times to the examination, the illustration, the preservation and repair of the principal monuments at Agra, and at the present date large sums are being annually expended upon the upkeep of the Taj, of the palace in the Fort, of the tomb of Akbar at Secundra, and upon his deserted town of Fatehpur Sikri. I shall examine all these buildings, which are already well known to me, with the most minute care, and I shall not rest satisfied until, in each case, the structure has been rendered secure against the ravages of further decay, and has received such attention as may be feasible and desirable in the faithful restoration or reproduction of that which has been injured or destroyed. With these memorials of a vanished epoch the modern world, with its different objects and ideals can never aspire to compete. In a more utilitarian age we expend the public funds not upon forts and palaces and tombs, but upon institutions of ascertained worth and of public value: Hospitals, colleges, and schools have taken the place of the royal fabrics of the past.

I rejoice to hear that in this respect Agra is not falling short of its ancient traditions, and that its monuments of the nineteenth century, if they are not magnificent, are, at any rate, useful, and, instead of gratifying the costly tastes of kings and princes, are devoted to the unpretentious service of the community.

In thanking you, gentlemen, for this address, may I add one word of especial acknowledgment of the happy thought and the good taste that have suggested to you the presentation to me, in the place of the ordinary municipal casket, of this beautiful specimen of the *Pietra Dura* handicraft, for which Agra has always been renowned? It is a work which I have, on previous occasions, not merely studied in the glorious examples of the seventeenth-century art, but in the attempts of modern artificers to reproduce it, and from the cursory examination which I have, so far, been able to give to this table, I am led to think that your craftsmen retain a large measure of skill and ingenuity which rendered the architecture of this place so famous a few centuries ago. I should like myself that the specimens of this work should not merely be known to the visitors who come to Agra during the cold weather, but that it should gain a wider field of publicity and popularity, and I am convinced that my own possession of this table, for which I cordially thank you will have that tendency, so far as it is seen by my friends, and will encourage many who do not come to Agra, as well as those who do, to give orders which are certain to be well executed.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE ANJUMANI-ISLAMIA OF LAHORE.

[In reply to an address received from the Anjumani-Islamia of Lahore, His Excellency the Viceroy said] :—

IT has given me much pleasure to receive at your hands the eloquent complimentary address to which I am now called upon to reply. In visiting the Punjab, no one who has the

least acquaintance with the history of the past can fail to be aware that he is setting foot in a region which was once the seat of the Moslem Empire, powerful in its prime and magnificent even in its decay. The City of Lahore itself and its environs, with their still splendid relics of Mahomedan architecture, supply a witness not less proud than pathetic to this chapter of human history. The chapter is now concluded, and the sceptre and dominion have in this country and province passed away from Moslem hands. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable fact, and one that should be not without consolation to the followers of that faith, that although the Mogul Empire has long ceased to have any independent existence,—its prerogative and its possession are vested in a monarch whose sway extends over more Mahomedan subjects than any other ruler in the world, and who, in wresting from their ancestors the titular badge of sovereignty, has given them in return a personal security of life and property which even in the gorgeous days of Mogul dominion they can never be said to have enjoyed.

To me, who come here as the representative of the present illustrious occupant of that throne, it is especially pleasing to find that the Moslem community of the Punjab are conscious of these considerations, and through the medium of that important confraternity which has presented this address, are prepared to render such frank and forcible recognition thereto. When you speak of the inestimable benefits conferred upon India by British rule, the blessings of settled and civilised government, and the freedom of thought and belief which you owe to its dispensations I believe you to be recording not merely the facts of history, but your own sincere conviction. Such unsolicited testimony from so powerful a section of the community as that which your

co-religionists represent, is a striking answer to the nonsense which I sometimes hear and read in print about an India bleeding under British rule, nonsense which, as far as I can judge, finds little echo in India itself, but is sometimes retailed at the safe distance of 7000 miles by perfervid orators upon English platforms When further, you give utterance to the feelings of proud and affectionate loyalty which you entertain towards the Queen Empress, I believe you to be rendering no merely superficial homage of the lip, but, to be paying the heart's tribute of a grateful people. The knowledge, of which I am permitted to assure you, that from her distant home in England, Her Majesty is constantly making enquiries as to your welfare and interesting herself in schemes that have for their object your moral and educational progress, should stimulate the allegiance which already rests on solid foundations. I rejoice to hear that you will have before long in Lahore a visible reproduction of the person and features of that august sovereign; a memorial which, cast as it will be, in the imperishable material of bronze, will hand down, exempt from the ravages of decay, a personal monument of her just and benignant reign.

I notice with respectful sympathy the allusion made to the career and labours of your late leader, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The service of such men, pioneers of their generation, is however, by no means confined to their life-time. A great and noble work has in itself a vitality independent of and greater than that of its creator, and while the visible spark of the ethereal flame that flickers in the mortal body is soon quenched and dies, its transmitted essence continues to burn brightly in the living products of human genius and imagination. It behoves the Mahomedans of the Punjab to carry on the work which was inaugurated by their departed

leader, and to give to it a permanence and durability which will be the most fitting monument to his memory. Your aim should be to recognise the realities of the modern world in which you live, which is a world of competition and flux and change, and instead of expecting your environment to accommodate itself either to the traditions of the past or to the disabilities from which you may still suffer, to adapt yourselves by strenuous self-cultivation to the conditions which you have the capacity, if you will develop the resolution, to conquer. Here in the Punjab you are less than in other parts of India confronted with what you describe as the better equipped sections of the Indian people. You have an open field, upon which many of you have already won high and honourable distinction in the service of government. If you will perseveringly set yourselves to the acquisition of the learning which renders a man not a glib scholar but a useful citizen ; if instead of musing over the past you will strain all your energies towards the future ; and if in your own society and homes you will practise the elementary, but too often neglected, virtue of thrift, there is no reason why the Mahomedans of the Punjab should not recover a large measure of the influence which results not from territorial dominion but from the legitimate ascendancy of character and intelligence.

REPLY TO THE CAWNPORE MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[From Agra the Viceroy arrived at Cawnpore at noon on the 11th December, 1899. His Excellency was met at the Railway Station by a deputation of the Municipal Board who presented him with an address of welcome. His Excellency in reply spoke as follows]:—

MR. Chairman and Members of the Municipal Board of Cawnpore,—As you have remarked in your brief, but courteous, address, my visit to Cawnpore upon the present occasion is too short to admit of more than an interchange between us of friendly greetings, although from the records at my disposal I cannot ascertain that even so much as this has passed between my predecessors for many years and yourselves. Perhaps it may be that Cawnpore has attracted the itinerant steps of Viceroys less than other, but not more deserving, spots. Perhaps their visits have been associated with an inspection of the historic sites which render the name of this city one of painful, but honourable memory to Englishmen, rather than of the industrial or commercial undertakings which are now giving to it a novel, if less sentimental, fame. Perhaps it is that the development of Cawnpore into a great centre of manufacture and trade has been so rapid as almost to have eluded the attention of your rulers. It is in the main the latter phenomenon, *viz.*, the existence and growth of great manufacturing industries in this place, that has tempted me to halt for a few hours here this morning. The time will no doubt be quite inadequate for at all a thorough examination of the many factories, workshops, and mills that have converted Cawnpore in recent years into what may almost be described as the Manchester of Northern India, in which there has been sunk, as I am informed, a

capital of not lese than 1½ crores of Rupees, and which provides employment for an artisan population, including families and dependents, of something like 90,000 persons.

I only have leisure to-day to visit the Government Harness and Saddle Factory and Messrs. Cooper Allen and Company's Army Boot and Equipment Factory. These two enterprises alone employ between 5,000 and 6,000 hands, and their interest to any Viceroy must be great, both because of the striking evidence that they afford of the success of a policy dear at any rate to me, *viz.*, the encouragement of manufactures and industry in this country, whose population possesses so many aptitudes for operative toil, and because of the financial saving to Government that their institution has caused. I have little doubt that I shall be greatly interested in all that I see, and that Cawnpore will, in future, be invested in my mind with very tangible and stimulating recollections. Allow me to thank you, gentlemen, for your address, and for the handsome silver casket in which it is contained.

REPLY TO THE LUCKNOW MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[At Lucknow, on the 12th December, 1889, the Municipal commissioners waited on the Viceroy at Government House and presented an address of welcome. His Excellency replied as follows]:—

GENTLEMEN,—The complimentary and appreciative terms of your address serve to remind me that I have now been in India for nearly a year, while they encourage me by their sympathetic warmth to hope that I have not yet exhausted the welcome which was extended to me with so liberal a hand upon my arrival, and of which

I continue to receive fresh and no less generous instalments as I visit new localities and scenes. Though many parts of India are fairly familiar to me from the travels to which you have made allusion, this is the first time that I have found myself at Lucknow, and your city is already sacred to every Englishman for its dramatic and glorious memories, and interesting to every Viceroy as the capital of a great Province and the centre of a teeming population. It will fill a bright spot in my future memories both from the agreeable cordiality of the reception accorded to Lady Curzon and myself yesterday, and from the more stately ceremonial in which I am to take part to-morrow.

Your reference to my recent tour through the tracts of scarcity and destitution enables me by the sharp contrast to its experiences that is afforded by the umbrageous verdure and prosperous cultivation of this neighbourhood, to congratulate you both upon the completeness of your recovery from the famine of 1897, and upon the providential escape of this Province from a severe failure of crops in the present year.

Compared with some of your neighbours, you may call yourselves blessed. I am grateful for your kindly reference to my frequently expressed desire—a desire to which I think I may claim to have already given some practical form—to develop the industrial resources and to stimulate the commercial energies of the country. Upon this point I would say that a Viceroy, aided, if he be, and as I am, by able and experienced counsellors, can do something both by the removal of the previously existing shackles upon mercantile investment, and by imparting a tone of liberality, instead, of indifference, to the general attitude of Government. But he cannot do everything. He is dependent upon a sympathetic

and enterprising spirit among the business community, and the realisation of his aims is closely associated with the mysterious and incalculable factor of confidence which is not of very rapid growth in the mercantile bosom, but which it is the object of my colleagues and myself, by the financial policy that we have lately inaugurated, to foster and instil.

Among the densely populated Indian cities to which I have so far turned my steps, I do know of any, where problems that it behoves a municipality to solve have made a greater call upon prudence and economy than this place. Lucknow was not originally, or by nature, a great industrial or manufacturing centre. It enjoyed no external trade; it had expanded in a picturesque and crowded diffusion around the pivot of an Oriental Court. As a consequence when it was handed over under the British rule to the administration of a Municipal Committee, the latter found a city larger than the need of its reduced population, with streets and avenues and public works, the upkeep of which involved no slight drain upon local resources.

It would be ungenerous not to accord praise to those who have so sagaciously and successfully grappled with these difficulties, who have converted the surroundings of the city into spacious parks and gardens, and who have provided a sufficient and gratuitous supply of pure water to a native population of over a quarter of a million souls. These works have naturally constituted a heavy charge upon your municipal revenues, but I doubt not that, with the expansion of commerce that must follow an extended railway system, and with the gradual introduction of manufactories, in which respect there seems to me to be no very good reason why Lucknow should lag behind its neighbours, your financial

condition will improve, and you will be able to proceed with the drainage system which you already have in contemplation.

There is another respect in which, in common with other municipalities in these allied provinces, you are, I think, entitled to congratulation. From whatever source the plague bacillus may derive its original being, it cannot be disputed that insanitary conditions in populous centres are, so to speak, a forcing-house for its propagation. That the North-West Provinces and Oudh have escaped contagion during the recent recrudescence of the pest in other parts of India, may be attributed on the one hand, to the wise precautions taken by the experienced hand of your Lieutenant-Governor, and on the other, to the sanitary compaign that has been conducted by the Municipal Boards in the larger cities and towns. I hope that here and elsewhere they may continue to be rewarded by success.

I shall not fail to convey to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress the expression of your loyal sentiments which you have asked me to transmit to her. When I study the records and the speeches of Viceroys as far back as half a century ago, and find them the recipients of similar requests with regard to the same illustrious Sovereign, while it makes me feel a pigmy in knowledge in relation to this unique span of individual experience and authority, I am yet enabled to assure you that in her advanced years Her Majesty's interest in everything that passes in India is as fresh and eager as it was in the days when Lord Auckland was her first Governor-General. She will receive with a zest that never wavers or tires the account of the proceedings of the present week and the record of your heartfelt devotion on behalf, not merely

of myself, but of Lady Curzon, who is rejoiced to find in so typical an Oriental city as this, substantial proof of the well organised philanthropy of her countrymen. I thank you for your address and for our welcome to Lucknow.

SPEECHES IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FIRST SPEECH.

[On Friday the 13th January, 1899, His Excellency Lord Curzon for the first time presided at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council. In opening the proceedings of the Council, His Excellency addressed the members as follows]:—

YOUR Honour and Gentlemen,—In taking my seat for the first time at this table, I should like to say, before we advance to the proceedings of the morning, what an hour I conceive it to be to preside over this distinguished and representative body which is entrusted with the legislative work of the Government of India. I think I may claim a peculiar interest in the work of this council, for the reason that I happened to be the Minister, as Under-Secretary of State for India, who, in 1892, under the secretaryship of State of Lord Cross, had to conduct through the House of Commons the Indian Councils Bill of that year. To that Bill we owe the enlarged Constitution, and as I believe, the extended usefulness of the Council, and of the kindred, though smaller bodies in the other parts of India; and it is, therefore, with expectional pleasure that I find myself presiding here over a body which I assisted to launch into the later stage of its existence, and in which I feel myself entitled, therefore, to entertain a more than official concern. I hope, Gentlemen, that our deliberations may be characterised by the dignity which has always attended the proceedings of this Council,

and that they may redound to the advantage of the country and of its peoples. For my own part, I doubt not that I shall receive at your hands, as my predecessors have always done, the help which your greatly superior experience in Indian matters must put you in a position to afford.

ON THE SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council held at the Council Chamber on the 20th March, 1899, the Hon'ble Sir James Westland moved that the Bill to further amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, (popularly known as the "Sugar Duties Bill") be taken into consideration. In winding up the debate, His Excellency the President spoke as follows]: —

BEFORE I put the question that this bill be passed into law, I should like to make a few observations with regard to it. I have been glad to notice the complete unanimity that has prevailed with regard to the Bill in this Council—representative as it is of so many diverse and important interests. The Hon. Mr. Mehta indeed would have preferred that this bill should have been referred to a select Commitee—a contention to which I think that an adequate reply was given by Sir James Westland. I also understood him to urge that it might have been desirable that further enquiry should have taken place with respect to the subject-matter of this legislation. Well, I have always heard it made a reproach against the Indian Government that it is perpetually conducting enquiries, and very seldom acting upon them; and that reproach I, at any rate during my time of administration here, desire to escape.

The answer to my honourable friend, Mr. Mehta, is that we have been conducting enquiries for a whole year past. We have received representations from every leading Chamber of Commerce in the country, and from most, if not all the important firms connected with this industry. We have addressed observations to, and received replies from, the Governments of all the provinces and districts of India concerned. We should have had, if my honourable coileague's advice had been followed, to wait for the best part of another year before we introduced this legislation. We regarded the case as urgent, and we were not prepared to accept such a delay. At the same time I am glad to notice that the Hon. Mr. Mehta, although he delivered this criticism on a point of detail, did not withhold his assent, which I am certain that he is prepared to give, to the general principle of the measure. Then we have had on a previous occasion and again today a statement approving the Bill from the Hon. Mr. Allan Arthur, the distinguished representative of European mercantile interests in this capital, and finally, we have had two speeches from the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis and the Hon. Mr. Ananda Charlu which I take it we are entitled to regard as typical of the opinions that are held by those important sections of the Native community which they represent at this table. I am therefore, I think, justified in saying that, at any rate within these walls, complete unanimity has prevailed with regard to the principle of the Bill.

This complete unanimity here reflects an almost equally complete unanimity outside. There are, it is true, certain interests and certain Chambers of Commerce—Bombay and Karachi I may name—in which those interests are strongly

represented, which have not entirely concurred in the necessity for countervailing duties at this stage. Those representations are entitled to due consideration, but it is to be noted that they do not come from the areas where the sugarcane is grown, where the refineries exist, or where the real effect of the bounty system is felt. They represent in the main the interests neither of the producers nor of the consumers, but of the importing merchants. On the other hand, if I regard either the representations to which I have already referred and which have been received by us from the local governments, or the reception which our proposals have met with alike in the English and the Native Press of India, I do not hesitate to say that few measures have ever passed through this Council with a greater weight of qualified and homogeneous opinion behind them.

Now the first point that I desire to emphasise is this—that it is in the interests of India and of India alone, that this legislation has been proposed by us and that I have authorised the introduction of this Bill. It may be that our Bill may ultimately affect the action of other countries. It may more immediately touch the interests of certain of our own Colonies as well. Sir James Westland in his speech to-day has alluded to the representations that we have received from the Colony of Mauritius, a colony in which, in view of the enormous Indian population that is there engaged in labour, we here are bound to take a close interest, and whose welfare we should be glad, I am certain, consistently with our own, to subserve. It may be that this Bill will set an example of far-reaching significance, By some it may even be regarded as a factor in the Imperial problem. It is from such points of view that we may expect the measure to be examined, and

perhaps criticised, in the British Parliament in London. I do not deprecate such examination, or such criticism, conscious that it will not weaken, but will rather strengthen, our case. All I have to say here is that our conduct has not been determined by those considerations. We are exercising our own legislative competence, of our own initiative, though with the sanction and concurrence of the Secretary of State, to relieve India from an external competition, fortified by an arbitrary advantage, which can be shown to have already produced serious consequences upon our agriculture and manufactures, and which, if unarrested, is likely to produce a continuous and a dangerous decline.

There is another point upon which I must, in passing, say a word. I have been glad to notice that no one in this Council has ventured upon the argument that we are guilty of an economic heresy in our proposal to meet bounties by a countervailing duty. Bounties are in themselves an arbitrary, and in my opinion, a vicious, economic expedient designed in exclusively selfish interests. They are inconsistent with Free Trade, because they extinguish freedom, and they reverse the natural currents of trade. To meet them by a countervailing duty is to redress the balance and to restore the conditions under which trade resumes its freedom. I do not think that we need pay much attention, therefore, to the mutterings of the high priests at Free Trade shrines. Their oracles do not stand precisely at their original premium. This is not a question of economic orthodoxy or heterodoxy; it is a question of re-establishing a fiscal balance which has been deflected for their own advantage and to our injury by certain of our foreign competitors.

Moreover, if the utilitarian basis upon which the doctrines of Free Trade are supposed in the last instance to rest,

namely, that they regard the interests of the greater number, be examined, out of their own mouths would the prophets of those doctrines, in India at any rate, be condemned. For here we are dealing, in the case of the sugar industry, with a population, the vast majority of which are not consumers of a cheap imported article, but are themselves producers of the raw material, and in their capacity as consumers consume for the most part the article which they have themselves produced and worked up. In other words, the conditions that prevail in England are completely reversed. The majority in England consists of poor consumers to whom it is indispensable that the price of sugar should be low. The minority consists of capitalist producers. On the other hand, the majority in India consists of poor producers whose industry is at stake; the minority consists of well-to-do consumers of refined sugar who are not likely, in my judgment, to be affected seriously, if indeed they are at all affected, by enhanced prices resulting from our legislation, but who, if they were, could not claim that their interests should override those of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Now I shall not recapitulate the figures which have been laid before you with so much ability and clearness by Sir James Westland when he introduced the Bill a week ago; but let me remind you of the facts which have been established in the discussion. They are these: Fistly, that there has in the last few years been an enormous increase in the importation of beet sugar into India from Germany and Austria—a fact which is unquestionably due to the loss by the American market of those countries in consequence on the imposition of countervailing duties by the Government of

the United States in 1897 ; secondly, that in the same period the rupee price of sugar in this country has seriously fallen ; thirdly, that there has been a contraction in nearly every part of India in the area under sugar cultivation, the total reduction being estimated at as much as 13 per cent. ; fourthly, that there has been a widespread and a still unarrested closing of native refineries, a phenomenon which is capable of one explanation, and one alone ; for while it may be argued that the decline in the total area under cultivation may be partially due to other causes, such as famine and the low prices resulting from famine, that this is not the case in respect of the factories which have been closed is demonstrated by the fact that in districts where cultivation has increased or remained stationary—in other words, in districts which have remained unaffected by famine—the refineries nevertheless have been, and still are being, shut.

From these facts it appears to me to be impossible to draw any other conclusion than that this decline in an Indian industry—in which I have seen it stated that two millions of people are employed, and in which the value of the annual crop has been estimated at nearly 20 millions sterling—is due to the importation of beet sugar at a price below the natural cost of production, plus the cost of transport, in other words, to the unrestricted competition of a bounty-fed article.

Now this is a state of affairs which neither the Government of India, nor I as the head of that Government, from whatever point of view we may regard it, can contentedly accept. If we look at it from the point of view of the agriculturist, we cannot sit still and look on while he is impoverished by the economic exigencies of Continental nations. If we regard it from the point of view of native manufactures, what would be the meaning and value of

the speeches which I have made since I came to India about the encouragement of native enterprise, if I were to acquiesce in the tacit suppression of this promising branch of indigenous industry? We ought, on the contrary, I think, to stimulate and to encourage its development by every means in our power. Finally, if I approach the question from the point of view of the Government, while we should be strangely constituted if we could contemplate with equanimity preventible growth of an agrarian and industrial grievance which must sharply react upon the general prosperity of the people, we should also be poor stewards of our own estate if we were to acquiesce in a condition of affairs that must detrimentally affect both the land assessments and the canal returns, and in this way jeopardise the ultimate revenues of the State.

These are the grounds—which I have endeavoured to state in their wider rather than in their narrower aspect—that have induced the Government of India to introduce this Bill and that enable me confidently to recommend it to the acceptance of this Council and of the public.

ON THE 1899-1900 BUDGET STATEMENTS.

[The discussion of the Financial Statements for 1899—1900 took place in Council on the 27th March, 1899, His Excellency Lord Curzon presiding. In closing the debate, the Viceroy spoke as follows]:—

I am glad to think that I need not detain my honourable colleagues by remarks of any great length. The discussion to which we have listened has been far from devoid of interest; but although it has elicited differences of opinion, such as may legitimately be expected, it has, on the whole, been marked by an unusual unanimity of sentiment, due, no

doubt, in the main to the prosperous circumstances in which we find ourselves, but nevertheless gratifying both to the Government and to the Financial Member with whose last Indian Budget we are dealing. The official life of Sir James Westland, to whose affecting farewell we have none of us listened without emotion, has been, as he has just told us, indissolubly bound up with the finances of India. This is the seventh Budget that he has introduced into the Legislative Council of Government. Few Chancellors of the Exchequer in England, where the conditions of public employment are more permanent, have introduced a greater number. I doubt if any Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer has introduced so many. In neither country, I imagine, has any guardian of the public purse been confronted in the course of his official career with more marked vicissitudes of fortune than has Sir. J. Westland. He is happy, I think, in this—that his fat years have followed upon his lean years, instead of preceding them; and I can well believe that the anxieties and worries which have distracted him in times past, are now forgotton in the glow of honourable satisfaction with which he can regard the termination of his labours, and can congratulate India, not less than himself, that he leaves her upon an ascending plane of material and economic progress. If the Finance Member in India is chided and reproached for his misfortune in bad times, at least he should not be robbed of his share of the credit for better days; and I am sure that the Council will cordially join me in assuring Sir James Westland of our grateful appreciation of his long and arduous labours, and in wishing him equal success in whatever work he may set his hand to in the future. With regard to his speech, to which we have just listened, I would also say this—and I

would say it from personal knowledge—that he represented himself as a much less charitable individual than he really is. To myself it is, I confess, a source of no slight pleasure that the first financial statement to which I should have listened in this Council has been one of so gratifying a description. My belief, more than once expressed on previous occasions, in the economic vitality of this country, in the solidity and range of its resources, and in its capacity for an industrial expansion far beyond what has hitherto been deemed possible, is confirmed by the experience of the past year. I recognise that the circumstances have been exceptionally favourable. War has fortunately ceased upon the frontier. There has been a high and an almost uniform rate of exchange. There has been a notable expansion in certain industries. The harvests have been abundant. On the other hand there have been corresponding sources of depression and alarm in the recurrence of plague, which neither the resources of science nor the utmost administrative vigilance have so far succeeded in defeating, and which has made heavy inroad upon the Imperial as well as upon the Provincial exchequers. That the net result of these contending influences should yet be a balance of 4¾ crores is indicative to my mind not merely of uncommon powers of recuperation, but of a marvellous latent reserve of strength. We have been criticised in these circumstances for not having proposed a remission of taxation; and that criticism has found capable expression in more than one qurarter at this table to-day. I quite understand, and I do not in any degree deprecate, such criticism. It is the natural and legitimate desire of taxpayers all over the world to obtain relief from what they regard, or at least represent, as their burdens, and to feel the passion for relief swelling in

their bosoms in proportion to the apparent existence of the means for satisfying it. I doubt not that the payers of income-tax would have welcomed an extension of the scale of exemption. The Hon. the Maharaja of Darbhanga pleaded their cause with great ability and was anxious for the extension of that scale from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,500; the Hon. Mr. Charlu took much the same view, and the Hon. Mr. La Touche pleaded for some relaxation of the same system. I may add also that it is equally the desire of Governments not merely to earn the popularity that may result from a remission of taxation—although my experience is that popularity so won is a very ephemeral asset—but also in the interests of good Government itself to reduce the burdens upon the people. But there are considerations in this case, both normal and exceptional, which decided us to take the opposite course. The normal consideration of which I speak was that of ordinary caution. Though I have spoken of the astonishing recovery of the past year, though I believe it to represent a much more than transient improvement in the resources of the country, and though Sir James Westland budgets for a surplus of nearly four crores in the coming year, I am yet too conscious of the part played by what I may describe as the swing of the pendulum in the economic world to be willing to sacrifice any portion of a hardly-won advantage by being in too great a hurry. The Hon. Sir Griffith Evans has reminded us that India is a land of surprises and these surprises are liable to start into existence equally in the spheres of politics and finance. Even in the more sober atmosphere of England we have had during the past year a startling instance of this phenomenon; for whereas in the plenitude of our wealth and substance, the Government of which I was a member, a year ago, agreedto a remis-

sion of taxation by which we forfeited in the case of one duty alone a sum of nearly 1½ million sterling, without, so far as I remember, exciting any gratitude from anybody; within the space of a year the balance has so completely swung round owing to unexpected calls that, if what I read in the papers be correct, there will be no cause for surprise should the forthcoming Budget contain proposals for the recovery of considerably more than was then remitted. To reduce taxation in one year and to reimpose it in the next is a condition to which Governments have frequently been driven by unforeseen events. But it is one which it is better to avoid by an excess of prudence at the time than to meet with whatever ingenuity at a later period.

The special circumstances which more even than these general considerations decided us against any remission of taxation in the forthcoming year are known to all. It is not unlikely that we may be invited before long to inaugurate momentous changes in the financial system of the Indian Empire. What these changes may be none of us as yet know, and we reserve our entire liberty to examine and consider them when they are submitted to us by Her Majesty's Government as the result of the expert inquiry now proceeding in London. But it must be obvious to the least informed that the prospects of any such change as we may decide to undertake must depend very largely upon the position and the credit that we enjoy at the time in the eyes of the world: that they will be enhanced by the evidences of financial strength to which a large balance and expanding resources are the best testimony; and that they might be correspondingly imperilled by any stringency or insecurity here. We may be called upon to take steps that will affect the entire future of Indian trade and finance. We cannot afford, there-

fore, to slacken our hold upon any implement that may conduce to their success. There is another respect in which we may be thought to have carried caution to excessive lengths. The Honourable member has framed his estimates for the next year upon the basis of a $15\frac{3}{4}d.$ rupee. This has been variously explained as typical of the prudence of one whom I may, perhaps, without offence, describe as "an old financial hand," or as prompted by a chivalrous desire to present a larger surplus than is apparent on the surface to his successor. I understand that both interpretations have been repudiated by the honourable member to-day. May I, however, add—and I do not think that I shall err on the opposite side of optimism in so doing—that this under-estimation, for so I think it may be called, must not be taken to indicate the least want of confidence on the part of the Indian Government. For my part I have every belief that the rupee will retain throughout the ensuing year the same position that it has done during the past; and I may even go further and say that I shall be disappointed if we are not able to invest the 16*d.* rupee with a greater durability than any which it has hitherto attained. I am glad to have heard in the speeches of those Honourable Members who have special knowledge of the circumstances and needs of outlying Provinces, notably in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Rees, speaking for Madras, and I think, if he will allow me to say so, speaking for interests rather more wide than the Railways of Madras, and in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Spence, speaking for Bombay, a generous recognition of the assistance that has been rendered by the Government of India to those of the Subordinate Governments who have been in distress. For a few months before the Budget is finally made up, and while the lips of the Finance Member are still sealed, he is the

object either of passionate objurgations or of piteous appeals from those who think that they are going to get less than their due share of the Imperial superabundance, and who in the agony of their apprehension not infrequently appeal to the large-hearted impartiality of the Viceroy to rescue them from the niggardly prepossessions of the Finance Member. Such, at least, has been the experience of Sir James Westland and myself during the past few weeks. Meanwhile the Finance Member holds his counsel, and behind a front of iron conceals a melting heart. The result is that now that the figures have transpired, it is, I believe, generally admitted that we have dealt liberally with our suffering brethren.

The Hon. Mr. Mehta, indeed, argued that inadequate treatment had been given to his Province of Bombay. Now let me assure him that I have specially interested myself in the fate and fortunes of Bombay. I have been in frequent correspondence with its Governor on the subject and I have been most anxious that financial justice should be tempered with some financial mercy. I believe that the Government of Bombay are themselves, on the whole, content with the treatment meted out to them; and I was glad to find that the Honourable Member, although he commenced his remarks in a tone of criticism, ended them in a spirit of generous, and, I might almost say, of wholesale congratulation. The ordinary grants, as I may call them, that we have made to the Provincial Governments, in relief of the heavy burdens which have been laid upon them by the direct charges of plague and famine, amount to forty-two lakhs. We have given to them in addition an extraordinary sum of seventy lakhs, a gift which, while it is no criterion of ordinary opportunities or deserts, and while it must not be interpreted by them as a

precedent upon which they can rely, is yet, I hope, fairly proportionate on the present occasion both to our abundance and to their needs. The Provincial contract system is one for the successful working of which a good deal of consideration is required at both ends of the scale; and I hope that the Provincial governments, while they press upon us the obligations of munificence, will not lose sight of the corresponding obligation of economy.

I am entirely in agreement with some of the remarks that fell from the Hon. Mr. Arthur with respect to the present high rate of telegraphic charges. I regard that rate as inimical to trade, as being a barrier to the ever-growing intercourse between India and the mother-country, and as being obsolete and anomalous in itself. I have already considered the question, and I may say that I have placed it in a category of twelve important questions, all of them waiting to be taken up, all of them questions which ought to have been taken up long ago, and to which, as soon as I have the time, I propose address myself, What these questions are, I do not propose to relieve the curiosity of Honorable Members by now informing them. It is conceivable that I may have to add a thirteenth to their number in respect of the appeal of the Honorable Sir Griffith Evans with regard to the Small Cause Court Judges in the mofussil. That is a question with which I am necessarily not myself familiar, but while I understand the Finance Minister to have answered him on the point of finances the impression left on me by Sir Griffith Evans' remark was this, that he was arguing the case not from the point of view of pay, but from that of character. It is from that point of view that the question is deserving of the attention of the

Indian Government, which attention I shall be glad to give to it. But another question has been raised by an Honourable Member sitting at this table which I am unable to add to the dozen already alluded to. I am unable to add to it the suggestion of the Honourable Mr. Chitnavis that I should acquiesce in the reduction of the British soldiers in India. I can assure him that no such proposal will form part of the programme of the Government of India during my time. As regards Railways, Sir James Westland has indicated in his Budget Statements that for the moment our motto is *festina lente*, although this must not be taken to mark any policy of revulsion from that which has lately been pursued. There are times, however, at which it is desirable to go a little slower than the maximum pace. I am, however, rather in sympathy with what fell from the Maharaja of Darbhanga concerning the encouragement of light gauge feeder railways; and since I came here I have authorised the construction of some hundreds of miles of such lines. I should say in this context that one of the subjects to which I propose to turn my attention while at Simla is the whole question of the policy of Government in respect of railways in India, and our attitude towards private enterprise in particular. I am not satisfied with a condition of affairs which lays the Indian Government open to the charge—whether it be true or false I have not as yet the knowledge that enables me to pronounce—of indifference to the offers of assistance that are made to it, and of hostility to the investment of British capital in the country. We may hope much from fixity of exchange, if we can succeed in establishing it. I should be glad if the Government could at the same time by its own attitude encourage what I hope may before long be a pronounced inclination towards India of the financial currents

in the mercantile world. The subject of irrigation is one that appeals very closely to my concern. We are all familiar with the aphorism about the service of the statesman who can make two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before and in India we do not need to be reminded of the direct and almost immediate benefit to the agrarian class that results from an increase in the area of cultivation. I shall not embark upon any discussion of the rival advantages of irrigation and railways, because such a discussion would not be germane to this debate, and is in reality futile. The Government of India has never been inclined to balance its duties in these respects one against the other and would, I think, be unwise to do so. Nevertheless the annual allotment of seventy-five lakhs which has for some time been made to irrigation might, I think, with advantage be extended; and I have persuaded Sir J. Westland in his estimate for the forthcoming year to give me another ten lakhs for that purpose. I had asked for more, and he would have been willing to give me more. But a scheme of irrigation is not a project upon which you can start quite as expeditiously or as easily as you can upon a railroad. In the first place, the best areas for the purpose have already been utilised. Fresh schemes are likely to be less profitable, and therefore, require more consideration than their predecessors. In the next place, very careful surveys require to be made, levels have to be taken, a staff must be got together, an investigation of existing rights has in all probability to be undertaken. It is not the case, therefore, as is sometimes imagined, that as soon as the cheque is drawn, it can at once, so to speak, be cashed in terms of tanks and canals. For these reasons it has been found that we are not in a position in the forthcoming year to spend more than an additional ten lakhs

upon irrigation ; although in succeeding years, if our finances continue to flourish, I hope that we may present to you a more extended programme. I am about, in the course of a visit to the Punjab, to inspect the great irrigation works that have been taken from the Chenab River, and which were favourably alluded to in the speech of the Hon. Pandit Suraj Kaul, and I shall hope to learn a good deal there both concerning the present system and as to future requirements. It only remains for me to thank you for your co-operation in the labours of the Session which is now about to conclude, to terminate this discussion and to announce that this Council is adjourned *sine die*.

ON THE NEW CURRENCY BILL.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 8th September, 1899, at the Viceregal Ledge, Simla, the Hon'ble Mr. Dawkins moved for leave to introduce a Bill to further amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1870 and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1882. Before putting the motion, His Excellency the President said]:—

THE situation in which we are placed to-day, the circumstances in which the Finance Member has just spoken in introducing this Bill, are not without an element of surprise. If any one had prophesied two years ago, or even one year ago, that in response to the unanimous finding of a composite body of experts at Home, in accordance with the recommendations of the Secretary of State, and, so far as I can judge, with the almost unbroken concurrence of public opinion both in India and England, the Government of India would to-day be introducing a Bill to establish a gold standard with a gold currency in this country, he would have been laughed at as a dreamer of dreams. The bimetallists would have scouted him as a bigoted doctrinaire, and the

champions of free silver would possibly have denounced him as a traitor. Even when the Committee was launched and already fairly under way, I venture to think that the likelihood of a unanimous report exceeded the expectations even of the most sanguine. Indeed, I remember the charge being brought against the Committee that so evenly had rival interests been balanced, and of such a motley of opinions was it composed, that its deliberations could have no other result than to add to the already existing confusion, and once again throw the future of the Indian currency into the crucible. We have been saved from such a catastrophe by the sagacity and common sense which characterised the proceedings of the Committee, by the ability with which its counsels were guided by its Chairman ; most of all, I think, by the convincing and overwhelming strength of the case for a gold standard which was submitted to its consideration. Hence we have arrived at the remarkable result of a consensus of opinion upon a matter hitherto fiercely disputed, and we are engaged this morning in giving to it legislative effect. I should like to point out that, in taking this final step, the Government of India are acting in logical accord with the policy they have pursued ever since, more than twenty years ago, the fall in the gold value of the silver first became acute. Throughout this period the underlying principle of their action has been the defence of India from the inevitable consequences of an unarrested decline in the sterling value of the rupee, namely, the necessity of imposing fresh taxation upon the Indian people at the same time that the capital upon whose introduction and proper application their future prosperity so largely depended was being driven away by the insecurity arising from a constantly fluctuating exchange. The continuity of the policy of which I speak has not been

impaired by the fact that other remedies than that finally adopted have before now been sought, or that even when the desirability of a gold standard became generally recognised, proposals were put forward for attaining it which have since been abandoned. For instance, as long as there was hope of an international bimetallic agreement, the Government of India looked favourably to such a solution, but when the Brussels Conference broke down, and it became obvious that we could not count upon co-operation with others, but must depend upon ourselves, the gold standard then rose into prominence. Since then it has been a question, not of principle, but of method. The Government of India never lost sight of the ultimate goal they had in view. With that object they closed the mints to the free coinage of silver; with that object they made definite proposals to the Secretary of State; with that object they now accept the recommendations of the Committee and are introducing this Bill. We do not tie our hands by taking this step. For whilst the adoption of a gold standard renders us independent of the caprice or hostility of foreign counties for the time being, it will not prevent us, at any date in the future, from embarking upon a discussion with the foreign Powers as to an international agreement, should such an idea be again put forward, but will, on the contrary, enable us to enter the field upon equal terms, if, indeed, we may not claim a positive advantage in the possession of a stable system. My honourable colleague has explained in his speech the reasons for immediate legislation. They rest in the main upon the desirability of acquainting the public at the earliest moment with our resolve, and inspiring them with confidence. We are not conscious of rashness in admitting ourselves that we are not much afraid of the danger with which we have been

threatened, *viz.*, that we may lose some of the gold which is on its way to our reserves. If this risk were a serious one I would ask how it comes about that since the report of the Committee, since its acceptance by the Home Government and its recommendation to us, when all the world, so to speak, had been anticipating the action that we are now about to take, gold has nevertheless continued to flow into our treasuries, not in diminishing but in increasing volume. In June we only received £77,000 and in July £23,000, but in August, after all these events had taken place, the inflow rose to £223,000; whilst for the week that ended on Monday last the additional amount of gold received in our treasuries and mints amounted to £18,060. This does not look as though we were frightening away gold or driving it into channels from which it would be incapable of recovery. Since sovereigns began to enter India last year, the amount of gold retained in our treasuries amounts to £2,620,000 and in future, as announcements that have been made will show, we look to receiving and coining gold of Indian production, in addition to that which enters the country in the ordinary operations of trade from outside. I do not wish to dilate upon what to some may appear the sentimental advantage of a single gold coin uniform and incapable of depreciation circulating throughout the British Empire, although to me it seems that the fact has a very practical and an imperial application. I will put it another way and will say that in the unimpeded and steady flow of the sovereign in circulation in and out of India appears to me to exist a very potent guarantee for the extension of our mercantile relations with the United Kingdom and with other parts of the British Empire. Every merchant who trades with India, every capitalist who invests in this country, will know in future

that his sovereign is worth 15 rupees. Lender and borrower will be dealing in the same money with a fixed unalterable denomination. For my part I cannot doubt that such security must lend stability and confidence not merely to our trade with foreign countries—and the London Committee has reminded us that four-fifths of our foreign trade is with countries possessing a gold standard also—but also to commercial and industrial development within our own shores. I do not desire to indulge in any chimerical dreams of the uture. I do not expect any sudden or frantic rush of capital to India. I do not pretend that we are opening an Asiatic Klondyke to the investing world. Least of all am I anxious o import the speculative element into Indian business or finance, but I do firmly believe and hope that, subject of chances which none can foresee, but against which we are already on the watch, we shall, by taking these measures, invest the financial horoscope of India with a security which it has hitherto lacked, and which it will be our duty to utilise in the interests of our own clients, who are the Indian people.

ON THE PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL.

[A Bill to amend the law relating to agricultural land in the Punjab was introduced at a meeting of the Council held at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 27th September, 1899. The Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz, in moving for leave, made a lengthy speech, after which His Excellency the Viceroy said]:—

"The historical retrospect with which the Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz commenced his interesting speech appeared to me to be of value in its general as well as in its particular application. He showed that the question of

agricultural indebtedness in many parts of India had attracted the attention of Government, and had elicited the opinions of expert authorities at intervals throughout the present century, but that during the past 25 years it became pressing and acute. Minutes had been written, resolutions had been circulated, laws have been passed for the mitigation of abuses, but all these have dealt, so to speak, merely with the fringe of the subject, and only to-day are we engaged for the first time in introducing a measure of first class legislative importance to check this great and growing evil. Does not this fact illustrate in a striking manner the method of deliberation with which we proceed ? I am one of those, as may be known, who find the machine of Government apt to move somewhat slowly in this country, and be a little ponderous and rusty in the revolution of its wheels ; but for caution and slowness in a matter affecting a vast area and territory relating to the concrete rights of property, and touching the livelihood of hundreds of thousands, if not of millions, of the population, I have nothing but praise. Our studies and investigations can scarcely be too protracted. Our action must, on no account, be flustered or precipitate if our proposals are to be successful. Full opportunity must be afforded for public opinion to digest and accept them, provided, that is, that they are deserving of acceptance. It is very important that the mills of the Sirkar should grind slowly, because in the long run they are apt to grind exceedingly small.

Let me apply these observations to the present case. Mr. Rivaz has just asked leave to introduce a Bill which has I may almost say, been for years in course of incubation. It represents the unanimous views of the Government of India,

it has been accepted by the Secretary of State, it is supported in the chief by the powerful argument to which we have just listened, by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province to which it is proposed to be applied. Yet so conscious are we of the importance of the precedent we are setting, and of the far-reaching consequence of the solution we propose that we resolved to give the amplest opportunity for the expression of opinions, and even of criticism, to those whose interests will be affected by the measure. In my opinion the legislation in this Council, which is invested with the law-making prerogatives of the Government of India, should be deliberate in proportion to its facility for making laws. Laws that are made in haste are apt to be repented of at leisure. For these reasons we but now introduce the Bill, which public and expert opinion will have ample opportunity of discussing during the next six months, and fortified, as we hope, by this outside assistance, we shall then take up the measure when we reassemble at Simla next year. As regards the merits of the Bill itself, I would make a few observations. The issues at stake are in my judgment, as momentous as any that can attract the attention of the Government of India. There is no country in the world so dependent upon the prosperity of its agricultural classes as India. There is no Government in the world so personally interested in agriculture as the Indian Government. We are in the strictest sense of the term, the largest landlords in creation. Our land revenues are the staple of our income. Upon the contentment and solvency of the millions who live upon the soil is based the security of our rule. In the present case we have all the greater responsibility from the fact that in the province of the Punjab, with which weare now about to deal, we originated the present land

system, which has had such unfortunate consequences, that it is proposed to rectify, as well as the legal system which has given the usurer his opportunity. A double responsibility, therefore, rests upon our shoulders. We cannot afford to see the yeoman farmers of the Punjab, the flower of the population, and the backbone of our Native Army, dwindle and become impoverished before our eyes. Neither can we acquiesce in the consummation of a social revolution which is in contradiction both of the traditions of Indian Society and of the cardinal precepts of British rule.

If it be asked why we selected the Punjab as the field of this experiment, the answer is that there the problem is most serious, there the evil has reached, or is reaching, the most dangerous dimensions, and there it possesses a political and social, as well as a purely agrarian complexion. But our vision is not centred upon the Punjab alone. The canker of agricultural indebtedness, which is eating into the vitals of India, and which is one of the twelve questions I have set before myself with the humble intention to examine, and, if it may be, to attempt to solve, is not one of a narrow or contracted application, though in particular parts it may be more grave in its incidence than in others. We shall doubtless require to handle it in different ways, in different areas. We began some years ago after a tentative fashion in the Deccan. We are now proceeding with a bolder venture in the Punjab. Should we be successful in this enterprise we shall be encouraged, to proceed, and thus, stone by stone, layer by layer, build up a fabric of financial and social stability for our rural population. I do not shut my eyes to the fact that many objections can be, and probably will be, raised against this legislation. It will be said that

we are taking away the right, which we ourselves too generously conferred ; that we are depreciating the value of land, which in my opinion has been unduly inflated, or that we are affecting the credit of a section of the population, to whom the mistaken system has given the opportunity of borrowing up to edge of their own ruin. I have, in these few sentences, indicated what would be the nature of my reply in each case, but I may add that even were these minor drawbacks to be realised, and I do not think they will be to any appreciable extent, they must be weighed in the balance against vastly superior advantages to the land-owning and agricultural community, that we have in view, and must be measured by the scale of the disaster, which, unless some drastic measures be taken, will assuredly, before long, overwhelm the smaller Zemindari classes of our population. I trust that, in the public scrutiny to which we now commit the proposal, these considerations of statesmanship may be borne in view, and it may be remembered that great and salutary ends are not apt to be secured by timid and tempoising means.

ON FAMINE IN INDIA : A REVIEW OF THE PRESENT SITUATION.

[At a meeting of the Legislative Council held at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 20th October, 1899, His Excellency Lord Curzon Presiding, the Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz and the President both made statements intended to place before the public such information as was then available as to the probable character and extent of the present distress and as to the measures taken to meet it. The Vecroy said]:—

I should like to supplement the detailed statement to which we have just listened from the honourable member in

charge of the Revenue and Agricultural Department by a few observations of a more general character upon the attitude and policy of the Government. It bas been a source of great distress to me, and my feelings in this respect are those of all my colleagues, that in my first year of office, while plague, the first great Indian scourge, has remained a persistent visitor, the second, which is famine, should once again be threatening this sorely tried country and its patient and unmurmuring population. For months past, it is no exaggeration to say, that the daily meteorological report has been to every one of us who are, in our different spheres, responsible for Indian government, a document to which we have turned with most anxious interest each morning, and day by day as we have contemplated a sky of brass and unclouded sun, we have longed bitterly and would have sacrificed much for the sight that met the watcher upon Carmel, of the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand. If in our regrets at the ill-fortune that has attended us we may nevertheless recognise grounds of legitimate alleviation, they will consist in the fact that we have had upon the present occasion a long warning of the coming scarcity, and have in consequence been able to formulate our plans of campaign in advance ; and secondly, that while the area of certain distress is unfortunately large—much too large—it is yet considerably smaller than the corresponding area in the famine of 1896-97, and, if Providence should favour us with late autumnal rains, is still capable of contraction.

In Rajputana it is to be feared that the suffering w ill be in excess of any since the sad year of 1868-69, and in the Central Provinces I regret to think that a portion of the ordeal of three years ago may again have to be endured by

the same poor people who have barely had time to recover from the last shock. But elsewhere, as Mr. Rivaz has shown' the situation, though grave, affords less ground for acute apprehension, while in many parts of India the sufferings of unfortunates elsewhere will, to some extent, be balanced by exceptionally favourable conditions.

The narrowness and the comparatively precise deflnition of the areas affected should enable us to devote our energies to their relief with all the greater concentration. I do not pretend tthat in so doing we have any novel or startling methods of procedure to announce. Perhaps the worst and least reassuring declaration that a Viceroy could make upon an occasion like this would be that the Government of India proposed to experiment in respect of scarcity and famine. Our proceedings must be, and will be, founded upon the very opposite extreme of principle. All that we have acquired from the recorded observations of a century, all that we have learned from the experience of the past twenty-five years, during which India has three times been visited by serious famines, all that we have been advised or warned by the recent Famine Commission—these must be the bases of our action. They will furnish the pocket-book for field service, with which our soldiers of peace will enter upon their humane and bloodless campaign.

If I be asked to summarise the action which it is in the power of the Government of India to take against famine, in respect either of Executive intervention, or sympathetic assistance, or of local control, I would make the following reply. In our own territories we have a fourfold scheme of operation. In the larger villages and towns we open poor-houses for the reception and sustenance of the famishing waifs and

strays; in the country hamlets we distribute gratuito su relief weekly or fortnightly to the sick and aged, the widow and the orphan. We employ tens of thousands of impoverished, but willing, hands upon relief works, the making of roads, the digg ng of tanks, the construction of embankments for future lines of railway. The honourable member has, in his speech, given you some idea of the numbers who are already thus engaged, and they represent but a small fraction of the total for whom our existing organisation would enable us with scarcely a hitch to provide paid employment of this character, should the emergency arise. Finally, by the appointment of special officers selected for their training or experience, we supplement the existing staff and endeavour both to supply a stimulus and to strengthen local supervision.

These are our more immediate measures. Prospectively we always have in contemplation *Taccavi* advances to enable the peasant to sow his seed before the next rains, and that ultimate standby of the distressed agriculturist in all lands, remission of rent, or, as we call it in India, land revenue. I do not think that in any period of scarcity or famine the Government of India has shown an inclination to be ungenerous in these particulars. If we turn to the situation as it affects the Native States, we are necessarily upon some what different ground. Here we must be careful to do nothing that would diminish the responsibility or slacken the energies of the Native Chiefs and durbars. The Government of India should not step in either to usurp their proper functions, or to relieve them of an obligatory duty. On the other hand, we may do much, and in the case of Rajputana we are endeavouring to do much, by the loan of officers and by the offer of expert advice to systematise and to co-ordinate local action.

We can further help the Native States with loans from the Imperial exchequer, and I believe that my honourable colleague, the Finance Member is prepared to show a far from obdurate disposition in this respect, and we may, by individual acts of assistance or relief, contribute to lessen the strain. For instance, I may mention that a little while ago I offered to remove and to maintain at the expense of the Government of India one of the two Imperial Service Cavalry regiments of Jodhpure during the present and forthcoming distress, and that this offer was gladly accepted by the State.

May I venture to add that there must be many localities, populous districts, or large cities, in which men of substance reside, where some local effort for the assistance of their suffering countrymen would be most acceptable. I have already heard of such private charity having been started, in some cases, of a local famine relief fund, of a subscription-list, and of a committee of distribution. There are large classes of the native population who are not touched either by relief works or by gratuitous relief, but who may be saved from perishing by the timely exercise of such philanthropy.

[1 In detailing the liberal and sustained plan of action with which the Government of India are prepared to meet the emergency, I feel that I have a peculiar right to call also upon India's own sons to come to her rescue in the hour of her trial.

My own knowledge of famine work and famine relief is necessarily at present, owing to the short time which I have spent in the country, only in an incipient stage. May I add that I propose to invest it, in so far as I can, with a more practical and beneficial complexion by visiting, in the

course of my forthcoming tour, a large number of the principal areas of distress in Northern and Central India. The experience which I shall thereby gain may, I hope, enable me both to render useful help on a future occasion, should such arise, and to enter more closely into the sorrows as well as joys of the Indian people.

AT THE CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

[On Saturday the 11th February, 1899, His Excellency the Viceroy, as Chancellor, presided at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University. The Vice-Chancellor (Sir Francis Maclean, Kt., Chief Justice of Bengal) having declared the Convocation open, the presentation of the new graduates took place in the usual form, after which His Excellency addressed the assembly as follows].—

MR. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Among the most honourable, and certainly not the least pleasant, duties that devolve upon a Viceroy is that of presiding as Chancellor at the Convocation of this University. If I may venture to say so, to me the task is one of peculiar gratification and interest, for I will not conceal from you that I am a University man to the core of my being; and that, deep down in me, behind the mask of the official immersed in public affairs, and beneath the uniform of State, there lurks an academic element, ineradicable and strong, connecting me with my old University days, and affecting me with a natural sympathy towards those who, although in different circumstances and under a different clime, can also claim connection with a University. (Applause) It has been reserved for you in fact to put the crown upon an otherwise imperfect academic career. I have been an

Undergraduate of a University, a Bachelor of Arts, a Master of Arts, a Fellow of a College, and a Member of Convocation. But a Chancellor I have never been until to-day—(applause)—and perhaps when Sir Francis Maclean and I some years ago entered Parliament together —a situation which is not very productive of academic repose—we little thought that a day would one day arrive when, clad in fine raiment, we should appear upon a dais side by side as the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of a University. I must be allowed to congratulate you upon having secured the services of Sir Francis Maclean as your Vice-Chancellor. (Applause) That a Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta should be the *de facto* head of your Governing Body seems to me a very fitting exemplification of the harmony that should prevail between two cognate branches of human knowledge and learning. And may I be allowed also to congratulate myself upon a discovery which I have made from a study of the proceedings on previous occasions, namely, that, while but few observations are expected from me this afternoon, the real burden of the performance will fall upon shoulders that are so well fitted to bear it; in other words, upon the Vice-Chancellor himself. Though I am but a new comer in this country, I am yet not so ignorant of its educational system as not to know that when I speak of my own connection with a University in England, I am speaking of something very different from the University which prevails here. A residential and teaching University such as Oxford or Cambridge, with its venerable buildings, its historic associations, the crowded and healthy competition of its life, its youthful friendships, its virile influence upon character, its *esprit de corps*, cannot, either in Great Britain or in any country, be fairly compared

with an examining and degree giving University such as yours. They are alike in bearing the same name, and in constituting parts of the machinery by which in civilised countries all peoples work for the same ideal, namely, the cultivation of the higher faculties of man. But they are profoundly unlike in the influence that they exert upon the pupil, and in the degree to which they affect, not so much his profession, as his character and his life. Nevertheless, inevitable and obvious as these difference s are, there may yet be in an examining University, and there is in such institutions in some parts of my own country, and still more abroad, an inherent influence, inseparable from the curriculum through which the student has had to pass before he can take his degree, which is not without its effects upon character and morals, which inspires in him something more than the hungry appetite for a diploma, and which turns him out something better than a sort of phonographic automaton into which have been spoken the ideas and thoughts of other men. (Applause). I ask myself may such a thing be said with any truth of the examining Universities of India ? Now, at first sight, it may appear that I shall be met with an overwhelming chorus of denial. I shall be told—for I read it in many newspapers and in the speeches, of public men—that our system of higher education in India is a failure ; that it has sacrificed the formation of character upon the altar of cram ; and that the Indian Universities turn out only a discontented horde of office-seekers, whom we have educated for places which are not in existence for them to fill. Gentlemen, may I venture to suggest to you that one of the defects of the Anglo-Saxon character is this that it is apt to be a little loud both in self-praise and in self-condemnation. When we are contemplating our virtues,

we sometimes annoy other people by the almost pharisaicag complacency of our transports. But equally, I think, when we are diagnosing our faults, are we apt almost to revel in the superior quality of our transgressions. There is, in fact, a certain cant of self-depreciation as well as of self-laudation. I say to myself, therefore, in the first place, is it possible, and is it likely, that we have been, for years, teaching hundreds and thousands of young men,—even if the immediate object be the passing of an examination, and the winning of a degree,—a literature which contains invaluable lessons for character, and for life, and a science which is founded upon the reverent contemplation of Nature and her truths, without leaving a permanent impress upon the moral as well as the intellectual being of many who have passed through this course? (Applause). I then proceed to ask the able officials by whom I am surrounded, and whose trained assistance makes the labour of a Viceroy of India a relaxation rather than a toil, whether they have observed any reflection of this beneficent influence in the quality and character of the young men who enter into the ranks of what is now known as the Provincial Service. And when I hear from them almost without dissent that there has been a marked upward trend in the honesty and integrity and capacity of the native officials in those departments of Government, then I decline altogether to dissociate cause and effect; I say that knowledge has not been altogether shamed by her children; and grave as the defects of our system may be, and room though there may be for reform, I refuse to join in a wholesale condemnation which is as extravagant as it is unjust. (Applause). But, gentlemen, when I admit the existence of imperfections, you may say that, as head of the Government, it is my duty to define

them, and still more to find a remedy. May I remark in reply that, though I have been here long enough to find out that everything is not perfect, I have not been here long enough to dogmatise as to how perfection may be attained? Perhaps in succeeding years I may be able to express opinions which will be less presumptuous than they would be at the present time. On the whole, I believe the present system to be faulty, but not rotten, and I feel that cautious reform, and not wholesale reconstruction, should probably be the motto of our action. (Applause). There is one consideration, however, by which, I am forcibly impressed. I find myself the Chancellor of this University in virtue of my office as Viceroy of India, and I draw from this fact the not unnatural conclusion that the Government of India assumes some direct responsibility, not merely for this university, the fanctions of which I am informed, extend over the Central Provinces, Burma, Assam and Ceylon, as well as Bengal, but also over the entire system of which this University is the exemplar and head. At the same time I am not certain that the Supreme Government applies as close an attention to, or exercises as genuine a supervision over education as it might do. There is no separate Educational Department in the Government of India, as we have in England, with an organisation and a staff of its own. There is no official charged with the ministerial or secretarial management of education alone. May it not be that we have been somewhat remiss ourselves in the task, and that we have been expecting the plant to flourish when we have not sufficiently exerted ourselves to trim and prune its branches? (Applause). This only I will say before resuming my seat to-day, that the whole subject of education in this country, in which I think are involved both the reputation of England and the

future of India, will, during my term of office, have my earnest attention, and that I shall hope annually to attend at this Convocation, and to show myself not unworthy of the honourable post which I am permitted to fill. (Applause). It remains only for me to congratulate those who have received their degrees this afternoon, and to call npon the Vice-Chancellor to deliver his address. (His Excellency was warmly applauded on resuming his seat).

DINNER TO THE HON'BLE SIR JAMES WESTLAND AND THE HON'BLE MR. CHALMERS.

[On the 23rd March, 1899, at the Government House, Calcutta, a farewell dinner was given by the Viceroy, to the Hon'ble Sir James Westland and the Honourable Mr. Chalmers, on the eve of their departure from India. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and other high officials were present besides many ladies. His Excellency Lord Curzon proposed the toast of the guests of the evening in the following terms] :—

YOUR Honor, your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,—We meet to-night upon an interesting occasion, although ti is not without a tinge of melancholy and regret. I have invited you all here this evening to join with me in bidding good-bye to two public men—colleagues of some of us, friends of all—who are about to leave India, and to devote their great abilities to some other branch of the public service. Of course, it is an accident that places me in the position of being their host upon this valedictory occasion, and that lays in my hands the delicate task both of composing the Indian epitaphs, and of wishing them success in whatever incar-

nations they may choose to adopt in their future career in the West. (Applause).

No one, probably, in this room is less qualified than myself to do justice to such a task, for while I yield to none in admiration of the virtues and the qualities that have raised them to their high station, and that have endeared them to all, I must own that until three months ago it was only by reputation that I personally was acquainted with those qualities and with those virtues. Perhaps, at the same time, my brief familiarity with them, whilst it may disable me from speaking with the authority which others in this room might claim, may enable me to feel as well as any how great is the loss which the Government of India, and I, who am the head of that Government, sustain in their approaching departure. (Applause). Now, ladies and gentlemen, there might not appear to be any remarkable exterior resemblance between the careers of Sir James Westland and Mr. Chalmers, but at the same time, there is one point of strange and peculiar identity between them. Neither of these, gentlemen, has been able in the course of a long and varied career to shake off the remarkable and inexplicable, but absolutely irresistible fascination of India. (Applause).

Mr. Chalmers first came to this country—although no one who regards him will believe it—as much as thirty years ago. He came as a member of the Civil Service, but he left again in 1872. At a subsequent period he dispensed justice with equal ability upon the Rock of Gibraltar, and in the Borough of Birmingham—(applause)—but for him, as for so many others, the East was always calling, and it is not surprising, therefore, to learn that in 1896, he came back to this country as Legal Member of Council, a procedure by

which it is hardly necessary to say that the loss of Birmingham was converted into the gain of Bengal (Applause).

Now, let us look at Sir James Westland. (Laughter.) In the middle of his career, for some reason unknown to historians, Sir James Westland retired to the *otium cum dignitate* of a pastoral existence in the Colony of New Zealand. (Laughter). But, ladies and gentlemen, it was no good. (Laughter). A man cannot fight against his destiny, and like Cincinnatus of old, Sir James Westland was presently called back from the plough, or whatever may have been the New Zealand equivalent of that instrument—(laughter)—to the guidance of the fortunes of this country. (Applause).

Well, in the face of these precedents affecting these two gentlemen, who knows, and who can say in what capacity, or as the Avatars of what future revelation they may again reappear in our midst. (Laughter). We may see them again in the flesh in India. (Laughter). I devoutly hope, and believe, that we shall, but even if we do not; it is certain to me that their disembodied spirits will hover over the Departments in which they have presided, and will communicate a stimulus and an inspiration to those who are their unworthy successors. (Applause).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, may I touch a little more closely, with your permission, upon the careers and the services of these two gentlemen who are our guests this evening. It is with profound respect that I must speak of the career of Sir James Westland which began in India at a time, now nearly forty years ago, when I myself was in what is popularly known as the nursery. Sir James Westland's career has been a remarkable career, and it has been remarkable for its continuity and consistency as much

as for any other feature. It has come to my knowledge, for instance, that almost the first act of merit performed by Sir James Westland, when he came to India was the writing of a report on the cultivation of sugar, whilst it is a matter of public knowledge that his last act has been the passage of a Bill to prevent the extinction of that useful article. (Laughter and Applause).

It may, therefore, be said of his career as it can be of no other within my knowledge that it has been equally sweet at the beginning and at the end, (Laughter). It reminds me indeed of the famous oration of the great Chatham, who made a speech in the House of Commons which he commenced with the words "Sugar, Mr, Speaker," and when he was greeted with the irreverent titters of the honourable members around him he proceeded to reiterate with increased animation and anger the word "Sugar, Mr. Speaker, who will laugh at sugar now?" Now it is in connection with the Financial Department of the Government of India that Sir James Westland's chief services have been rendered. He entered that department as Under-Secretary in the year 1870. He became Accountant-General, Controller-General, Financial Member of Council. In 1881 as Financial Member of Council he devised the system of accounts which is the basis of the present financial organisation of the Government of India. In 1895 he converted the Indian Debt with the result of an annual saving of nearly fifty lakhs of rupees to the revenues of the State. For full five troublous years he has been the Chancellor of the Exchequer of our Government, and, during that time, he has been a vigilant guardian of the public purse. (Applause). He has seen his lean years, but I suspect that sometimes in the night watches, like

Pharoah of old—an historical character to whom I would not compare him—(laughter)—except in this respect that he has known sometimes how to harden his heart in the night watches—I am convinced he has seen visions of the fat years that were to come; and so it is that he now retires, I will not say in the odour of sanctity, because that is incompatible with the word fianance—(laughter)—but at any rate in the comfortable atmosphere that is engendered by the production of a record surplus, and by the acclamations of a contented people. (Applause). Ladies and gentlemen, these are no light services and no man is capable of rendering such services who has not an equal familiarity both with the conditions of India and with the principles of finance. It is to my mind one of the proudest features of our system that we are enabled to enlist in the service of India the most capable intellects of our time. Among such men assuredly no one has rendered more patriotic, or more far-reaching services to the Government of India than our guest of this evening. (Appl a use).

He has been, as I have said, a vigilant guardian of the public purse, but behind the almost impenetrable orthodoxy of his superficial aspect there has been, if I may say so, concealed a temperament which was open to every petition of mercy and never refused the dictates of common-sense. (Applause). He now retires from the service of the Government of India conscious of the great work which he has performed, and by which his successors will profit. On behalf of the public service of this country, of which it is my pride to be the head, I acknowledge these great services. I bid godspeed to Sir James Westland as he leaves this country, and I hope that, in another and not less useful sphere, India may continue to profit by the abilities which he has so freely spent upon her behalf. (Applause).

Mr. Chalmers has been for a less time a Member of the Indian Government, but any one who has heard, even for the short time that I have done, his logical and trenchant utterances in the Legislative Council of the Government of India, or who has read the masculine record of opinions with which he favours us on paper, must be conscious of the fact that strength goes out of the Government of India because of his departure. (Applause). He has now been summoned to England to draft the laws which a wise, or an unwise Parliament insists in impressing upon a happy or an unhappy people. It is said that there is no Act of Parliament which is passed, through which it is not possible to drive a coach and four. I believe that to be absolutely true, but, in the presence of Mr. Chalmers, it will only be gallant to assume that is the fault, not of the Lawyer, but of the Politician. I hope that sometimes in the sombre recesses of Whitehall, Mr. Chalmers will look back upon the three years that he spent in listening to the manuscript eloquence of his colleagues in the Legislative Council of the Government of India,— (Laughter and applause)—and that he will console himself for the bad laws that he is called upon by Government to draft for the Parliament of England by remembering the good laws that he drafted on his own responsibility for the Government of India. (Applause).

These, Ladies and Gentlemen, are the two friends and colleagues to whom we are met here this evening to say farewell. Is it permissible for me to add in the case of Sir James Westland that we equally dedicate our gratitude and our respect to Lady Westland and to her two daughters—(applause)—who during the time that they have been here have made so many friends and will leave such happy

memories,and that,if I cannot speak of the past or the present of Mr. Chalmers in tones of similar domestic eulogy, it is yet to be hoped that in the more populous and social clime to which he is about to revert, he will make amends in the future ? (Laughter and applause).

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of our guests this evening, Sir James Westland and Mr. Chalmers.

SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LADY DUFFERIN FUND.

[On the 25th March, 1899, the Viceroy presided at the Annual Meeting of the Lady Dufferin Fund. His Excellency, who on rising was received with applause, said] : –

LADIES and Gentlemen,—As this is the first occasion on which I have had an opportunity of evincing my interest in the work of this Fund, I should like to say what a pleasure it is both to Lady Curzon and myself to carry on the work which has been initiated and patronised by our predecessors. I say Lady Curzon and myself, because I must, in fairness, place her in this as in all other matters, in a different and in a superior category to myself. (Applause). It is she who is the Lady President of this Fund, succeeding in that post the three eminent ladies who have preceded her, and who have, I believe, distinguished themselves by the business-like aptitude with which they discharged the duties of that office ; it is she who visits the hospitals ; it is she who presides over the Commitee which is responsible for the control of this now gigantic organisation ; and, so far as I can ascertain, the only function which

she does not perform, and from which I think, if I may express an opinion, she wisely abstains, is that of making the speeches on this annual occasion. (Laughter), That function she devolves upon the shoulders of others ; the business-like speech she entrusts to the capable hands of Mr. Rivaz ; the ornamental speech she assigns to me. (Laughter), Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have not in the short time that I have been in this country had time to acquaint myself with all the minutiæ of the work of this Association in its various branches, and, indeed, had I done so, and come here this afternoon with a speech packed with detail of a laudatory character, the words would have been taken out of my mouth by the speeches delivered by those who have preceded me. But my position being, perhaps, somewhat different from theirs, I should like to say that my attitude towards this Association and its work is determined by wider outside consideration to which you will perhaps allow me in passing to refer. There was once a time, now lost in the mist of ages, when the Aryan race, to which both the British people and the bulk of the Indian peoples belong, started forth from their ancestral home and commenced those wanderings which have taken them to such opposite corners of the world. Where that home was nobody knows, and I am not going to hazard a guess. If I did so I should probably find some scholar rising up in some corner of this building to confute me. (Laughter). There are some who say it was in the valley of the Oxus, in the plains of Bactaria or in the inlands of the Pamirs. If it was in the latter, it must have been in a very cold region. (Laughter). There are others who fix the locality in Mongolia or Sarmatia ; in fact there are as many theories as there are students, and much study in this case, as in others, leads to weariness of the flesh. However, wherever that home original-

ly was, from it diverged the two great branches of the Aryan stock. Since then the European branch on the one hand, and the Asiatic branch on the other, have passed through many vicissitudes of fate, and fortune, and power. While the Kingdoms of Asia were powerful, Europe was still uncivilised. Later on, as Asia crumbled, Europe became more strong. At length came a time when the Aryan branch from Europe came back to this country to rule its own kith and kin. They came back as conquerors but benefactors also; they came to govern the Asiatic branches of the Aryan family but they brought gifts in their hand, and they said to these people: "See here, we have for long sojourned in the West, where we have acquired much knowledge, and made many discoveries, and we come back to you to ask you to take a share of these blessings." Now, what were the boons which they brought, and with what have we come to you in India as gifts in our hand? We have brought to you our religion, our law, our literatue, and our science.

Now about some of these gifts some doubts may be legitimately entertained. As regards our religion, there are some who accept it, but there are others—and they are a far larger majority—who prefer their own; and inasmuch as religion amongst all intelligent persons and races is a matter of free thought and free choice, and should never be imposed by force by one people upon another, we leave you to choose, or to adhere to, what you will. (Applause).

As regards our law, we have arrived at a happy compromise. You had a law of your own, which was not so much the work of independent legislators in the past as it was the slowly ripening product of the experience of many centuries and the necessities of your country. We have, I

think, done much to amalgamate the two systems—the British and the Indian—and in this way the stately outlines of British jurisprudence have been filled in with the details suggested by the experience and needs of the East.

Then as regards our literature, I think it has taught you many good and ennobling lessons, and I know it has brought you enlightenment, and has taught you the true significance of moral and intellectual freedom. (Applause). But there are here, as in most cases two sides to the shield, and there are some who argue that, while it has done much to elevate, it has also in some cases done something to unsettle and to disturb.

And now I come to the last boon, which is science, and medical science in particular, and about this I say that no two opinions can possibly be entertained. There may be prejudices, and there may be scruples arising from long custom, or from ignorance, or from other causes, but doubts there cannot possibly be ; and I say this, that if we had come back to you from the West with our medicine in our hand, and with that alone, we should have been justified in our return. For what is this medical science that we bring you ? It is no mere collection of pragmatical or experimental rules ; it is built on the rock-bed of pure and irrefutable science ; it is a boon which is offered to all, rich and poor, Hindoo and Mahomedan, woman and man ; it lifts the purdah without irreverence ; and it is, so far as I know, the only dissolvent which breaks down the barriers of caste without sacrilege. Medical science, indeed, is the most cosmopolitan of all sciences, because it embraces in its merciful appeal every suffering human being in the world. Now, our Anglo-Indian poet Rudyard Kipling—and I claim him as Anglo-

Indian, though he is also the property of the world—our Anglo-Indian poet, in his latest poem—and I hope and pray and I am sure you will join in that prayer, that it will be by no means his last—has thus written :—

"Take up the white man's burden,
The savage wars of peace,
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease."

Well, this part at any rate of the white man's burden, this portion of the bounty of the Aryan of the West, has not been ignored by the British in India, and in my view every hospital that we build in this country, every doctor that we train, every nurse that we turn out, every patient that we cure, is a part of the service that we owe to India, is an element of our duty in this country, is a part of the home-coming gift which the Aryans of the West have brought back to their kith and kin. (Applause). For these reasons it is, Ladies and Gentlemen, that I take so keen an interest in the work of an Association such as this. Now, I gather from what I have heard this afternoon, and from the Report which I have, in part, studied, that this Association is steadily winning the confidence of all classes of the people ; that it is slowly but surely wearing down the prejudice which it had to encounter, and that it has already relieved an enormous amount of human suffering. I am glad to see from the figures supplied to me that it does not interfere with the usefulness of already existing institutions. Had it done so, there would have been cause for jealousy and there might have been friction ; but I find that the class of those whom it aids lies, for the most part, outside those affected by already existing institutions, and that whereas

the women who were treated in hospitals and dispensaries in India officered by women are rapidly increasing in numbers from year to year—from 100,000 in 1888 to 6 00,000 in 1893, and to 1,377,000 in 1897, the figures for women who were treated in Government hospitals and dispensaries in India, officered not by women but by men, are increasing in a similar ratio—2,126,000 in 1888, 3,171,000 in 1893, and 3,751,000 in 1897.

I think these figures are re-assuring, because they show that the two great systems can work side by side without interfering with the work of each other. Speaking in Calcutta, I wish also to offer my congratulations upon the excellent work done in Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor spoke of this—as he appears to do of all matters of the kind—with almost unnecessary modesty, and he attributed no part of the credit to himself, but ascribed it all to the generosity of those who have subscribed to the fund. But my experienee is that people do not subscribe unless there is some conciliatory and popular person to induce them to do so. I know very well in my own case that where I would give one man one rupee, I would give another man twenty, and I am quite sure that the personality of the Lieutenant-Governor, and the interest which he and Lady Woodburn, as well as Mr. Gayer, the Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Branch, have taken in this work, have very largely been responsible for the excellent results obtained. I am glad also to notice that in other parts of the country the rulers of some of our Native States—of Cochin and Travancore, as well as of Jeypore, Gawlior, Hyderabad, and Bikanir—have done much to assist the Ascociation with scholarships during past years. I hope these efforts will be continued on their part, and will be

imitated by others. In conclusion, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would say to my own countrymen: Persist in your efforts in connection with this Association,—efforts all the more honourable from the fact that they are voluntary and unpaid—persist in these efforts because it is part of the service that you owe to the country in which you live, and in which lies your work. (Applause) And I would say to the great and wealthy men of India: 'Come forward and show your interest in this great and truly philanthropic work; give to it from your ample means, exercise what influence you can to support this Association, encourage young women to study and to embrace a medical science, which is not the monoply of one nation, but the handmaiden of all. I am sure that we all listened with interest to the speech of the Maharaja of Darbhanga this afternoon. May I say that it is a pleasure to all of us to observe the manner in which he, at this very early age of his tenure of his new dignity, is following in the footsteps of his lamented and admirable brother? We rejoice that native gentlemen of high rank, position, and means should come forward to help us, and I hope that the example of encouragement set by him may be followed by others.

I hope, Ladies and Gentlemen, to have many other opportunities, while in India, of showing my interest in the work of this Fund. I have to thank you for the very gracious references to Lady Curzon, and to assure you on her behalf, as she cannot do it herself, that her heart is in this work, and that during the time she is in India she recognises the tie that binds her as a woman to the women of India, and that she will do whatever lies in her power to alleviate and to brighten their lot. (Loud and continued applause).

SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL PRIZE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUNJAB AITCHISON COLLEGE.

[On the 1st April, 1899, His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the Annual Prize-giving at the Aitchison College, Lahore. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was present. After the reading of the annual report, the Viceroy distributed the prizes. His Excellency then rose and addressed the assembly as follows]:—

YOUR Honor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It has been a great pleasure to me to visit this College, and to present these prizes to-day in this beautiful hall, which forms so noble a feature of the stately building in which we find ourselves and which appears to me to be so well suited to the purposes for which it has been raised. I confess I did not know that, included in the pleasure which I was to experience this morning, would be the compliment of finding myself addressed in Persian by two original poets. However, I can assure them that, although I could not, from my ignorance of the language, estimate the full measure of the compliment, I am yet very much gratified at the manner which they have paid it.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think that after the interesting address which has been read to us by Sir Benjamin Bromehead, it is not incumbent on me to say much, either as to the foundation or as to the objects of this institution. We know that a little more than twelve years ago the foundation-stone was laid by the then Viceroy —Lord Dufferin—in the presence of one of the sons of the Queen—the Duke of Connaught.

This College takes its name, as we have been told, from Sir Charles Aitchison, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, whose features in marble we see before us, and whose long and active interest in the objects with which this school was founded, as well as in those of the similar Mago College at Ajmere, is known to you all. The funds with which the college was endowed were partly subscribed by the Punjab Chiefs and partly given by the Local Government, assisted by a subvention from the Imperial Government, and the aim with which it was started was to supply the benefits of what we call a public school education in England to the young men of princely and of noble families in the Punjab.

Now the question may be asked—What are the benefits of that which we describe in England as the public school system? And inasmuch as I am an old public school man, and to a certain extent therefore the product of that system, I am, perhaps, entitled to give you a reply. The puplic school system, as we understand it in England, is one which is devised to develop simultaneously and in equal measure the mind, the body and the character of the pupil. We undertake to educate our young men at these schools in England for the position or profession in life which they are destined to fill. We endeavour to train their physical energies, so as to give them a manly bearing, and to interest them in those games and pastimes and pursuits which will both conduce so much to their health,and add so greatly to the pleasure of their lives; and above all, by the ideals we set before them, by the high example which we endeavour to inculcate in them, and by the attrition of mutual intercourse with each other from day to day, we endeavour so to discipline their character

that they shall be turned, not merely into men, but into what in England we call gentlemen. (Applause).

Now, in England this system of which I am speaking, has attained a perfection unequalled in any other country. In England boys are drawn to our public schools from every class in the community that possesses adequate means. Two of the Queen's grandsons are at this moment being educated at Eton, which is the greatest of our English public schools. There the boys of the school mingle together in a position of perfect equality. They board together in the same house; they take part in the same classes they play games together; they are taught not merely by their masters but by the high standard that prevails in the school and among the boys themselves, to be honourable, chivalrous, and just; they form friendships with each other that last for a life-time; and when they go forth from the school to take their place in the world, they are proud and fond of the school, and their first aud highest desire is to do credit to the institution which has done so much for them. (Applause).

Now let me give you an illustration of the strength of the feeling of which I am speaking, A few months ago, when I was appointed to the high office which I now hold, there were appointed, almost at the same tlme, two other old Etonians to posts of great distinction under the Crown. One of these was Mr. Welldon, the present Metropolitan of India; the other was Lord Minto,who has gone as Governor-General to Canada. All three of us, as I have said, were old Eton boys, and when our appointments were announced, almost at the same time, it befel that a number of old Etonians—over two-hundred in all—joined themselves

together to give us a parting dinner, and to bid us farewell. At that dinner there were men of over seventy years of age, and men of not more than twenty. There were Viceroys and Judges and Commanders-in-Chief. There was a Prime Minister in the Chair. There were also men of modest careers, and of unambitious lives, but every one of those old Etonians who met there together was animated by the same feeling of love for the school which had sent them all forth, by pride that she was still fulfilling her high mission, and by hope for the success of those who were going out to carry her name into the uttermost corners of the world. *(Applause).* That, boys of this College, is the spirit engendered by the public school system in England; that is the spirit that we want to introduce into this country of India.

Now, I am aware that there are many difficulties in the task. In England the public school system which I have been describing has been the gradual growth of many centuries. It is the natural outcome of the free institutions and of the liberal sentiments of the British nation, and it is easy in a country where the territorial aristocracy, is both recruited from, and finds its chief strength in, the remaining confidence of the orders of the people; but here, on the other hand, all is different. The public school system is an exotic in India. It is not a natural growth in this country. It has to contend with many obstacles, such as prejudice and custom, and it has to fight against the barriers of caste. It is only by slow degrees, therefore, that we can expect it to take root in India.

Nevertheless, from the reports which have been submitted to me, which have been drawn up from year to year by the Governor and Principal for this College, and by the Inspector, who makes his annual report, I derive the impression that substantial progress is being made

towards the idea which the founders had in view. I am glad to note that the educational standard is steadily improving, and that the boys are reported to be industrious and well-behaved. (Applause). I am also glad to observe that they take part in games with more zest than they were at first disposed to do, and I hope that that inclination will be encouraged, because game and gymnastic make boys nimble and active and strong. They also bring boys very much together, and they stimulate a healthy spirit of emulation. I was glad also to hear what the Governor said about riding. I think every boy in this College, or at least a large majority of the boys in a country like India, ought to learn to ride, and to ride well. (Applause).

Now I have a word to say to you, young men and boys of this College. If you, boys of this College, if you will allow me to make you a few personal observations, I would say this: Do not fritter away the time that you spend at this College. It is a very precious time, and believe me that you will rejoice later on for every moment here that you have spent, and you will bitterly regret every moment that you have wasted. Make friends with each other, because the friends that you make here will be friends in prosperity or adversity in after-life. Do not regard the education you get in this College as a sort of State machinery provided by the Government in order to enable you either to pass the Entrance examination at the University, or to obtain Government posts, later on. There are a great many of you who will never obtain Government posts and who are not fitted to obtain them, and a larger number who will never take a university degree University degree at all, and are not required to take a University degree.

The education you receive here is intended for the most part to qualify you to fill with distinction and honour the high stations in life to which your birth will naturally raise you when you leave this College. (Applause). Now as I have just said, many of you, young men and boys, are of good birth and of high rank, and these are qualifications which obtain, and I hope that they will long continue to obtain, respect in a conservative country like India, but you have no right to be conceited or haughty because of your birth or rank.

There is a certain honourable pride which a man may take in high birth, and which it is legitimate for him to feel, only on one condition that he be inspired thereby to dutiful ambitions. We have a motto in England which runs as follows, *noblesse oblige*, and the meaning of that is, that noble birth requires a man to be noble and to act nobly. It means that high rank carries with it duties as well as privileges, and that when you go forth into the world you must so comport yourselves as to be worthy of your position ; otherwise you will forfeit, first, the confidence of your fellow-countrymen, and finally, the position itself. (Applause).

Next I have a word to say to any Chiefs of the Punjab who may be here present, and if none are here today, it is possible that my words may reach them through the medium of the Press. If they were here, I would speak to them in the following terms : This Aitchison College has not been founded in our interests. It is not a device that has been constructed by Government in order to bring either credit or advantage to the British Raj. It is an institution that has been founded in your interests, and in the interests of your families and your fortunes. You ought, therefore, Chiefs of the Punjab to give to this College greater

support than you have hitherto done. You ought, with scarcely an exception, to send your sons and grandsons and male relatives to this College, and you ought to endeavour to turn it into that which was the ambition of its founders, namely, that it should be the Eton or the Harrow of the Punjab. (Applause). Believe me, Chiefs, if you are here present, that the days are gone by when a hereditary aristocracy, however noble its origin, or however illustrious its service, can sit still, with folded hands, and contemplate the glories of its past. If you are to hold your own in the estates which you enjoy by virtue of your position, and in the confidence of the people, you must come forth from your isolation, must grapple with the facts of life, and show that you are fitted, by character and worth, for the position which every one is ready to concede to you. You must march alongside of knowledge, instead of toiling helplessly and feebly behind it. You must reinforce the claims of your high birth by equally high attainments. You must realise, above all, that destiny is not a passive influence, that lies in the lap of the gods, but is an active instrument that is in your own hands to shape as you will. (Applause).

Now that I have ventured to give these words of advice to the boys and young Princes and nobles of this College, and also to a wide circle of the Chiefs of the Punjab outside, may I be allowed to say that I have done so in no spirit of censorship or dictation or command? I have spoken to you both because I am a student interested in the manly and splendid traditions of this famous province of the Indian Empire—(applause)—because, as Viceroy, I have a claim to the support of every man in this country in my efforts to make India prosperous and strong, and because, as your

friend, I desire that in future generations and in an era of peace, you should retain, not by rank alone, but by preeminence of influence and character and worth the position which you won for yourselves in the more stormy days of old. (Loud and continued applause).

SPEECH AT THE RAILWAY CONFERENCE.

[At the Annual Meeting of the Railway Conference held on the 15th August, 1899, at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla,] His Excellency Lord Curzon presided and delivered the following address]:—

IN holding and presiding over this Conference, I am following the practice instituted by my predecessor, Lord Elgin, who devoted himself with so much businesslike energy and with such beneficial results to the development of railways in India during his term of office. Under the practice established by him this Conference meets yearly at Simla. Every third year the programme of expenditure and construction is drawn up in the Public Works Department by which the Government of India is more or less bound for the triennial period; and in intervening years classification of prospective lines, as originally adopted according to their degree of urgency, has been examined and revised by the Conference as a guide to the Department in the light of later experience or pressing need.

There are substantial advantages in this procedure. On the one hand, the comparison of the various proposals submitted to Government is conducted by an impartial Committee who make an honest endeavour to advise upon their selection, postponement, or rejection. On the other hand, a programme is drawn up for Government by which its proceedings are regulated, and which prevents a policy of drift or

caprice. In other words, we are gainers, first, by possession of system, secondly, by the reasonable prospect of some continuity in that system.

Nevertheless, I cannot say that I regard our proceedings as perfect or as realising the maximum possible advantage, nor am I clear that this Conference, either in its character or in its results, corresponds with the intention of those who originally suggested it. Their idea, I believe, was in some way to give a guarantee to the promoters, and to public opinion, of the fair consideration of the various schemes submitted to the Government of India, and, while not depriving the latter of its position as the final arbiter, to strengthen its decisions by the confidence attaching to an examination whose proceedings or whose results should have the additional merit of publicity. Whatever the benefits of our annual Conference, I cannot claim for it that these objects have been fully attained. Indeed, I am somewhat doubtful as to whether it can legitimately be entitled a Conference at all. A Conference is a high-sounding title, which conveys the impression of a meeting and a discussion between the principal parties concerned, who are in this case the Government of India on the one side, and the companies or promoters on the other. But a Conference, in which one of the two parties is not represented save by its manuscript statement or application, seems to me to have an imperfect claim to the title; and I should prefer to call our body what it is, namely, a Departmental Committee of Officials of the Government of India constituted to supplement the work of the Public Works Department. To apply to it the test of a wider examination in which general considerations of policy shall play a part and to recommend to the Government of India a systematic, and, so far as possible, a scientific

programme, I have resummoned the Conference this year in order that I may have a personal experience of the advantages or faults of the system before passing a final judgment upon it, and because I propose, when our sittings are concluded, to take the public into our confidence to a greater degree than has previously been the case.

I propose to recommend to the Government of India that the conclusions at which we arrive with reference to various lines shall be formulated in an easily intelligible shape, and be published. In this way the promoters will learn how their schemes stand in the estimation of the Government, instead of having to be content, as now, with the official intimation of success or the private inference of failure, while the public will gain an idea both of the magnitude and complexity of the problem which we are called upon to discuss, and of the general principles upon which we attempt to decide it. There remains to be considered the question whether it is possible to invest the proceedings of this so called Conference with any of those features in which I have described it as lacking. Upon this point I have had the benefit of the opinion and advice of my present Public Works colleague, Colonel Gardiner, who speaks with the double advantage both of official and commercial experience of railways in India. There are many difficulties in the way. We cannot suddenly constitute a body resembling a Parliamentary Committee at home. We have not the materials. The questions for decision are far more numerous and more complex. The Government of India is much more intimately concerned than is the Government in Great Britain. Above all, India is a much bigger country than England, and Simla

is not like London, an easily accessible centre to all parts of the kingdom.

It has occurred to us, however, that there may be cases in which local interests are acutely involved, and in which local feeling is likely to be more fairly represented if it is heard upon the spot than by any official or semi-official representations either at Simla or Calcutta. It is therefore in my mind to constitute, should the case arise, a small peripatetic Commission in which Government should, of course, exercise predominant influence, the Public Works Member, in all probability, taking the chair, and which should, in the touring season visit and conduct public enquiry in any locality where such a problem called for decision, the local Govenment, or local commercial bodies, being represented upon the Commission so as to lend both impartiality and weight to its decisions, which should then be communicated in the form of a recommendation to the Government of India.

If we carry out this idea, the experiment will be a tentative one. If it is a failure, it can be dropped. Should it turn out a success, I conceive it as not impossible that a body so formed might constitute a germ or nucleus of a more permanent Commission, which should place the Government in constant touch with the currents of public opinion, and which should also satisfy the promoters as to the *bona fides* and thoroughness of the investigation to which their claims are submitted. As regards the official programme prepared by the Public Works Department, there seems to me a disadvantage, so long as the triennial system is maintained, in not always keeping up that programme three years in advance. As matters now stand it is drawn up in every third year. The first of these programmes, based upon the first Conference, was

drawn up in 1896 when an expenditure of 29½ crores was fixed for the three succeeding years. As is known, this total was, for various reasons, not worked up to and only 25 crores were spent last year. When the second triennial programme was drawn up, less ambitious ideas prevailed, and an expenditure of 20⅓ crores, subsequently increased to 22⅓ crores on account of lapses in expenditure on the grant for 1898-99, was estimated for during the years 1899-1900, 1900-1901, and 1901-1902. Meanwhile, in the intervening years, the construction programme is annually examined and recast in the second year for the two remaining years of the triennial period, and in the third year for the single remaining year. But it appears to me that we should do well to be always three years ahead with our financial working programme. I therefore propose to recommend to the Government of India that Mr. Upcott should not limit himself to the two remaining years, the present term, but should include in his forecast the year 1902-3 and follow the same practice in succeeding years.

Concerning the general policy of the Government towards railways, it seems to me that just as the currency problem, which has agitated and perplexed the public mind for twenty years, has, in part, been solved by the steady compulsion of events so also the same irresistible pressure is directing our railway policy into more or less permanent grooves. It is easy to denounce the diversity or inconsistency of plans that has prevailed in the past. It is easy either to laugh or to cry over the Homeric battle of the Ganges. To me it seems more profitable to assist in the adaptation of our policy to the lines which seem to be marked out before it both by past experience and by common sense. The natural inclination is, in my judgment, in the direction not of expanding

but of gradually restricting Government agency. I must not be understood to deprecate in all cases State management or State construction; on the contray, I see great advantages both political and financial, in the maintenance of a Government staff. Still less would I impugn the advantage of State ownership or the necessity of State control. I am myself a believer in the desirability of purchasing a few outstanding lines as these continue to fall in. While State supervision is of the essence of State possession, probably we shall, as times improve, and as better offers are made us, gradually divest ourselves of the working of the majority at any rate of those lines which are still both owned and maintained by the Government. The terms under which we may be prepared to part with them appear to me to be a matter of financial expediency rather than of fixed principle. Our object should be to make the best bargain for the State. For my own part, I do not think there is anything surprising in the fluctuations that have hitherto occurred in our policy. When Lord Dalhousie first introduced railways into India, Government was unequal to the venture, and capital required to be attracted by easy, and even generous, terms. Later on, when the Government found it had been financially a heavy loser by the arrangements so made, there was a sharp reaction, and the railway policy of Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo was based upon strict governmental and centralising lines. We, who have now had a long experience of both systems, can discriminate between their virtues and vices, and can adopt a reasonable compromise. If that compromise tends towards a contraction of the area claimed by Government and an increasing expansion of facilities afforded to companies, it is because we do not want to overweigh the shoulders of Government with a burden they are unfitted to bear;

because we want to reinforce our own power and resources, with the assistance of capital, both British and native—and I wish that there were more of the latter forthcoming, as well as of the former—and because, in the spirit of healthy competition so engendered, seems to lie the best guarantee for the promotion of the public interest.

FOUNDATION-STONE LAYING OF THE BOMBAY IMPROVEMENT TRUST SCHEME.

[On the 9th November, 1899, in the afternoon, the Viceroy was present at the foundation-stone laying of the Improvement Trust Scheme at Nagpada, Bombay. Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay, having laid the stone, made a speech giving a history of the scheme. His Excellency the Viceroy then spoke as follows]:—

WHEN I landed in this City in December last, I did not then anticipate that within less than twelve months I should again be a visitor in your midst; still less could I have anticipated the circumstances under which I now come. Parts of India were then suffering, and Bombay in particular was suffering from an epidemic which, although it appeared in some measure to have abated its force, was far from eradicated. Since then that epidemic has again burst out with renewed virulence, both in Bombay and still more in other parts of this Presidency. Further, as if to intensify the affliction under which the people were weighed down and leave no source of misery unexplored, famine has fallen upon many districts in the northern part of this Presidency through which I have just been travelling; and although most fortunately it does not affect this immediate part of the country or this city, it must yet be a source of great anxiety to your rulers and must make them look forward with trepidation to the

next period at which their annual acconts will have to be squared. If we were to accept the saying as of general application, that those whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, we might draw the conclusion that the Bombay Presidecy was very dear to Providence, such has been the range and duration of its sufferings throughout this period. No impartial observer can fail to have been struck by two facts: firstly, by the resigned and pathetic patience displayed by the mass of the people secondly, by the activity and zeal with which the Local Government; aided by patriotic co-peration of reprsentative citizens, has endeavoured to cope with its almost herculean task. It is to indicate the sympathy of the Government of Indla with the woes of the people, and their admiration of the efforts which have been put forward for their amelioration that I havecome upon this informal visit to Bombay. To me, gentleman, it seems that the Government of India cannot and should not in the smallest degree wash its hands of the interest in and an ultimate resort of the responsibility for that which passes in presidencies and provinces that may be remote from its immediate ken. The head of the Government of India should not, in my judgment, 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, and for that matter, none so powerful or so independent as not to fall within the legitimate scope of his care. And now as to the particular circumstances that have brought me here to-day. When I was planning out my amended tour to the centres suffering in Northern and Central India, and when I offered myself to your Governor for the brief visit to Bombay and the Deccan, he was good

enough to inform me of the projected gathering this afternoon and to invite me to play the principal part in it. I could not consent to deprive him of the pleasing position to which his long and keen interest in this scheme conceived and now finally started during his term of office entitled him, and which no other could possibly have filled in his place, but I readily arranged my plans so as to bring me to Bombay in time for this ceremony, and to enable me to support him in the discharge of his pleasant duty; for gentlemen, what is the task upon which he and you are alike engaged and one o the inaugural steps in which we are commemorating this afternoon. I take my description of it from words that have fallen from Lord Sandhurst's lips just now. You are endeavouring to provide this great City of Bombay with the conditions which will make life here for the poorer classes sanitary, decent and wholesome. You want to bring the fresh breezes of the sea into the congested lungs of Bombay, to destroy the microbes of fever and pestilence that prey almost unchecked upon the constitution of an overcrowded, enfeebled population. You wish to make your city not merely beautiful without, but healthy within. It is for these purposes that all these vast works of the removal of old buildings and erection of new ones, of providing open spaces, of cutting wide and airy streets, of destruction and reconstruction and reclamation are designed It is a scheme proportionate in conception to the magnitude of the problem. It may probably, I hope, prove to be proportionate in the execution to the necessities of the case. Lord Sandhurst will I am sure, bear me out when I add that the Government of India have from the start, two years before I joind it, evinced a much more than a platonic interest in your scheme. We have supported you in your appeals to the Secretary of State

and have surrendered a large area of valuable property for the purposes of the contemplated improvements ; have passed special legislation in order to assist financial operations and add to the credit of the Trust, and we have lent the invaluable support of the credit of the Government of India to your Municipal loan. I feel, therefore, that I am only carrying out with a certain hereditary fitness an obligation which has been passed on to me by Lord Elgin's Government, in being present at the successful inception of a portion of that scheme which the support of himself and his colleagues helped to launch into existence. I said a little while back that it was the right and proper thing that Lord Sandhurst should play the leading part in the ceremony of to-day. It must gladden his heart as he draws near to the close of his official connection with this Presidency to feel that all the attention, labour and care that he has devoted to this city and these proposals, should begin to fructify in his time, and that before he leaves these shores a new Bombay will have started into being—a city not of palaces and towers, not of merchant princes or nobles but of toilers and sweaters who drink only of dregs of the cup of human happiness and to whom at least we should endeavour to secure that their scanty beverage is not bitter but sweet. To few Governors, if to any, has it fallen to pass through such a fiery ordeal, such a seven-times heated furnace of trouble and trial and affliction as has attended Lord Sandhurst during the past few years in Bombay. Such trials, if rightly met, broaden sympathies. At the same time they steel the nerves of a man who is by temperament both humane and brave. I am sure that there is not an individual in the Bombay Presidency, European or native, who does not know that in Lord Sandhurst they have had a Governor whose sympathies have always been with the

suffering, whose courage has remained inflexible in the face of any calamity, however dire. He will leave behind him a record of arduous work honourably and conscientiously performed, and what is not given to any but few to enjoy, a place in the affectionate regard of the people. I have the advantage of knowing of having worked for many years as a colleague in Parliament of the new Governor, who in a few months' time will take his place. The Parliamentary career and public reputation of Sir Stafford Northcote and the name of his father who was one of the most liberal-minded and successful Secretaries of State whom India has ever had, would in any case have ensured to him a favourable reception in India; but the personal acquaintance I have honour to claim with Sir Stafford, Northcote, entitles me to assure the people of this Presidency, that they will find in their their next Governor a man of ripe experience and much sagacity, who will worthlly snstain the traditions of his predecessors in respect both of sympathy with the people and sound judgment in administration. I hope that when next I visit Bombay, I may find that the scheme which Lord Sandhurst has so energetically started may be far advanced on the way towards completion, and that I may see this fair city with smiles on her face and no longer with tears in her eyes. (Loud cheers.)

SPEECH AT POONA.

[On Saturday the 11th November, 1899, the Viceroy was present at a meeting of Voluntary Plague Workers in the Council Hall at Poona. Some 500 or 600 workers were present. His Excellency Lord Sandhurst, Governor of Bombay, who received the Viceroy, in his opening speech referred to the admirable work done by the Volunteers and said that a few words of approbation and encouragement from the Viceroy would be highly valued. After a brief address had been read by the Presidency Magistrate, the Viceroy said]:—

LADIES and Gentlemen,—It is a source of great pleasure to me in this beautiful hall, which I now see for the first time, to have received the words of sympathetic and appreciative welcome that have just fallen from the lips of Mr. Padamjee who, I understand, has been for many years one of your most leading and representative citizens. In one respect I cordially endorse what he has said. I am glad to be able to congratulate you, on this occasion of my first visit to Poona, upon better times. There can be no doubt that you have suffered cruelly and long. Poona during the past year has, I am afraid, been like a city lying in the valley of the shadow of death. The city has been largely deserted by the population, and fear and apprehension have naturally enough entered into the hearts of the people. Pestilence has not spared the home of Europeans any more than it has that of the native, and in striking it, in cases which are known to us all, it has taken away the dearly beloved, the fair, the young. There was another very pathetic case which I came across in my tour of inspection this morning when I learned of the death of a worthy Mahomedan citizen of this place, Juffar Yusuf, who contracted plague in the very hospital which

largely by his own munificence and activity had been called into being, and there have been other cases similar to these, such, for instance, as the one mentioned by Mr. Padamjee in the remarks to which we have just listened. At the same time the extent to which the native population have suffered is shown by the fact that they have lost, I believe a total of more than 10,000 of their inhabitants in this city. In these circumstances, your Excellency and gentlemen, great credit is, I think, due to that brave band who have never lost heart in the deepest hour of adversity, but who with unwavering courage and with purest self-sacrifice have continued to wage battle against the foul fiend that was encamped in your midst. It is to meet this gallant band of fighters and congratulate them now that their battle may be said to be well nigh over and their victory to have been won, that I have come here this afternoon and warm, I can assure you, are the feelings of respect with which on behalf of the Government of India I recognise their devotion, and warm also the thanks which I tender them for the work that they have done. As the Chairman of the Municipal Commissioners himself indicated in his remarks, you have had an untiring and chivalrous commander in your Governor and a double compliment can perhaps, not be better paid than by saying that the soldiers have not been unworthy of their captain. It is quite certain that but for the voluntary efforts—and I understand from what you, Sir, tell me that the majority of those I am addressing are volunteer workers—the state of Poona whould have been much worse than it has been. Of course the Government here as elsewhere has its own organisation and officers.

Those officers both civil and military, have distinguished themselves by their ubiquitous and unsparing zeal. But there are strains which no official mechanism in the world,

however perfect, is adequate to meet without the supplement of some extraneous help. Such a crisis does occur when you have a great epidemic breaking out in a populous city. Then you require not merely the trained energy of the official, but you also want the quick and more subtle influence and co-operation of popular residents in the place, who will go to and fro and in and out among the people, and who are none the worse off if their local knowledge is also tinctured with a little of the enthusiasm of the amateur. You have had all these advantages in this place, and you have had the further assistance of a body of nurses as unselfish and devoted as in any country or any period of the World's history have ever given themselves to alleviation of the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Your Excellency and gentlemen, what the future of plague may be none of us can say, we can but struggle on and do our best. Whether a cure for the pestilence is ever likely to be discovered, it would be rash for any one of us, and particularly for one who like myself is a layman to predict. At present by taking each case as soon as you can, by removing the patient from an infected house or quarter into the nearest hospital, and by surrounding him there with conditions under which he is certain of pure air and sound treatment and stimulating sustenance, you endeavour, and I beleive that in a constantly increasing percentage of cases you manage, to pull him through. But there are many prophylactics against the plague which can, and which, in my opinion, ought as widely as possible to be employed. I say frankly on this occasion, and I do not care how widely my words may be spread, that in my judgment inoculation is by far the wisest system of prophylactics that you can adopt. I do not say so because I have medical or chemical knowledge which would enable me to pronounce with authority

upon the constituent proportions or upon the scientific results of the serum, but I say so because as a thinking human being, with the power of using my eyes and ears, I cannot fail to be conscious of its demonstrable effects. If I find, as I do, that out of a hundred plague seizures among uninoculated persons the average of those who died is something about 70 to 80 per cent., and if I find that in a corresponding number of seizures among inoculated persons the proportions are entirely reversed and that it is 70 to 80 per cent, if not more who are saved—and these are calculations which have been furnished to me from more than one very responsible quarter—then I say that figures of that kind cannot but carry conviction to my mind, and I fail altogether to see how in the face of them it is possible for anyone to argue that inoculation is not a wise and necessary precaution. It is all very well to say that it is not a infallible. No one so far as I know claims that it is. Its effects are apt to be obliterated in the passage of time. I t acts differently in different cases. There are some physical consititutions to which it is apparently entirely unsuited. Unless the serum is most carefully administered as well as scrupulously prepared there is some danger arising from contamination. These are the risks, but I think, small risks, attendant upon the inroduction of the system, for which no one that I know of claims absolute faultlessness. But that inoculation has saved thousands and thousands of lives that would otherwise have been lost, and that it gives to the patient more than a reasonable chance of recovery, and that in spite of its theoretical conflict with the conservatism of Indian feeling and with the traditions of native medicine the majority of the most distinguished native medical practitioners in this country are already in its favour, and that more converts

are being made from the remainder each day—these are the propositions which I believe to be impossible to dispute. If you have any doubt about it, take the case which was mentioned by His Excellency in his speech just now. Take the Cantonment which lies within the sight and knowledge of most of you in this room and ask General Burnett whose unfaltering devotion you know so well, what inoculation has done for him in the Poona Cantonment. I do not say that you ought to force inoculation upon the people. I am entirely of the opposite opinion. It is difficult to force something upon a community which we ourselves who give it may be entirely convinced is for their good, but which either from prejudice or from ignorance they are equally convinced is for their harm. You can do it in the case of children, because they are irresponsible, but it is not easy to do it in the case of a community of grown up men, and still less easy is it in the case of an Asiatic country where, as we all know, feelings of conservatism are very strong, and where among a great mass of the population a knowledge of what we in European countries call medical science cannot be said to exist but for the sake of those who know no better, in the interests, not of science but humanity, for that in the cause which I am pleading and for the future welfare of thousands of human lives, let no effort be spared to spread facts to inoculate reason, and win by persuation that which you cannot extort by force. But you may say to me (if I may turn an English proverb into terms that will be familiar to yourselves) that a seer of example is worth a maund of precepts, I quite agree with that philosophy, and I may inform you that I have carried it out in my own person. Knowing that I was likely to spend many agreeable hours in visiting plague hospitals in this part of India I practised my own precept, and I and my

whole party were inoculated before we left Simla. I have had no cause to regret it, and cordially commend the example to others who may be placed in a similar position. It now only remains for me to bid you farewell. My visits to Bombay and Poona have, I think, enabled me to realise better than a study of newspapers or reading official reports, how genuine have been the sufferings of the people, and how heroic the efforts that have been made to alleviate them. I have also seen that here at Poona, as elsewhere in the world, a dark cloud has its silver lining, and that the co-operation against human suffering and disease in which you have all been engaged has done a great deal to draw tighter the chords of harmony and fellow-feeling that should unite, and which I believe at the present juncture more than at any previous time do unite, all sections in this city. I shall go back to my work at headquarters encouraged and fortified by what I have seen and I hope that the knowledge, little though it may be, that I have secured, will enable me the better to cope with any further emergency should such arise. I will only add that in such a case I earnestly hope that the city of Poona will not again be one of the victims.

SPEECH AT THE STATE BANQUET AT BHOPAL.

[On the 25th November, in the evening, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal gave a State Banquet at Bhopal in honor of the visit of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Curzon. After dinner the Begum veiled in a handsome *bhurka* of brocaded silk entered with Colonel Barr, the Resident and took her seat between the Viceroy and Lady Curzon. His Excellency having proposed the toast of the Queen Empress, the Begum, who was received with cheers, in a clear unfaltering voice, read in the vernacular a speech proposing the health of the Viceroy and Lady Curzon. His Excellency, in responding to the toast, spoke as follows]:—

YOUR Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Her Highness the Begum, whose guests we have the pleasure of being to-night, has the gift of graceful speech no less than that of munificent hospitality. She has proposed the health of Lady Curzon and myself in terms so felicitous that in our recollection they will always crown the memory of our first official visit to one of the principal native States of India. (Cheers). It is a satisfaction to me to think that the particular State which thus receives us should be one the ruler of which has during a period of more than thirty years won so honourable a reputation for enlightened and public spirited administration, besides sustaining the tradition already rendered notable by the conduct of her mother of devoted loyalty to the British Crown. (Cheers). That the sceptre need not pass into feeble or irresolute hands when by the accident of fortune it is wielded by a woman, is shown by the career of our own beloved sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen Empress —(cheers)—nor may we fail on a smaller scale to find an ustration of the same phenomenon in the case of the two

successive Begums who have now for a combined period of more than half a century presided over the fortunes of the state of Bhopal. (Cheers). Her Highness' mother was distinguished not only, as I have said, for her fidelity to the British Raj, but also for her ability as a ruler. Similarly the rule of Her Highness has been rendered memorable by many acts of administrative prudence and of private generosity—(hear, hear)—while from the speech which she has just delivered I gather with pleasure that her active interest in the well-being of her subjects is far from being exhausted, and that she still continues to devise and to carry out projects which testify to her practical wisdom and will conduce to the prosperity of the State. (Cheers). I shall on Monday morning have the pleasure of inspecting on the parade ground the regiment of cavalry which Her Highness has contributed to the defence of the Empire, and which she has designated with the name of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. (Hear hear). Her Highness has never failed to take as great interest in these men as though she were herself their military commander, and I am pleased to hear that she has recently added to the attractions of the regiment by raising the scale of pay, (Hear, hear). I look with great interest upon the conversion of the native currencies in the feudatory States of India, and the substitution for them of the uniform and stable coinage of the British mints. In taking this step as far back as 1897, Her Highness has acted as a pioneer in a movement in which, I believe, she is destined to find many followers, and which must unquestionably tend to the commercial advantage of the entire community. Similarly Her Highness has been well advised in keeping her eye upon the gangs of desperate and unruly men who from time to time raise their hands even in modern India, and

who find in any season of distress an opportunity for reviving the discredited profession of predatory crime. The first test of an orderly State is the degree of security which it gives to the life and property of its citizens, and dacoits are public scourges to whom the state should show no mercy. (Hear, hear and cheers). It is a source of great gratification to me to find on coming into the Bhopal State that although, as Her Highness has said, the situation is not altogether free from anxiety as to the agricultural outlook, yet the cirmustances of this part of India are so much more favourable than many of those which I have lately been visiting. It is a trying experience to see pinched human faces and dying cattle. I echo Her Highness' prayer that in this State she may escape both calamities and that Providence may be merciful to her people. In conclusion, it only remains for me to thank Her Highness the Begum for the friendly and auspicious wishes that she has uttered on behalf of Lady Curzon and myself, to assure her that we shall not forget our right royal welcome in this State, and, to ask all the ladies and gentlemen who are seated at this table, and who like ourselves are the recipients of her profuse hospitality, to join with me in drinking "Long life and prosperity to her Highness the Begum of Bhopal." (Loud and continued cheers),

SPEECH AT THE GWALIOR STATE DINNER.

[On Wednesday the 29th November, 1899, His Highness the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior gave a dinner in honour of their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon. In reply to the toast of their Excellencies, proposed by the Maharajah, the Viceroy spoke as follows]:—

YOUR Highness, Ladies and gentlemen,—In rising to thank His Highness for the agreeable manner in which he has proposed the health of Lady Curzon and myself, I feel

that I am enjoying one of the happiest experiences of an Indian Viceroy in coming for the first time as a guest to the ruler of the state of Gwalior. (Cheers). There is in this place such a pleasing and uncommon blend of old world interests with the liveliest spirit of modern progress that one hardly knows whether the imaginative or the practical side of nature is more thrilled by all that one sees and hears. The official visits of Viceroys to Native States are sometimes deprecated on the score of the ceremonial and perhaps costly formalities which they involve and of thier time-honoured attributes of pomp and display. I am not inclined to share these views. To me personally there is no more interesting part of my Indian work than the opportunities which are presented to me on tour or elsewhere of an introduction to the acquaintance and as I fondly hope to the confidence of the native princes and chiefs of India. (Hear, hear, and cheers). And if these princes prefer, as I believe they do prefer, to receive the representative of the Sovereign whom they all acknowledge and for whom they entertain a profound and chivalrous devotion—(hear, hear)—with a dignityl becoming both to his position and to their own rank, I think that he would be a captious and sour-minded critic who were to deny to them an opportunity which I believe to be as highly appreciated by their subjects as it is valued by themselves. (Cheers). The spectacles and the problem of Native States of India are indeed a subject that never loses its fascination for my mind. Side by side with our own system and sometimes almost surrounded by British territory, there are found in this wonderful country the possessions, the administration, the proud authority, and the unchallenged traditions of the native dynasties; a combination, which

both in the picturesque variety of its contrast, and still more in the smooth harmony of its operation, is, I believe, without parallel in the history of the world. (Cheers). The British Government, alone of all Governments, has succeeded in the wise policy of building up the security and safeguarding the rights of its feudatory principalities and to this are due the stability of their organisation and loyalty of their rulers. I rejoice, wherever I go, to scrutinise the practical outcome of this policy; to observe the States consolidated, the Chiefs powerful, and their privilege unimpaired; but I also do not hesitate to say wherever I go that a return is owing for these advantages, and that security cannot be rapid by license or the guarantee of rights by the unchartered exercise of wrong. The Native Chief has become by our policy an integral factor in the imperial organisation of India. (Cheers). He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner (Loud cheers). He cannot remain *vis a-vis* with the Empire, a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen Empress and *vis-a-vis* with his own people, a frivolous or irresponsible despot. (Hear, hear). He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him. He must be the servant as well as the master of his people. (Cheers). He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest, and that his *gadi* is not intended to be a Divan of indulgence but the stern seat of duty. (Cheers). His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the race course, or in the European Hotel. (Haar, hear). These be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxa-

tions, but his real work, his princely duty lies among his own people. (Cheers). By this standard shall I at any rate judge him. By this test will he in the long run be judged. Is a political institution to perish or survive? (Cheers). It is with the greater freedom that I venture upon these remarks on the present occasion; because I don't know anywhere of a prince who better exemplifies their application, or who shows a more consistent tendency to act up to the ideal which I have sketched than the young Maharaja, whose splendid hospitality we are enjoying this evening. (Loud cheers). Before I arrived in India I had heard of his public spirit, his high sense of duty, his devotion to the interests of his country. During my first few days in Calcutta I had, as he has mentioned, the pleasure of making his acquaintance, and now in his own state the opportunity is presented to me of improving it, which I very highly prize, and of seeing at first hand the excellent work which he is doing in almost every branch of administration. The Maharaja appears to me, from all I have heard, to have realised that the secret of successful government lies in his personality. (Hear, Hear). If he expects his officials to follow an example he himself must set it. If he desires to conquer torpor or apathy he must exhibit enthusiasm—(Hear, hear)—everywhere. He must be to his people the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of dispassionate zeal. There is no position to which a prince who fulfils this conception may not aspire in the affections of his countrymen, and there is scarcely any limit to his capacity of useful service to the State. (Cheers). It is only five years ago the Maharaja Scindia was invested with full ruling powers, but how much can be done within a short space of time by an exercise of the faculties and accomplishments which I have described, may be gathered from the

remarkable but unassuming record of administrative progress set forth in the speech which His Highness has just delivered. It is a record which any ruler might be proud to point to and any Viceroy gratified to receive. (Cheers). The Maharaja has mentioned the steps which he took in 1896-97 to relieve the famine and distress in those portions of his State, which were then afflicted, but he has refrained from alluding to a measure then taken by him, which I regard as of at least equal importance in the evidence of public-spirited and practical sagacity which it supplied. He came to the rescue of some of the neighbouring States in their hour of need, and by a system of well-timed loans, in which the Government of India were only too happy to lend him the assistance of their guarantee, he enabled several of his brother Chiefs to tide over what would otherwise have been a serious crisis, at the same time that he obtained a reasonable interest upon his own outlay. The policy in fact was not merely one of opportune and generous relief, but also of sound and practical finance. (Hear, hear and cheers). I hope that should the occasion again arise, His Highness may be equally ready in protecting the interests of his own subjects, while I rejoice to have heard since my arrival in Gwalior that he has already volunteered to repeat his former action in lending a helping hand to some of his less wealthy and well-placed neighbours. (Cheers). The Maharajah has alluded to another measure, *viz.*, the conversion of his currency, in which we may find a further illustration of the same liberal ideas combined with good business. (Hear, hear). It is observed that the existence of as many as five different coinages of various and fluctuating value in a State of this size must have been fraught not merely with inconvenience but with positive economic loss to his subjects. Indeed the Maharaja himself has

graphically described it as a public calamity, so it was ; but it will not be so much longer, for I entertain no doubt that the conversion when it has been completely carried out, will result in a direct expansion of the revenue of the State, as well as an advantage to every class of the population from the zemindar and cultivator of the soil to the merchant and Bannia in the city bazars. I must also express my acknowledgment of the excellent service that has been rendered in a perhaps less showy, but certainly not less important, field of administration by his revision of the revenue settlement in Gwalior, and by the operations of the Revenue Board, in both of which measures His Highness has had the invaluable expert assistance of one of his ablest officials, Colonel Pitcher, (Cheers). And now I come to another department of the Maharaja's activity, in which he has shown a good deal of the spirit of the enthusiast as well as of the aptitude of the statesman. I believe that His Highness may be said to have inherited his military instincts from his distinguished father, the late Maharaja, who, as we all know, was no mean soldier, and who was honored by being made an honorary General in her Majesty's army. (Cheers). To-morrow morning I shall have the pleasure of inspecting both the Imperial Service troops which His Highness has furnished on so liberal a scale towards Lord Dufferin's great scheme of combined Imperial defence, and also his own military forces. I must not therefore praise that which I have not yet seen, except in the streets yesterday and today, but I am at liberty to appeal to notorious facts. The service which was rendered by the Gwalior transport corps in the Chitral and Tirah campaign is known to all—(cheers)—and we also know how keenly the Prince has interested himself in every detail of their equipment and discipline and how earnest was

his desire to be permitted to serve with them at the front (Cheers). His two regiments of Imperial Service Cavalry are, I am informed, equally fit for active service, and it must be a gratification to Sir Howard Melliss and to his capable band of inspecting officers to see how thoroughly the aid that they have given to the Maharaja in the organisation and training of these troops has been justified by the results, the more so as this is the last occasion upon which Sir H. Melliss will inspect them before he retires from a service, which has been of equal advantage to the Native States, whose Imperial Service Regiments he has supervised, and to the Government of India by whom he has for so many years been entrusted with the task. (Cheers). As regards his own forces the Maharaja's rule has been characterised by a similar advance in efficiency, for while he has decreased the number of his troops he has taken active steps in which he has not been unassisted by the Government of India to raise the standard, and to improve the condition of the remainder. I am convinced that His Highness is speaking from the bottom of his heart, when he declares that he has no higher ambition than to serve in person against the enemies of the Queen in any capacity or place where an opportunity may be afforded to him, and I shall not fail to pass on to Her Majesty his loyal statements and his manly and patriotic words. (Loud cheers). I was glad to note the generous and friendly tribute which was paid by the Maharaja to my Agent in Central India, Colonel Barr (hear, hear) as well as to his office. (Hear hear). I know from experience that Colonel Barr who has been so long associated with his Highness, regards him with an affection that has in it almost a parental tinge, (cheers) and I rejoice to think that the many services which Colonel Barr has

rendered to the Maharaja and to the State are not less frankly recognised in Gwalior than they are at the head-quarters of Government. (Cheers). Before I sit down I must not fail to thank His Highness for the singularly graceful terms in which he has included the name of Lady Curzon. In this toast we shall both look forward while we are in India, to further opportunities of improving an acquaintance, so happily begun and so likely as I hope to deepen into a personal regard. I shall watch the future of His Highness with the keenest interest. I believe that he has before him a career that will be replete with advantage to his subjects and with honour to himself. I trust that he may be blessed with good health; that his spirits may remain eager, and his courage undimmed (cheers); for my own part I can truthfully say that I never raised a glass to my lips with greater pleasure than on this present occasion, when I give to you all, ladies and gentlemen, the toast of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. (Loud and continued cheers).

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE VICTORIA COLLEGE AND THE MEMORIAL HOSPITAL AT GWALIOR.

[On the 30th November, 1899, His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the ceremony for opening the Victoria College and Memorial Hospital at Gwalior. The Maharajah, in asking His Excellency to declare the buildings open, explained that the College was in commemoration of Her Majesty's Jubilee and the Hospital in memory of his father the late Maharajah. The Viceroy in reply, said] :—

YOUR Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I gladly accept the invitation which your Highness has just addressed to me to declare these buildings, the Victoria

college and the Memorial Hospital, open, and I congratulate your Highness upon the successful completion of two very remarkable undertakings which will not merely redound to your own credit, but will be of great advantage to your people. Both are in a sense memorial buildings, but whereas the college commemorates a great event in the history of a life fortunately still spared to the world, *viz.*, that of her Majesty the Queen-Empress, the other is a filial monument to the memory of a life which has passed away. Permit me to remark that in selecting the character of these memorials Your Highness has in this case showed a wise discrimination, for, whereas a building for the relief of human suffering and all the ills to which our mortal flesh is heir is the worthiest and most unselfish of tributes to the dead, I am certain that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress could not wish for any more suitable trophy of her Jubilee year than an institution which, as time goes on, will teach to hundreds of her Indian subjects the lessons of her wonderful and beneficent reign (Cheers). And first I must be allowed to congratulate Your Highness upon the external features and beauty of these buildings in a land which was once so celebrated for its architecture and its arts and which contains what are, on the whole, the most beautiful monuments in the world.

I am always on the search for some evidence that we do not live in an artistically degenerate age, and that the 19th century can follow even at a remote distance in the footsteps of the 17th and the 16th, I do not, as a rule, find much to encourage me in my investigation, but from time to time in modern buildings that reproduce the architecture of the Moghul epoch, or as Your Highness has called it, the Indo-Saracenic style, I have observed traces of the old grace and imagination in detail. The greater part of the modern work

seems to me to be incomparably inferior, but I have noticed, in the buildings which I am now opening some specimen of the carving in stone for which Gwalior has long been famous and which seems to me to perpetuate, with a good deal of fidelity and some originality, the classical productions of a bygone age. I have listened with interest to what Your Highness has told me concerning the curriculum of this college and the judicious admixture of physical exercise with mental training which is provided for its pupils. If your professors and masters can teach the boys and young men that the supreme aim in life is not to win a University degree, but to qualify themselves for the profession in life which they aspire or are adapted to fill, they will have done a good work. Let them make their syllabus of teaching broad and many-sided, and let it also be business-like and practical. It is a better thing to be able to succeed in the battle of life, than it is to attach the initials B. A. to one's name. (Cheers). In this context, I would venture to urge upon Your Highness the desirability of providing the college with as good a library as possible. Many a boy only realises his natural bent from a comparative study of books. He discovers, it may be by accident, a subject, a science, an art or a profession that arrests his attention and quickens his concern, and so instead of drifting from the current of life he moors his craft in some selected spot and becomes a useful, because he is a self-centred, member of society. I am happy to think that the institution of this college is no merely fitful or spasmodic exhibition of Your Highness's zeal in the cause of education but that it represents a stage, and a very advanced and important stage, in a sustained policy of public instruction which Your Highness is now applying to all classes and to both sexes in your State. From this point of view I have heard

with much interest of the Service school which has recently been started to train up young men for State employment, of the military and law schools which are to give instruction in those two professions, and of the Sirdar's school which has been designed for the education of the young nobles of the Gwalior State. I regard the latter as a most excellent movement in India : the impulse must in nine cases out of ten be communicated from above, and it is the aristocratic and land-owning classes who must be, so to speak, inoculated before the lower orders can be permeated with a desire for better things. If I turn to the Memorial Hospital, I feel that it ought in a not inferior degree to fill a useful place in the organisation of the State. It will, in the first place, be a good thing to get the sick and ailing persons out of the crowded quarters of a native city into the pure air and ample surroundings henceforward to be provided for them, and it is also in my judgment a good thing that such measures should be spontaneously inaugurated by native princes, in as much as there can, in their case, be no ground for the suspicion that sometimes out of pure ignorance attaches to European or Government action. The Medical Department of the Gwalior State under the able management of Lieutenant Colonel Crafts appears from the reports that have been submitted to me to be in a very efficient condition, while the manner in which it succeeded in extirpating plague, when it attacked the village of Khandraoni in 1897, was a model of scientific and summary procedure. (Cheers). In declaring these buildings open, as I now do, I hope that they may have before them a long and successful future in training the mental energies, and in relieving the physical sufferings of the inhabitants of this State ; and if this hope be realised, a time will come when they will be regarded as monuments,

not merely of Your Highness's loyalty to the Queen-Empress, or of your affection for a father's memory, but of your own enlightenment and common sense. (Cheers).

PRESENTATION TO SIR PERTAB SING.

[On the 9th December, 1899, their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon in the course of their sight-seeing at Agra, visited Akbar's famous tomb at Sikandra, where, in the gardens there, the residents of Agra entertained the Viceregal party at a garden party. Then His Excellency presented Maharajah Sir Pertab Sing, with the Cross of the Bath. In doing so, His Excellency spoke as follows]:—

LADIES and Gentlemen,—I now proceed to the most pleasurable part of this evening's entertainment, namely the presentation by myself, as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen, of the Cross of the Bath to Colonel the Maharaja Adhiraj Sir Pertab Sing. The Cross of the Bath, as we all know, is an Order ancient in origin, illustrious in character, conferred by the Sovereign for eminent service, either in the civil branches of her administration or upon the field. She has given it to the Maharaja for services rendered by him in the Mohmand expedition of 1897, when he served as an Extra Aide-de-Camp upon the Staff of Major-General Elles. The Maharaja cheerfully and courageously bore his share in the hardships of that campaign and he thereby set an excellent example to every class of Her Majesty's subjects.

At a later date in the Tirah campaign, under our present Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Lockhart, the Maharaja rendered similarly excellent service. He was wounded in one of the engagements that then took place, and he was reward-

ed for his services by being promoted to a Honorary Colonelcy in the ranks of the British Army.

Nor have I by any means exhausted, in this short record, the catalogue of the services of the Maharaja. He has been a firm and loyal friend of the British Government, and has gained honour in peace as well as in war. We know that for many years, as brother of the late Maharaja and as uncle of the present ruler, he has played a great part in the administration of his State of Jodhpur. We know that to him, in the main, we owe the raising and the equipment of the two splendid regiments of Jodhpur Imperial Service Cavalry. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has included him in the ranks of his Aides-de-Camp, and the Maharaja has ridden a conspicuous and chivalrous figure in two Jubilees of her Majesty the Queen.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is the striking personality whom I have invited you here to honor this evening. A gallant Rajput nobleman, a brave warrior, a genuine sportsman, a true gentleman, a loyal and devoted subject of Her Majesty the Queen, long may he live to wear the decoration which I am now about to pin upon his breast, and may the younger men of India, the Princes and Chiefs and Nobles of this country, imitate his manly and inspiring example.

SPEECH AT THE LUCKNOW DURBAR.

[On the night of the 31st December, 1899, a great Durbar was held in a large tent in the Martiniere Park at Lucknow, at which the Rajah of Kapurthala and 528 Talukdars and Durbaris were presented. After the presentations, the Viceroy addressed the assembly as follows]:—

TALUKDARS and Durbaris of Oudh—In the concluding stages of a tour which while it has been one of hard work and of some strain, has yet taught me much and enabled me to see much that a Viceroy of India ought to know, it is with no small pleasure that I meet in the dignified and time-honoured function of a Durbar, so famous and so loyal a body of Her Majesty's subjects, as the Talukdars of Oudh. Upon my arrival at Calcutta you paid me the compliment of an address of welcome, presented to me by the hands of your President, the Maharaj of Ajudhya, and now in the historic capital of your own province, to which so many memories cling that are dear both to your race and mine, the opportunity is presented to me of returning the compliment and of receiving you in a manner befitting the rank and traditions of the Talukdars of Oudh.

I regard a Durbar as an occasion of no ordinary significance, not merely because of its picturesque and stately ceremonial, or of its harmony with the venerated traditions of an ancient polity, as because of the opportunity which is furnishes to a Viceroy to meet, in becoming surroundings, the leading men in the community and to exchange with them those formal assurances which, to my mind, are invested with a much more than conventional courtesy, inasmuch as they are the real foundation stones of the stable fabric of Her Majesty's Indian Empire. Open speech and a clear

understanding between the Qeen's representative and her trusted lieges, are essential to the solidarity of a dominion which is built upon the co-operation of both, and while I am honoured by holding my present office, I shall welcome instead of shrinking from any such occasion for any such interchange of confidence and renewal of understanding. Indeed, to me it seems that the times have passed by, when rulers or the deputies of rulers can anywhere live with impunity amid the clouds of Olympus. They must descend from the hilltops and visit the haunts of men. They must speak to their fellows in their own tongue and must be one in purpose and in heart with the people. Only so will they justify their high station ; only so will their authority be free from challenge ; because it will be founded upon trust. It was in such a spirit that Lord Canning came to Lucknow in October, 1859, to obliterate the fears of the Mutiny and to inaugurate the new regime of generous clemency aud benefaction, to which the Talukdars of Oudh owe their status and their rights in this assemblage to-day. There are doubtless some here who remember that historic occasion and who call to mind the assurance of Lord Canning, that so long as the Talukdars remained loyal and faithful subjects, and just masters, their rights and dignities should be upheld by every representative of the Queen, and that no man should disturb them. It was in pursuit and in confirmation of Lord Canning's policy that Sir John Lawrence came here in 1867 to acknoledge the liberal manner in which the Talukdars had met his efforts to mitigate certain hardships which had resulted from the arrangements of 1858. It was in a similar spirit that in 1882 Lord Ripon received the Talukdars upon the very spot where Lord Canning had

presented to them their charter twenty-three years before, and while it is on the same site, it is also I assure you in an identical spirit, that after a further lapse of seventeen years, another Viceroy has come here, to-day, to renew to you the friendly assurances of the sovereign power, and to mark yet another stage in the history of the undisturbed and happy relations that subsist between the Talukdars and the Britssh Government. It was not till I had ascertained from inquiry that you yourselves were most anxious that this Durbar should be held, and that you recognized in it a compliment to your position as well as a confirmation of your privileges, that I arranged with Sir Antony MacDonnel for the ceremony of this afternoon. I am not one of those persons, Talukdars, who would venture to claim that the policy of the British Government in India has always or everywhere been distinguished by consistency, or foresight, or wisdom. We have made many experiments and we have perpetrated some failures. I am not sure that Ouhh has not been the scene of some of those experiments, and perhaps also the witness of some those failures. We have sometimes poured new wine very hastily into old bottles, and have been surprised if they have burst in our hands. But whatever the errors, the miscalculations of the British Government, in the past, we may I think claim with truth that we do not depart from our pledged word and that British honor is still the basis, as it is the safeguard of British administration. It was once said by a most brilliant writer, who has yet devoted his genius to the illumination of Anglo-Indian history that English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity. I agree with those words. Where the faith of the Government has been pledged

there even at a loss to ourselves at a sacrifice of our material interests and, sometimes, even to our political detriment, we have, so far as my knowledge extends, uniformly held to our bond, and I hope shall continue to do so to end. If ultimately we have profited by this conduct no such considerations of expediency, believe me, have been our motive. We have pursued justice and truth, it may be sometimes with faltering steps, but for their own sake and for that alone. Our relations with the Province of Oudh afford a not inapt illustration of steadfast adherence to this high standard of public honour. For forty years our policy towards Oudh has never deviated from the ideal which when the Mutiny was over was deliberately accepted and promulgated by Lord Canning, and at a later date was ratified by Sir John Lawrence, namely, that of maintaining the existing privileges guaranteed by the binding engagements of the landed aristoracy of this province.

With this object have been devised the various measures of legislation that have from time to time been passed, with reference to the land question in Oudh, the Oudh Estates Act of 1869, the Talukdars Relief Act of 1870, and the Oudh Rent Act of 1886. It is with the same object in view that your present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell has recently framed the Settled Estates Bill, which, with a patience worthy of a statesman and with an anxious desire to consider every point of view, and to conciliate all reasonable opposition that has uniformly characterised his public career, he has successfully guided through the earlier stages of its inception and introduction.

It is unfortunately but too true that some members, at any rate, of your body have fallen upon evil times, and that

pressure of financial embarrassment, due sometimes to extravagance and folly, but sometimes also to the force of circumstances beyond human control, has resulted in the increasing transfer and alienation, in other words, in the breaking up of the estates which it has always been the desire of the British Government, equally with yourselves, to conserve from those dangers the unarrested progress of which would be fraught with mischief to the entire community. The Talukdars themselves petitioned Government to find for them some relief, I and it is in deference to this request that the Bill, of which I speak, has been drawn up and brought in.

Gentlemen, it rests with yourselves whether, when this Bill has been passed into law, you take advantage of it or not. In deference to our engagements in the faithful execution of our pledged word, we cannot, and we should not, propose to dictate to you a curtailment of rights, which, if acceptable to some, might be superfluous and obnoxious to others. We can but provide the means by which, without prejudice to the legitimate rights of creditors, those of you who desire to ensure the maintenance of their hereditary estates, by direct settlement, may be able to do so. If the Court of Wards Bill, which has been introduced and passed by the local legislature, with the same disinterested and conservative aim, be regarded by the Talukdars as the supplement of the Settled Estates Bill, to whose successful operation it should lend a great reinforcement of strength, I see no reason why you should not obtain speedy and permanent relief from the embarrassments of which you complain. But I repeat that the Government, having played their part, it is now for you to play yours in the same temper of loyalty and good faith that has uniformly marked your relations with the Supreme Government, since the present system began.

Gentlemen, everywhere throughout India, I observe an increasing spirit of public activity and an awakening to the conditions of modern life, which convince me that the conservatism of the most conservative of countries is not incompatible with a keen recognition of the necessities of an age of progress. The spread of railways, the increase of education, the diffusion of the press, the construction of public works, the expansion of manufacturing and industrial undertakings, all of these bespeak not the placid reveries of a recluse, who is absorbed in abstract thought or in numb contemplation of the past, but the eager yearnings of a fresh and buoyant life. This spirit, as is natural, is most visible in the great centres of population and in districts which are traversed by the main lines of rail, but it is also penetrating to unconsidered corners, and is slowly leavening the mighty mass in this province, the natural richness of which has caused it to be designated the Garden of India.

You have greatly profited by recent railway extensions, and you possess a railroad system which, running parellel in the main to the course of your great rivers with the frequent lateral connections, appears to be well adapted to the exploitation of your abundant resources. We hope, before any very long time has elapsed, to supply you with a further connecting link in the shape of the Allahabad-Fyzabad line, with a bridge across the Ganges. The important link, together with shorter communication with Lucknow, should be of great benefit to the province.

The name of Lord Canning, to whom you owe so much, is perpetuated in the title of the College which exists in the city. It is not an unfitting tribute to his memory that the Talukdars should have lent so consistent a support to

the Canning College since its institution 35 years ago ; and I am glad also to be informed that you take an equal interest in the Colvin Institute, specially designed as it was for the education of your sons, While you thus show that you are not in differentto the claims of higher education to which we owe in so large a measure the developmentof that growing energy and vitality of which I have already spoken, pray remember that among your tenants in country villages and districts are many to whom higher education will never be anything more than a riddle, but to whom you owe it that their elementary education shall be something more than a name.

In the ingenious glosses and paraphrases to which a Viceroy's utterances in India are not infrequently exposed he is apt to find that praise of one thing is interpreted as involving unconscious disparagement of another. When I praise you, therefore, for your support of the higher education of your sons and families, I must not be understood to deprecate the claims of primary education among the masses of the people and when I invite your attention to the great importance of the latter subject, I must not be supposed to be offering an affront to the former. Only in proportion as the peasant population is poor and backward and helpless, so is the responsibility greater that is devolved upon their superiors, to furnish them with redimentary means by which they may raise themselves in the world.

In Oudh may be observed a happy reproduction of a system with which we are very familiar in England, where the traditions and the spirit of territorial responsibility, resulting from the growth of centuries, are exceptionally strong. There we find the country gentleman sitting in the gratuitous and

voluntary discharge of the administration of justice among his neighbours, to their complete satisfaction, and with no small advantage in the shape of increased knowledge and power of good to himself. I am glad to think that this graft from an English stock, which after all is only an adaptation in Western form of a custom familiar in the East, has found so congenial a climate in the Province of Oudh, and I should like to tender my thanks to those native gentlemen who have thus assisted Government by acting as Honorary Magistrates. Every case which, by a simple and straightforward decision, they succeed in keeping out of the Law Courts involves, in my judgment, not merely a saving of expense, friction, and heart-burning to the parties concerned, but also a positive service to the community.

Finally, gentlemen, let me say with what satisfaction I have met to-day in this great assemblage, and have had presented to me, a number of Chiefs some of them the sons or grandsons of those who stood by us in the great hour of trial forty-two years ago, some of them, a dwindling number, the still surviving actors in those solemn and immortal scenes. I have noticed upon the breasts of others here present, a seamed and gallant band, the medals that tell me of participation in the defence of the Residency, of lives risked and of blood shed in the cause of the British Government, with which was indissolubly bound up, in the agony of that fateful struggle, the cause of order as against anarchy, of civilisation as against chaos.

Standing here at this distance of time, I, who am of a later generation, and was not even born when these brave men performed deeds at which the whole world has since gazed with admiring awe, count it as among my highest privileges that I should see the faces, and as Her Majesty's re-

presentative, receive the homage, of these illustrious veterans. Still prouder and more inspiring is the thought that in this great Durbar, where are gathered in loyal harmony with our old allies the descendants of some who took another part I may read the lesson of the great reconciliation, and may point the eternal moral, that mercy is more powerful than vengeance.

REPLY TO THE TEZPUR ADDRESS.

[On the 9th March, 1900, replying to the address presented by the tea-planters at Tezpur, His Excellency spoke as follows].—

GENTLEMEN,—I have already at Dibrugarh expressed the pleasure which it gives me as head of the Government of India to visit this important province, and if it be the fact that I am the first visitor in that capacity to this part of the Brahmaputra valley, I concur with you in thinking there is every reason why I should not be the last. I also accept the proposition that Assam is a province demanding in a peculiar degree the sympathy and assistance of the Government; but if that statement be held to imply that such sympathy and such assistance have not yet been forthcoming, I must, in justice to the Government over which I preside, deprecate what would, I think, be an unjust imputation. I have sometimes in the press observed an inclination to present Assam as a sort of abandoned garden of Eden, watered by great rivers and furnished with the fruit-trees of life, which, but for the frowns of an angry Providence, represented in this case by the Government of India, would long ago have recovered its pristine richness and beauty. Such a picture would in my opinion be both overcoloured and overdrawn. The province of Assam is indeed in a backward condition compared with some other and more highly

favoured localities, but its backwardness is no more due to any indifference on the part of the Government of India than it has been to any lack of initiative on the part of the British pioneers who have come hither, and with so much courage and perseverance have sunk their capital and expended their energies in its exploitation. On the contrary, the services of these pioneers have constituted a claim for unusual consideration at the hands of Government, which for a long series of years has authorised expenditure upon Assam that the revenue of the latter has hitherto failed to balance. At the present time a larger proportion of the gross receipts of this province is expended upon administration and development than in any other province in India. In the last recorded financial year, namely, 1898 99, the gross income, Imperial, Provincial, and Local, amounted to 147 lakhs, and the gross expenditure chargeable to revenue was 123 lakhs, which, with the additional 120 lakhs representing capital outlay on the Assam-Bengal Railway, constituted a total disbursement of 243 lakhs, or an excess of expenditure over revenue of nearly one crore of rupees. Again, so far from the railways in Assam being remunerative, there was in the same year a loss of 10 lakhs on their working expenses, exclusive of interest charges on railway capital account. It is clear, therefore, from these calculations that Assam at present is contributing nothing to the military and other general charges of the Indian empire, but that she is actually absorbing a good deal of Imperial capital. We are, in fact, engaged in the development of Assam, which may one day recoup our outlay but for the present the balance is on the wrong side of the ledger.

Gentlemen, in your address you speak of the conditions by which the efforts of the British planter have been handicapped and retarded. You point correctly to the long

previous history of rapine and misgovernment in the Brahmaputra valley, to the scanty indigenous population, to the paucity of labour entailing reinforcement from outside, to the increasing cost of that importation and to the external competition which your industry has to face. To these sources of difficulty, with which the Government has to the best of its ability helped you to cope by means of special labour laws by which your contracts are enforcible by railway extensions both in Assam and in Bengal, which have been planned in the interest of this province, should be added that which, in my opinion, is the main explanation, both of the backwardness of the province and of the anxieties by which you are oppressed. I allude to the climate of Assam. Lord Beaconsfield, when Mr. Disraeli, once said that the true secret of the woes of Ireland consisted in the fact that she lies under weeping skies and is surrounded by a melancholy ocean. A similar diagnosis gives the real clue to the impediments of this province; a humid and malarial atmosphere, injurious to the indigenous population, which steadily recedes in numbers, and which is fatal to the immigrants from the drier plains of Behar and Bengal, an atmosphere which is still further poisoned by exhalations from the recently upturned soil, and which carries mysterious and deadly diseases in its train. This is the real enemy of Assam, with which private enterprise and Government patronage alike find it hard to contend. When the Provincial death rate is always greatly in excess of the birth-rate, and when a labouring population of over half a million persons requires to be imported from outside, and to be perpetually replenished, the conditions are such that expansion can scarcely pursue a natural course, and, however encouraged, is liable to the fluctuations of what is not an organic but an artificial growth.'

Gentlemen, in your address you invite my special attention to the increased cost of labour importation. This is a subject to which, in connection with legislation now before the Government of India, I have necessarily given close study. The very rapid rise in cost, which is said to have nearly doubled in ten years, is no doubt partly to be attributed to the keen rivalry and to the familiar wiles of many middlemen, to whose fingers some of the money sticks at each stage of the passage of the coolie from India to Assam. In so far as the evil is to be attributed to the system of recruitment practised by these unlicensed traffickers, it will be arrested by our Bill. The increasing demand for labour here, owing to the opening of new tea gardens, is a further explanation of the enhancement of the cost, but, gentlemen, we should both of us be shutting our eyes to facts did we not realise that the main cause, which no legislation can greatly affect or altogether remove, is the increased industrial competition that prevails in the Indian labour market itself. You desire for the work of your plantations the hardly aboriginal tribesman of the jungles of Chota Nagpur, but he is also wanted for coal mines in Bengal, for work on railways, and for the tea gardens of the Duars and the Terai. Now, in those employments be it remembered that he earns higher wages than you are able to give him, that he is engaged for a shorter term, that he is near to his own home, and that he can frequently return thither within a year. You have to consider whether with your lower monthly wage, your four-years' contract, and your great distance from the source of recruitment, you can permanently and successfully compete with your rival employers. In the long run, a problem of this sort will not be settled by labour commissions, or by Government bills. It will be

decided by the immutable laws that regulate demand and supply. You cannot make water run up hill, and you cannot provide labour for industry below its market price. The wage question itself I need not now discuss, since the postponement of the Bill till next year will afford ample time for its re-examination.

The subject of feeder lines of railway and of a Government guarantee which figured next in your remarks, I will reserve for treatment in my reply at Gauhati, where I understand that it also occupies a prominent place in the address to which I shall be called upon to respond. I pass to the question of the waste lands of Assam and of the measures that may properly be taken for their reclamation and cultivation. Your contention is that these lands, amounting, as you say, to no less than 6½ million acres, are suitable for the production of rice, jute, corn, and other cereals, and that as they cannot be cultivated by the overflow of time-expired labour, labour must be specially imported from elsewhere for the purpose. This is a subject upon which, as you know, the Government of India have for long been in correspondence with the Chief Commissioner, and upon which, as the question is largely hypothetical in character, differences of opinion may be expected to exist. This is not the only country which presents the spectacle of sparsely populated and unreclaimed tracts lying at no insuperable distance from congested centres of population Nothing is easier for the doctrinaire than to say, 'Why not bring the people from a district where there are too many to a district where there are too few;' but there are a good many intervening fences to be cleared, of which the doctrinaire is apt to take insufficient account. There is the

unhealthiness of the climate, upon which I have previously touched, the reluctance of immigrants and the novelty of the conditions. You call my attention to the Chenab canal colony, which I visited last April. There the circumstances are entirely different. The movement is merely from one part of the Punjab to another, the place is extremely healthy, there is no jungle to be cut down, and no clearing to be made. The Government have brought water and nature may be trusted to do the rest. Finally, the applicants, instead of requiring to be coaxed by alluring offers or imported at considerable cost jostle each other in anxiety to be taken on. In the present case, it is no doubt true that in any scheme of Government colonisation we must look in the main to external sources for recruitment. Time-expired tea coolies, I dare say, make the best settlers, because they are already acclimatised, and I should think that it would be to the interest of the planter himself to settle his coolies upon neighbouring plots of land, so as to retain a call upon their services after the expiration of the contract, but I agree that the labour supply of the gardens and the labour supply of the province are subjects which should not be confused, and which should be treated independently of each other.

As regards the particular question, whether the ryotwari or big zamindari form of tenure is more suitable to the development of a backward province, I will not here recapitulate the argument which has already covered perhaps a sufficient amount of paper. Two desiderata are unquestionably wanting, namely,—first the man or men to initiate the experiment; second, the colonists to undertake the reclamation. If Mr. Cotton can produce any of the former, I do not think that he will find the Government of India grudg-

ing or obstinate in insistence upon terms, provided always that these do not contemplate a mere commercial speculation in land, and that they include some effective guarantee that the estates will be brought under cultivation within a reasonable period of time. In my opinion, the main question at issue is not the size of the grant, that is relatively a small matter, but the capacity, stability, and aptitude of the guarantee. Perhaps later on, when we get the connection completed between Gauhati and the main line of the Assam-Bengal Railway, we may be able to try some colonisation scheme which will appeal to the land-hunger of the many, even more than to the puplic spirit or the enterprise of the few.

Gentlemen, in one of your later paragraphs you express a desire that the Local-Boards in Assam should call upon the civil engineers of the Public Works Department not merely for advice but for the execution of public works in the province. We have already in the former respect conceded all that your Chief Commissioner asked, and have indeed insisted upon even more, since we have required that the opinions of inspectors of works shall not only be sought but shall not be disregarded by the local boards or their servants the district engineers. The further proposal that the Public Works Department should also be responsible for the execution of works is one that is approved neither by Mr. Cotton nor by the Government of India. The question has also arisen in Bengal, and we agree with the Lieutenant-Governor of that province in thinking that the adoption of the change would stifle the legitimate energies and independence of local self-government since it would transfer to an official department authority and responsibility in respect of public works that ought properly to remain with the boards.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me assure you that the candid interchange of opinions between us, which the present and other occasions during the past week have afforded cannot fail to be of much benefit to me in my future administration; that I shall always feel that I know these planters and understand their aspirations better from having met them in the homes which they have created and on the lands which their industry has reclaimed, and that Lady Curzon and myself will carry away most agreeable recollections of this beautiful valley and its adventurous and public spirited pioneers.

REPLY TO THE GAUHATI ADDRESS.

At Gauhati.

[On the 13th March, 1900, Lord Curzon received an address of welcome from the Gauhati public, to which the following reply was given by His Excellency.]

GENTLEMEN,—The configuration and physical features of the administrative area of the province of Assam are such that it is almost impossible for a Viceroy, within the limited space of time at his disposal, to visit the entire province, or to see more than conspicuous illustrations of its industry and life. Lord Northbrook in the famine year of 1874 visited the Surma valley, and came over the hills to Gauhati—the only previous Viceroy who has set foot in any part of Assam. My own tour on the present occasion has been confined to that which in Assam itself you regard, I believe, as Assam proper namely the valley of this magnificent river, second to scarcely any in Asia in the volume of its water and in the productive quality of its alluvion. That a full fortnight will have been required

travelling at a very high rate of speed by water, and only spending five days on land to ascend and descend this mighty current between the confines of Bengal, and a point short of that at which it pierces the Himalayan barrier and enters the plains of India, is an indication of the wide extent of your province and of the degree to which the Brahmaputra and its tributaries are the vital artery of Assam. That the people of Assam, from whom I am now receiving an address, are a courageous and high spirited race may, I think, also be inferred from the fact that, although it is not yet three years since you were visited by the most appalling natural calamity that has ever befallen this part of India—I speak of the great earthquake of June 1897, which wrought widespread havoc to property and was attended with serious loss of life—there has nevertheless not been a single mention of this disaster in any of the three addresses which have been presented to me while journeying in this province, or in any of the subsidiary speeches to which it has been my good fortune to listen. The Government of India helped to the best of their ability in the heavy outlay that was entailed upon you, but the main brunt of the burden has fallen upon your own shoulders, and I congratulate you upon the patience and recuperative power that have been displayed.

Gentlemen, your address contains some observations upon the railway question in Assam. You note the long period over which the construction of the Assam-Bengal Railway has been spread, and you urge the commencement of the projected line to connect this place along the northern bank of the Brahmaputra with Eastern Bengal. I have already remarked at Dibrugarh that the Assam-Bengal Railway is the most expensive line that we have constructed for many years. I wish I could add that I think it will be one of the most pro-

mising. For many years to come I am afraid that it will be a millstone round the neck of the Government of India, although if our loss were to be your gain, I for one should not protest against the burden. Since I spoke at Dibrugarh on the matter, I am happy to be able to state that the difficulty which I there confessed, as to the provision of funds for the railway during the ensuing year, has been removed by permission being accorded to the company to raise debentures to the extent of 75 lakhs, so that its financial requirements for the forthcoming twelve months have nowbeen fully met, and there is no fear of that suspension of work which was apprehended in an earlier address. As regards railway connection with Bengal, with this splendid waterway at your doors, and with an efficient steamer service, I think you can afford to wait for a while, although, with such means as we possess, the line is being steadily pushed on, the Teesta and Dhurla rivers are being bridged, and the line to Moghul hat is being converted from the 2 feet 6 inches to the metregauge, and is being extended in the direction of Dhubri. Later on, whenever the railhead reaches the opposite shores of the Brahmaputra confronting this place, you will be able to congratulate youserselves upon offering to the scientific engineer an opportune island in the middle of the stream which I am sure will inspire him with dreams of an unprecedented mechanical triumph in the shape of a Brahmaputra bridge. You proceed to urge upon me, as also did the community by whom I had the honour to be addressed at Tezpur, the advantages of a system of light feeder lines in Assam, ramifying from the main system and bringing into connection therewith outlying areas of culture or population. It is further represented that, while the capital for many of these railways or tramways is forthcoming—an assertion about which I do not feel in every case quite confident—they

can only be successfully financed if a guarantee, or subsidy, be given by the Government. Other conditions that are asked for concerning the use of lands, roads, and timber, I need not enter into at the present moment, since it is not about these that I personally should ever wish to be stiff, or that on ordinary occasions any difficulty is apt to arise. Now, as regards the general merit of these feeder lines, I am in substantial agreement with yourselves, and I believe that if more widely extended, they would be the most effective forerunner of the prosperous future that we all hope awaits Assam. But different views may legitimately be held about the best methods of financing their construction, and when I have to consider the question of an Imperial guarantee, it is clear that I cannot look at the matter exclusively through Assamese spectacles, but that I am obliged to correlate it with the demands of other localities not less deserving, and with the inexorable limitations of our annual programme. There does not seem to be any distinction in practical finance between a Provincial guarantee and an Imperial guarantee. Of course if the Local Government can provide the money from its own resources without raising its demands upon the Imperial exchequer, and without abandoning or neglecting other public works, a strong case is made out. But that is not the situation with which we are, as a rule, confronted, and when the proposal is made to guarantee provincially, and then to revise the provincial contract at the expense of the Imperial Government, I can see no difference between such a procedure and an Imperial guarantee pure and simple. Now if the guarantee be Imperial, the capital must be entered under the financial system to which we are bound by the Secretary of State upon the annual programme. That is a strictly limited programme

which, for the ensuing year, amounts to 6½ crores. All expenditure upon railways within that sum is carefully worked out by the Government of India upon an examination of the conflicting demands and needs of the entire country. No expenditure beyond it is possible except in a year when the revenue justifies an outlay more ambitious than the original forecast. In a year such as the present, with enormous calls for famine weighing us down, any such excess is absolutely impossible. If an archangel from heaven were to come and offer me a scheme certain to be ultimately remunerative, but involving an immediate entry upon the programme of capital outlay, I should be obliged to refuse him. You may call the system inelastic and exasperating if you please, and in many respects I agree, with you, and am struggling to effect a reformation, but do not quarrel with the Government of India for doing that which it has no other present alternative than to do. Once a year, at budget time, we cut our coat, and it is a big coat, but like other tailors we cannot make it bigger than the cloth provided to us admits of, and hence it results that there are frequently parts of the body which remain for a while indifferently clad. If, however, the Local Government is unable to accept the risk of a guarantee within its existing contract, and if the Imperial Government is crippled by plague and famine, what, it may be asked, are you to do? Now it does not seem to me that the financial possibilities are by any means exhausted if in any particular case neither a Provincial nor an Imperial guarantee can be given. I own that I do not myself quite understand the position of those promoters who represent to the Government of India as pleas for an Imperial guarantee that the chances of its being called upon are so remote, the prospects of the con-

cession for which they ask so radiant, and the capital outlay involved so small that the Government of India will not incur the faintest risk in giving the pledge, but who, nevertheless, are unable themselves either to produce the money or to persuade others to do so without it; but, even supposing their position to be explicable and sound, I would point out that other methods are still open. I was travelling only three days ago on the Tezpur Balipara Railway, a 2 feet 6 inches line, running for 20 miles from Tezpur on the north bank of the river into the interior, and serving several important tea gardens en route. This little line was constructed for a capital expenditure, including interest during construction, of only 4 lakhs or £26,000. In the fourth year of its existence it is already earning $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the capital outlay up to date. This itself appears to me to be a very remarkable and encouraging precedent. But the reason for which I especially notice it is that the only form of outside assistance which the promoters received was not a guarantee either from the Imperial or the Provincial Government, nor any direct financial help from the latter, but a small subsidy from the district board of Tezpur. I do not know if this subsidy was required to raise the capital for contruction. But whether it operated in that direction or not does it not suggest an example worthy of imitation? In the south of India I can quote you a precedent of an even more adventurous and stimulating character. There the district board of Tanjore has set aside a special additional cess of three pies per rupee in its taxes to constitute a fund against which capital can be raised. With the money so acquired, it has succeeded in building many miles of metre gauge line upon which it is now earning substantial dividends, being joint proprietor of the lines with the Madras Government. I cannot say whether the circum-

stances are such as to admit of a similar plan being adopted here, but at least it is worthy of examination.

Your next petition is that a permanent seat in the Legislative Council may be allotted to Assam. I quite appreciate the naturalness of this request. But it is one that has also to be considered from the wider standpoint of Indian interests at large. When the Council was expanded by the Act of 1892, there was not found to be within this province that substantial community of interests which would render any one delegate truly representative of the whole. A tea planter would faithfully represent the tea planting industry, and when measures affecting that industry are under discussion, we are usually able to rely upon the services of some gentleman, such as Mr. Buckingham at the present juncture, who does ample justice to his clients. But in the Native population of Assam, so widely scattered, and representing no such solidarity of opinion of counsel, while it might be possible, though it would be difficult to find some one who would duly represent such divergent elements, I doubt whether it would be possible to find any one who could represent the interests of the entire province, European and planting as well as native. The constituency is, in fact, too composite to admit of a permanent single mouthpiece. Moreover, there are wider considerations to be borne in mind. Exclusive of the five non-official members who are returned to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General by the non-official members of the Councils of Bombay, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and Bengal, and by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, we only have five seats at our disposal for the whole of the rest of India. If I were to undertake permanently to allot one of these seats to Assam, I should be adopting a course that would be resented as unfair by the rest of India, and

that would not necessarily conduce to the representative character of the Council itself. You may rely upon me, and I doubt not upon my successors after me, to give you provisional representation from whatever section of the community when called for by the legislative programme of Government; but the request for a permanent seat in the Council is one which, in the present stage of development of the province, which you have yourselves described as backward, it is not possible to concede.

Your remark upon the system of land tenure in Assam, and upon the desirability of a longer term, will be carefully considered, when the new settlements are made at no great distance from the present time. Sooner or later there can be little doubt that longer settlement will come. It is a mark in every community of advancing agricultural development. But I would ask you to remember that the short term and the ryotwari tenure now prevailing were devised in strict relation to the conditions both of agriculture and population in the Brahmaputra valley. You have here a nomadic population, which reclaims the land from the waste, cultivates it for a few years, and then, when the soil begins to be impoverished, moves on. In every year, for ¼ million of acres brought into cultivation another ¼ million are thrown out, the total temporarily setteled area of 1¼ million acres remaining comparatively stationary. It is to accommodate this tendency that annual leases have been permitted, and how faithfully they have responded to the needs of the times is shown by the fact that, though any ryot who chooses to take a ten years' lease acquires thereby that proprietary interest in the land which you appear to advocate only the scantiest advantage has hitherto been taken of this provision. The main reason for which cultivation does not

extend in this province is that the indigenous population is stationary and the main reason for which the indigenous population is stationary is not the system of land tenure but the nature of the climate. The question of sub-letting will be taken up when the new settlement is made. As to the question of the land revenue rates, no answer can be given upon that point until the reports of the settlement officers are received. But the Government of India will assuredly approach the matter with no *a priori* conclusions, or prepossessions in their mind.

Gentlemen, I have been pleased to listen to the spontaneous testimony that you have borne to the labours of your Chief Commissioner. No one connected or unconnected with the Government of India can fail to recognise that his heart has been in his work, and that he has done his best to push the interests of this province with the zeal of a parent and with an enthusiasm proportionate to the magnitude of the undertaking. In the discharge of his task, to which he has applied great vigour as well as high abilities, I believe that he has earned the confidence of all sections, native as well as European, of a singularly diversified community.

There is only one observation in your address which I would at all deprecate, and that is the sentence in which you modestly disparage the character of the welcome that you have given to Lady Curzon and myself. No such reflection has even dimly occurred to our mind. The loyalty of a people and the warmth of their feelings, are capable of being testified in a score of other fashions than by magnificent preparations and costly displays. In Gauhati, however we have been particularly struck by the good taste and spontaneity of your welcome. Here, as elsewhere, in this province,

we feel that we have met with a reception that has sprung from the hearts of those who have offered it, and in tendering to you, one and all, our thanks, let me assure you that in turning our back upon the Brahmaputra valley, its noble waterways, its expanding industries and its friendly people, we shall not banish Assam from our affections, but shall keep a tender spot therein for this enterprising and hopeful corner of the British empire.

REPLY TO THE KARACHI MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[On the 27th October, 1900, His Excellency the Viceroy received at Government House, Karachi, an address of welcome from the Karachi Municipality, from the Chamber of Commerce and a deputation of a Mahomedan Zemindar. In reply to the Municipal address His Excellency said]:—

MR. President, and members of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi,—I accept with much gratification the welcome which, on behalf of the people of this place, you have offered to Lady Curzon and myself upon the occasion of our first official visit to the capital of Sind. It is not the first visit that I have paid Karachi, since I have been here twice before, in the days of my earlier wanderings. Indeed, any one who travels in the north-western parts of India, or upon the Afgan Frontier, or who undertakes an excursion to the Persian Gulf, must, sooner or later, find himself in Karachi,—so well placed is its port in relation to all those interesting regions. I, therefore, feel I am not quite a stranger here. I am familiar with the buildings and beauties of your town and port.

Seeing that as much as thirteen years have elapsed since my first visit, I may almost claim to trace the stages of its recent expansion. The history of India does not, I think, record an instance of more sustained and sturdy growth from a modest and unprepossessing origin. During nearly the sixty years that have elapsed since the annexation, a petty fishing-village, protected by a tumble-down mud fort, has developed into the third largest maritime outlet of India. The population has risen from 10,000 to more than ten times that number; a harbour, which, half-a-century ago, was little more than a shallow creek, has, at a total cost of nearly one and-a-quarter millions sterling, been converted into a magnificent port, which accommodates the finest ocean-steamers; Your sea-borne trade has swollen from infinitesimal figures to a total, in the last recorded year, of over eleven-and-a-half millions sterling. Finally, your Municipal revenues have, in the last forty years, risen from three-quarters of a lakh to six lakhs of rupees. These figures and facts sufficiently explain with how keen an interest the fortunes of this place must always be regarded by the Government of India, and how large a place it must occupy in the attention of the head of that administration. Most places in India that are at a distance from the head-quarters of the Government are apt, at times, to think themselves slighted or aggrieved; but every Viceroy desires to see Karachi, which, I may remark in passing, has also a voice of its own that can be heard at a considerable distance, so that the plea of indifference or neglect is not likely to be raised here.

I observe that in your own Address, as in those to which I am about to reply from other bodies, you proceed with becoming rapidity to the point and utilise your opportunity

to lay before me the various troubles and grievances from which you are suffering. I will, to the best of my ability, comment upon each, claiming precisely the same liberty in reply as you employed in the exposition. There can be no doubt that owing to the abnormal visitation of plague and cholera, Karachi has suffered much during the last few years. The figures, which you have placed before me, demonstrate both the severity of the trial through which you have passed, as measured by the actual loss of life which it has entailed, and also by the temporary paralysis that it has inflicted on your resources. Your revenues have dwindled and your debt has increased. You have had to increase taxation, to curtail useful but not indispensable heads of expenditure, and generally to adapt your finances to the exigencies of the time. In this plight you not unnaturally turn to the Government of India, who, if she is often denounced as a grandmother who needlessly interferes, is still more often appealed to as a mother whose parental instincts should bring her to the rescue of her offspring. And you plead for exceptional treatment in your distress. Now, gentlemen, you will pardon me for pointing to the obvious fact that the Government is the parent of a large family, and that just at present a good many of our progeny are in a bad way. Wherever I go I find that Municipalities, or District Boards, or communities or societies, who have been hard hit by the calamities of the past few years, are each firmly convinced that they can present an unanswerable case for exceptional relief, while their voices are but the feeble echo of louder and more insistent claims that reach us from the Local Governments. No one of these supplicants can, I think, accuse the Government of India in its present mood of having a hard heart. We have been doing, during

the past year on a large scale, exactly what the Municipality of Karachi has had to do on a smaller ; *i. e.*, we have had to cut down or refuse innumerable calls upon our own purse in deference to more urgent needs. In a year which would otherwise have been one of prosperity we have stinted everything and sacrificed many things, in order to grapple with the most serious famine of the century. Among our critics here is not one who has accused us of parsimony or meanness. If you come to us, therfore, in "*forma pauperis*", you approach a parent who herself knows what straitened means are, but who in proportion to her superior resources, has shown that she can deal handsomely with her destitute children. The appeal you make to me is that the Government of India should come to the help of the Karachi Municipality by relieving it of liability for all plague expenditure, past and future. This is an obligation no Government ought or would consent to assume. If we do it in one city we must do it in all. If we do it on one occasion we cannot refuse to do it on others, Should the principle be accepted, all local visitations of a certain character or upon a certain scale are to constitute imperial charges. I do not see how we could ever frame a forecast or draw up a budget. What we do, is out of our means. When we possess them, we proceed with an ungrudging generosity to the relief of the suffering members of the family. We did it last year in the case of Bombay. We shall doubtless be asked in future to do it again. In the case of Karachi, we have assisted you with two lakhs ; we have assumed, the payment of the English doctors and nurses who were summoned here for the plague ; and I understand, the Commissioner has forwarded further proposals to the Governmemt of Bombay, of which we shall, perhaps, in due course, hear more from them.

Now I pass to the difficult question of the terminal charges, which is also one of the items that figures in the Address from the Chamber of Commerce, but upon which I will ask leave to take the present opportunity of giving a reply. When you point out that in 1898 the Municipality, with the concurrence of the Chamber of Commerce and the sanction of the Local Government, imposed these charges, you omit to notice that this step was taken, not only without the authority of the Government of India, but also in direct opposition to its orders and those of the Secretary of State, who have over and over again laid down the inadmissibility of transit dues. That these terminal charges are transit dues, no one denies; that they are indefensible in principle, the Chamber of Commerce in their Address to me to-day concede; that they ought to be abolished, has been publicly admitted by the Commissioner himself. If there is this general concurrence as to the viciousness of these forms of taxation, it might seem superfluous labour to point further. I will only say that the main reasons, which inspire my own opposition to it, are twofold: first, it constitutes a tax upon an important branch of the general trade of the country in the interests of a single locality, and thereby weights that trade in its competition with foreign rivals; secondly, that, if allowed in one case, it sets a most alluring but pernicious example to others. It was the action of Cawnpore—although it would be easy to show that there was no parallel between the circumstances and conditions of the two cases—that first suggested the expedient at Karachi. If we had permitted it in the case of Karachi, I am confident that we should forthwith have seen it pressed for in many other places. Wherever the Municipal burdens are heavy, and the means for relieving them sparse, there the Municipal conscience would have been unequal to

resisting the temptation: and from lack of courage to interfere with a false step at the beginning, we should have been committed to a course of unsound and mischievous finance. I hardly think that anyone will be found to dispute these general considerations. Your reply, however, takes the form of submission that yours is an exceptional case, and of an appeal to be allowed to go on doing the wrong thing for a little while longer. I entirely sympathise with your trouble, and I understand your objection to exchanging a method of raising money, which is reasonably prompt and simple, even if economically at fault, for one which is locally unpopular, besides being fraught with some opportunities for fraud and for delay. The question is whether an erroneous departure from a correct principle should be admitted because of the hardship of an individual case, or whether the necessity of observing the principle on the widest grounds should overrule the drawbacks of the particular illustration. I will not prejudice the reply of the Government of India to the proposals for alternative taxes, which will, I suppose before long, be submitted to it. But I cannot say anything to-day that I would encourage you to think that my financial advisers will change their minds.

I have made inquiries into the subject of the annual payments, made by the Military Department for the water-supply to the troops at Karachi. There are a good many points to be considered on either side. While the Municipality rests its case for a revision of the contract upon the statement that a much larger amount of water is now consumed that was originally estimated for without any corresponding increase of payment, it is unfortunate that the resolution, in which it accepted the offer of the Government fifteen years ago, admitted an obligation to provide an unrestricted supply of

water ; the only condition, under which a revision of the bargain might be called for on either side, being an increase above 2,000 or diminution below 2.000 troops in the station. This arrangement, looked at from the point view of the Municipality, does not seem to me to have been composed by a very wise draughtsman, and unquestionably you have been hampered by it since. I should point out, however, that the Military Department is now paying you considerably more than Rs, 8,000 for its water; since having accepted its share of the enhanced rate, recently imposed for local purposes, of three annas per thousand gallons, it is now paying you an annual contribution which will, I believe, amount in the current financial year to more than Rs. 12,000, When this arrangement, which is to last for three years, terminates, I hope means may be found of bringing the difficulty to a satisfactory solution.

In your Address you have pressed two other subjects upon my attention, namely increased railway communication and the institution of a direct mail service to Aden. I propose to deal with the former topic in my reply to the Chamber of Commerce; concerning the latter, I would remark that *prima facie* the desirability of such a connection is one which no one would be found to dispute. Karachi is the port of much more importance than Sind ; it is the mercantile outlet of a considerable portion of the Punjab, inasmuch as every person, every letter or parcel, and every consignment of goods that passes between Karachi and Europe, must proceed by Aden. A direct service from that port is, on the face of it, preferable to a roundabout voyage and break of shipment at Bombay. But, gentlemen, have you any idea what it would cost, and when you know, will you kindly inform me who is to pay the bill? When we made the last mail contracts the

companies were invited to tender for this particular service. The British India Company declined to tender at all, because they said that it could only be done at a prohibitive rate. The Peninsular and Oriental Company stated 'that this addition to their service would cost another £1000,000 a year,' which, you must remember, would not be shared with the Home Government, as in the case of the Australian and China service, but would have to be found by India alone. No other Company was willing to tender for the line by itself. There are other and smaller objections into which I need not enter, since I have said enough to show that, for the present at any rate, the cost would be prohibitive. No doubt when the present contract expires in four years' time, the question will again be considered; and I can only hope it may fall to the lot of some future Viceroy to inaugurate a change which, however desirable, would at this stage be premature. I will now say no more, except to thank you for the opportunity, that has been offered to me, of meeting the representatives of this important city and of exchanging friendly observations with them upon various subjects that affect most closely its present and future welfare.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, KARACHI.

[In reply to the above address His Excellency said]:—

GENTLEMEN,—In a great mercantile city like Karachi, a Chamber of Commerce is the natural authoritative exponent of the interests of that section of the community which it represents; and its views are deserving of serious attention. In my political life at home I was brought a great deal into

contact with Chamber of Commerce; and I found them to be composed of men, enjoying unrivalled information, possessing definite opinions, and capable of doing full justice to any case in which their interests were concerned. It is, I think, a very valuable thing that such independent organisations should exist, both as the accredited mouthpieces of their own clients, and also to acquaint the Government with the non-official aspect of affairs. I, at any rate, never disparage or underrate the value of their advice.

There are two subjects in your Address, upon which I have already commented at some length in my reply to the Municipality. These are the sources and character of Municipal taxation in Karachi, and the institution of a direct mail service to Aden. I will not repeat myself here, but will pass to the other topics which you have brought under my notice. Foremost among these is the question of railway policy and railway construction. A perusal of the Addresses, that have been presented at Karachi to previous Viceroys, leads me to think that there never has been a time at which Karachi was not pleading for some fresh advantages in this respect. In the old days it was railway communication with the North that was urged; now it is connection with the East; next it will be on the South; and when all these schemes have been successfully carried into execution, I have little doubt but that your Chamber of Commerce will be ready with some fresh project for the delectation of future Viceroys, for the promotion of the trade of the port, and for the enhancement of the general welfare of Sind. If I add that the majority of the proposals, which have been urged in by-gone days, appear to have been carried out in the end, I shall at the same time be paying a

compliment to the intrinsic reasonableness of those requests, and shall be suggesting to you a hopeful augury for your present demands.

Your observations upon the railway on the Eastern side raise two questions—the one of principle, the other of detail. Karachi holds strongly to the view that the object, to be aimed at, is a standard gauge connection with Calcutta; although it is prepared to admit that connection by metre gauge will be better than no connection at all. This is I think, a sensible attitude; since I sometimes wonder if the practical nature of the obstacles to a through broad gauge connection at this stage has been thoroughly realised in this place. The existing line, as you know, has been commenced and has been pushed far across the desert on the metre gauge. The Jodhpur Darbar are not, I should think, in the least likely to wish it to be pulled up or converted. The Native States, who are concerned in the Bara-Marwar Section, to which you have called my attention, would similarly have to make their part of the railway on the broad gauge, which they do not in the least want to do, and for which we should not be able to provide the funds for many a long year to come. Finally I do not suppose that any one would suggest an independent broad gauge line across that great, unpeopled and unremunerative tract. When, therefore, a cry is raised, "Calcutta to Karachi on the broad gauge," I venture to think that, however desirable such a consummation might be, it must be regarded as being, for the present, outside the range of practical politics, and that it is more serviceable, as you have done, to turn our attention to the best possible adaptation of existing or feasible plans. This brings me to the smaller issue, *viz.*, that of the suggested conversion of the existing worn-out broad gauge line that runs from Hyderabad

in the direction of the Nora Valley and the land irrigated by the Jamrao Canal on the east. Is the break of gauge to be at Hyderabad or at Shadipalli, or at some third spot? This is one of those points upon which I consider it desirable to provide every possible opportunity for local opinion to have its say; and therefore propose to send here, in the forthcoming winter, the Railway Commission, which I instituted last year, and which will take evidence on the matter. I should add, however, that the Secretary of State, who is strongly in favour of the break of gauge being at Hyderabad, will require very powerful reasons to convince him of the necessity of a modification of plan as regards the Bara-Marwar line. A good deal of labour has already been expended upon the earthwork in the Rajput States through which it will pass in the course of the recent famine. The line is one which in their interests, not less than in those of the through connection of which I have been speaking, the Government of India is most anxious to prosecute without delay. The only difficulty is the usual difficulty,—that of finding the money for one scheme when so many are pressing I am not, however, without hopes that we may before long be able to make a start with the undertaking. Your views about the management of the Rajputana-Malwa line will be borne in mind when the question of its future working comes up for decision. In the mean time, the inequality, of which you complain, appears to have been rectified by the agreement of the Bombay-Baroda and Central India Company, to institute equal rates of fares for all goods between stations in the Company's system north of Hana (which is nearly equidistant from the two ports) and Karachi and Bombay.

I now pass from the subject of Railways to the other matters concerning which you have addressed me. First

among these is your complaint of the long delays that ensue in the hearing of suits in the Punjab courts, arising, as you allege, partly from the overcrowding of the courts, partly from the frequent transfer of officers, partly from the tendency of litigants to call crowds of witnesses; and the failure to serve summonses upon whom is declared to be a further excuse for postponements. I cannot, of course from first-hand knowledge, say anything of the justice of these complaints, although I may remark in passing that delays in judicial procedure appear to me not to be confined to India, but to be evenly and liberally distributed wherever men are found unwise enough to go in for that most unremunerative and vexatious of all human exertions. I will, however, forward your remarks to the Punjab Government for its consideration, and it will doubtless require detailed evidence, which you will equally be prepared to provide, in support of the somewhat sweeping assertions that you have made. I am pleased to note the favourable estimate that you have formed of our Arbitration Act of last year. It was one of the first legislative measures that was placed upon the Statute-book after my assumption of office, and I have watched keenly every sign of its successful operation. As you know the Bill was framed on the principles of the English statute-law for the treatment of mercantile cases in the Presidency Towns of Rangoon and Karachi. I cannot be certain, therefore, how far its procedure may be found suited to cases of dispute between natives, which are likely to be regulated by the customs and traditions of the community to which they belong. The Punjab Government has, however, been asked for its opinion as to an extension of the Act to certain of the large cities in that Province; while we also are in communication with Local Governments in general as

to the feasibility of a wider adoption of the principles of the measure. The question is not yet ripe for decision, but it is maturing.

Finally, you call my attention to the inconvenience that is said to result from the multiplication of offices in the Collector of Karachi and from his absence during a portion of the cold weather on tour. I may note in passing that the Collector is not, so far as I know, bound by law to be the Chairman of the Port Trust, and that his control of the Municipality under the provisions of the Municipal Act can hardly be so engrossing as to be seriously interfered, too, that there is likely to be a reduction of the area of his jurisdiction by an arrangement of the northern talukas of the district. The question, however, is one which concerns the Local rather than the Supreme, Government, and could perhaps be more appropriately raised in an Address to the new Governor whom you will shortly welcome in your midst.

I have now dealt, to the best of my ability, with all the subjects that you have brought before me ; and I may add that I do not at all grudge the time that I have required for the study of these and similar cases, since it tends to familiarise me with the inner history and the local wants of the various parts of this vast Empire over which it is my good fortune to have been called upon for a few years to rule.

REPLY TO THE KARACHI MAHOMEDAN DEPUTATION.

[In reply to the address of the Mahomedan Zemindars the Viceroy said]:—

GENTLEMEN,—You have presented me with an Address which certainly does not err on the side of brevity, and cannot be accused of rendering insufficient justice to your views. If I do not deprecate its unusual length, it is because I am not anxious to deprive any section of the community that may properly claim to address the head of the Government, of an opportunity of presenting their case in their own way, and because I know the Mahomedans of this province to be a loyal, law-abiding and worthy body of men who no longer enjoy the advantages which they once possessed, and are, perhaps, entitled to feel some disappointment, though not, I think, any despondency, when they contrast their present with their former position. I am so entirely with them in the strenuous exertion that they are now making to recover their old prestige and influence that I willingly listen even to so detailed a narrative of their efforts and their aspirations as that which has just been laid before me.

Into the historical part of your Address you will not expect me, gentlemen, to go. When Sind was conquered there was, I know, a prolonged discussion as to the best method of settlement to apply to the new province. It was ultimately decided to adopt the Bombay system. Whether this was or was not a right decision, I am not required to say; but when I remember that it was proposed by Sir

Bartle Frere, the greatest of your Commissioners, and accepted by Sir John Lawrence, by no means the least of the Governors-General, I feel it would need no small presumption to dispute such a formidable consensus of authority.

You imply that the waste lands upon which assessments were levied under that settlement, were originally the property of the Zemindars. I hardly think this was the case. Under the Amirs of Sind, as under the British Government, the waste lands have always been regarded as the property of the Crown, subject to the preferential right on the part of adjoining proprietors. Leaving the past, your principal contention now is that the settlements in Sind should be for 30 years, as in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, instead of ten. When you make this request, do you not to some extent lose sight of the peculiar conditions of land tenure and cultivation in this province? There is no part of India where these conditions are in a more transitional state. You have to deal here both with the benefits and with the caprices of that most unstable of factors—water. On the one hand, irrigation, where successful, may convert a wilderness into a garden. On the other hand, the vagaries of the Indus may reduce a garden to a wilderness. In the one case, the continuance of a low assessment becomes obsolete: in the other case, a continuance of the high assessment is unfair, if property suddenly increases enormously in value owing to the digging of a canal. You cannot read just its contribution to public burdens by irrigation cesses, because, I understand, these expedients do not find favour in Sind. The only solution, therefore, in the present state of affairs, seems to me to be a short period of settlement. Later on, as conditions become

further crystallized a longer period will probably come. From such information as I have acquired, it does not appear to me to be true that frequent revision means a steady enhancement.

You next make a series of requests which I feel disposed to divide into two classes,—reasonable and unreasonable. In the first class I include those petitions which, even if they cannot always be granted can, at any rate, de defended. In the second class I place those which can neither be defended nor granted. When, for instance, you propose that the Dekhan Agriculturists Relief Act should be extended to Sind, in order to prevent the extinction of the small occupier and cultivator, you are making a demand as to which I do not know enough of the local conditions to say whether it ought to be conceded, but which, at any rate, is not inconsistent with the general principles of our agrarian policy, as testified both by the legislation which you desire to adopt and by the Bill which we passed at Simla last week to restrict the alienation of agricultural land in the Punjab. Again, when you ask that the Government should advance money for the liquidation of the liabilities of Zeminders under the Encumbered Estates Act, while you are asking for what it is in all probability quite impossible to give you, because we have not got money, and what does not seem to be altogether necessary, since I am unaware of any complaint on the part of creditors of inability to recover their debts, yet you are asking for what is in principle only an extension of the existing relief which we give in the shape of takavi advances to the managers of encumbered estates. When, however, you proceed to ask that Mussulmans should, because they are Mussulmans, be relieved of the payment of fines under the law for unauthoris-

ed occupation of land and of occupancy prices for new land, such an acquisition being a valuable asset which there would be nothing to prevent the individual, who had acquired it for nothing, from selling again; to his own profit but to the loss of Government, and again compulsory assessment in the fifth year on hallow lands: when, I say, you put forward these requests yer ars asking for preferential advantages which are unreasonable, and which no Government would dream of giving you. Again, when you ask for a fixed proportion of appointments in the public service and promotion, regulated not by merit but by a fixed numerical standard, you must see that you are advancing an untenable claim.

I believe there has never been wanting, among the administrators of this province, a most earnest desire to give you every possible encouragement; and you have yourslves recognised in your Address that you have never had a better friend than the present Commissioner, Mr. James. With your energetic and praiseworthy efforts, by the opening of Madrassahs and otherwise, to raise the educational level of your fellow-religionists, the Government, whether it be the Local Government or the Supreme Government, entertains the sincerest sympathy. It is a cheering spectacle to see a community, once so great and prosperous and so richly endowed with stability of intellect and force of character, lifting itself again in the world by patient and conscientious endeavour. But the pleasure of the spectacle is diminished and the chances of success are reduced, if those who are pluckily engaged in climbing the ladder cry out for artificial ropes and pulleys to haul them up. The Mohamedans of Sind have a glorious and memorable

past, and they have it still in their power to carve out for themselves, without any such adventitious aid, a dignified and meritorious future.

Gentlemen, it has given me great pleasure to receive your friendly welcome and your loyal assurances, and not the least of my grounds of satisfaction in visiting Karachi at the present time has been that I have come here before the present Commissioner, Mr. James, has terminated his long and honourable career. That career has been marked by conspicuous and untiring service in the public weal. It has been surpassed in beneficent activity by those of none of his predecessors; and when Mr. James retires, as he will shortly do, he will carry away with him to his home in the mother-country the affectionate esteem of a grateful province.

REPLY TO THE BIJAPUR MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

[On the 10th November, 1900, Lord Curzon received an address of welcome from the Bijapur Municipality to which His Excellency's reply was as follows] :—

GENTLEMEN,—In your interesting and well-composed address you correctly surmise that it is the desire to see remains of the by-gone glories of Bijapur, that has brought me to this place ; and you suggest with much tact that it can only have been the difficulty of determining what to see, where so much was worthy to be seen that deterred my predecessors without exception from coming to see anything at all. I know of nothing in the wonderful history of India more astonishing or more sad than the written and the standing records of the Mahomedan dynasty of Bijapur.

Founded by a Turk, who was born in Europe, it enjoyed a short-lived but brilliant existence of less than 200 years, and then fell before that prince of devastators Aurangzeb. While it still lasted, the buildings were raised, in one of which I am now speaking, which are unrivalled even in India and which make Bijapur to the Deccan what Delhi and Agra are to the Northern Provinces. Each king spent his life-time in erecting his own tomb, feeling, I suppose, an insufficient confidence in the respect that might be entertained for him by his successors; and the united dynasty, having perished out of existence left this extraordinary collection of remains to serve as a monument to all time of its own brief grandeur and the fleeting character of human fortunes. I wish that I could extract any sort of philosophy from the manner in which, since Bijapur passed into British hands, we have discharged our responsibilities as heirs of the Adil Shahs. A laudable anxiety was entertained for the preservation of so remarkable a body of ruins: but this appears to have been accompanied by a lack of taste, as monumental as the ruins themselves, by a utilitarianism that makes one shudder, and by feats of desecration from which even a Goth would have shrunk. This was some time ago. Fortunately we now live in a rather less vandalistic era. Some reparation has been made for the errors of the past; and one of my objects in coming here to day has been to see whether the amendment can be carried any further.

Your address, however, relates to the practical needs and circumstances of the present, rather than to the sentimental or æsthetic considerations, suggested by the past. Bijapur appears to be rising again with a praiseworthy vitality from the ashes of its former self, and its Municipality, during the

nearly fifty years of its existence, has already witnessed and fostered an encouraging advance. I hope that you will persevere in your good work and not be tempted to try too much. If you can never revive the glories of the past when this city is said to have contained 2,000,000 people, you can in all probability make the lot of the 20,000, of whom your population now consists, happier and more secure than was the case in the days of the great Shahs. External splendour often meant internal misery, and modern peasant or artisan, with an active Municipality and a sympathetic Local Government to look after him, is probably better off than his forerunner in the more gorgeous but also more precarious days of the past. You have made the suggestion that a model farm and an agricultural class might be attached to your High School. This is a proposal that concerns the Local rather than the Supreme Government, and that might properly be placed before them. A locality which, as you point out has suffered from no less than three draughts in ten years, and is even now rather apprehensive of a fourth, may well be anxious to profit by the latest teaching of scientific agriculture, which, I am inclined to think, has hitherto received a somewhat inadequate attention at the hands of the Indian Government. You have made a further request with which the Local Grvernment might feel less inclination to comply, and the object of which you have stated with refreshing candour to be that the Municipality may be placed in possession of a larger and growing income. This is the proposal that the Government should make over to you the unoccupied spaces in the town in return for your willingness to pay the cost of the city survey. But you seem to me to be rather late with this proposal, since I understand that the Government has already borne the entire cost of the survey, which was

Rs. 35,000, in addition to spending Rs. 53,000 in clearing and laying out roads in the new Bazzar. Not only this but the recovered lands, over 80 acres in extent, were handed over to the Municipality at a purely nominal rent, and you have since made a very good thing out of them, partly by sales and partly by rents. It seems to me, therefore, that you have not much to complain of, and that with a rising income and a good balance you may be complimented rather than commiserated on your position. It gives me much pleasure to think that the plague and famine policy of the Government of India have been followed with approval in this distant spot; and I accept with equal gratification your hearty assurances of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and of friendly welcome to myself.

REPLY TO THE PEOPLE'S ADDRESS AT SILCHAR.

[His Excellency the Viceroy, in the course of his annual Autumn tour arrived at Silchar on the 7th November, 1901, and on the following day, he was presented with two addresses, one by the native community and the other by the Surma Valley Tea Association. Replying to the address of the native community, the Viceroy said]:—

GENTLEMEN,—Permit me to thank you for the cordial welcome that you extended to me, yesterday and to day. It has been a real pleasure to me to visit a locality, which, though it lies a little outside of the ordinary track, so well repays inspection, I have been struck by the beauty of your scenery, by the spleudid promise of this year's crops, by the well-to-do appearance of the people, and by the manifest sincerity of the reception, which you have offered to me, as the representative of our illustrious Sovereign. The only

bitter drop in my cup of nectar is the absence of Lady Curzon to which you have so gracefully alluded, but which you cannot possibly deplore so much as myself. I am glad to hear you speak a good word for the Assam-Bengal Railway. I have had to say rather hard things of it in the past; and later on, in my second reply, I may be called upon to allude to the effect that it has exercised and continues to exercise upon our general policy of railway development in Assam. However, whatever it may have cost in the jungles and hills, and whether it ought ever to have been carried through those regions or not, there cannot be a doubt that in the plains of Bengal, Sylhet and Cachar, it has been an unmixed blessing placing this part of Assam in touch with the outer world, bringing up, as you have pointed out, immense supplies of rice, at a time when famine was imminent and taking away the produce of your tea gardens and enabling the planters to obtain coolies, at a greatly reduced cost. You have alluded to the unfortunate depression in the tea industry in which I deeply sympathise with you, but, which will, perhaps, more appropriately come up for mention in reply to the succeeding Address. You have also referred to other evidences of a backward condition, such as the present state of education, and the alleged poverty of the district. In connection with the latter, you have stated, with obvious reference to the recent re-settlement of the Cachar District, that it is a matter of grave concern that the revision of the land assessment invariably results in an enhancement of the land revenue, and that you sincerely trust, that the matter will occupy my attention. I am happy to assure you that your hopes stand in no danger of disappointment. I have spent a good many months during the past summer at Simla, where we are, sometimes, supposed

to be kicking up our heels and having a good time (laughter) but, where, if I may speak for myself and the high officers of Government, we work as hard as any coal-miner, at the bottom of a shaft or shall I say any cooly in any tea garden (loud laughter) in looking into this very question. And I hope that, before long, the Government of India may be in a position to make a broad statesmanlike pronouncement of its views and policy, upon the subject of land revenue and assessments indicating the principles upon which we proceed and the rules of guidance to which it is our desire to conform. I will only say here that, a rise in assessment itself is no more an improper and culpable thing, than is a rise in the rent of a house, or in the price of a house. If the article in question has gone up in value, the purchaser, or the part owner, or the lessee, as the case may be, must accept to pay more when the period for making a new contract comes round. What we have to look to is that the increase in payment shall not be beyond the deserts of the case, or the capacity of the individual who has to pay it, and that it falls upon him in such a manner as to cause the burden of a sudden enhancement. When the new settlement here was made I looked very carefully into the matter and I convinced myself that the increase in rate was neither unreasonable nor moderate. The rates here which vary from twelve annas to one rupee six annas per acre. for rice lands, are considerably lower than they are in the Assam Valley, and, if we exclude the whole of the culturable, but non-cultivated waste, and take only the cropped area, the incidence amounts only to one rupee ten annas per acre, as compared, with three rupees in Sibsagore. This cannot be called a h arsh assessment. Moreover the Government in pursuance of a poliey, which, I hope that it will always observe, where the

enhancement is relatively, though not intrinsically, high has relinquished no small portion of its due by postponing the full levy for a number of years. As succeeding revisions occur you may be sure that the State will have no desire to pose as a hard taskmaster, but that will always be ready to co-ordinate its own interests with those of the agricultural populuation.

You proceed to refer to the question of *begar*, and here I am in substantial agreement with what you say. *Begar* or impressed labour is a heritage from the days when the State revenue was largely paid in labour instead of in cash; but it is a system which is open to abuse and which, as communications develop, and free labour becomes available, is destined to disappear. British rule has witnessed its practical extinction, in Egypt, except for such purposes as the construction of embankments against sudden floods. It has also been shorn of its abuses in Kashmir. Wherever the system survives, it is justified by the requirements of the public service, and the paucity of the local labour supply, and it is now everywhere free from the crowning abuse of the old-fashioned *begar* inasmuch as it is invariably accompanied by a reasonable scale of pay. Thus in this district, after a memorial had been presented to me, by the *mirasdars* of Cachar, in 1900, a consultation between the Government of India and the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton resulted in an increase of the daily wages from six to eight annas. This increase of rate, which has, I believe, caused general satisfaction, will itself reduce the demand for *begar* labour, and in time, as you are brought into closer contact with the outside labour market and as a larger labour population make its way the into Surma Valley, *begar* will case to exist.

You have next referred to two subjects, which are receiving my close attention. The first is the union of judicial and executive functions. We have been in consultation with the Local Governments on the subject, and a mass of papers are awaiting my attention, which I have had not time to look at, but which I hope to take up and study in earnest next year. What conclusion they may lead to I cannot at present say. In the concrete case, to which you call my attention in this district, I understand that the difficulty arises from the fact that if the Deputy Commissioner ceased to exercise the functions of a Civil Judge, a separate officer would have to be imported for that purpose, and that there would not be enough work for him to do. The second subject is the too rapid transfers of executive officers. The Hon'ble Mr. Cotton is not one whit behind myself in realising the injurious effects of these transfers upon the continuity and efficacy of administration. You may only rely upon him not to lose sight of these considerations in this or any other District. For my own part, I can truthfully say, that this is one of the blots upon our Indian practice—for it is no essential ingredient of the system—which, I have been doing my best, by our new Leave Rules, by Executive orders and otherwise, to remove. I heartily endorse the propositions that an officer, in order to do good work, must get to know the people, that he cannot get to know them except by living among them for some time, and that he cannot do the latter if he is liable to sudden and capricious transfers. We are, I can assure you, well aware of this blemish, and our best efforts are directed to removing it. It has given me great pleasure to listen to your emphatic appreciation of the services of the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton, your present Chief Commissioner. He has never failed or

wavered in his sympathy with the people of the province which he has been called upon to administer, and he will have the satisfaction of knowing, when he leaves you, that its interests have greatly prospered in his hands.

Finally you have indulged in some too generous expressions of sympathy with the task, which has been imposed upon myself. As the temporary Head of the Government of India, I dare say, that one makes many mistakes. If I were in a quiet corner with you, instead of on a public platform, I might tell you a few of them myself (laughter). But when you say that at the bottom of one's heart there is no other desire than to do good to the people of this country, you speak the truth; and when you say this of me, you may say it, with equal truth of the vast majority of the men of my race, who are engaged in administering the Government of India. The task is not always an easy one, for it has to be pursued through much criticism, some misunderstanding, and occasional attack. On the other hand, in no country in the world, is there a more generous recognition of honest effort, or a more willing condonation of venial errors. That is both our encouragement and our consolation (loud cheers).

REPLY TO ADDRESSES AT MANIPUR.

[At a Durbar held by the Viceroy at Manipur on the 16th November, 1901, two addresses were presented to His Excellency, one by the Hindu and other by the Mahomedan residents of Manipur. In reply, Lord Curzon spoke as follows]:—

YOUR Highness and the inhabitants of the Manipur State:—I have seen the question asked why should the head of the Government of India have come to Manipur. I think that a sufficient answer might be forthcoming in the

need of some change after incessant work elsewhere, or it might be found in the magnificent scenery of the Manipur Hills, through which I have been marching for the past seven days, and in the picturesque features of this valley, capable, as it appears to me, of such immense development and of sustaining so much larger a population in the future. But neither of these is the reason that has drawn me to this distant spot. I have come here in pursuance of a definite resolution, formed, when first I was appointed to be the Viceroy of India, namely, that I would, so far as health and circumstances might permit, visit all the outlying States and parts of India during my term of office, as well as the better known and the more important. My reason was twofold. In the first place I have always found it difficult clearly to understand any public question, until I have visited the locality, seen the inhabitants myself, and conversed with the local authorities on the spot. Secondly, I am, beyond all things, anxious to bring home to the minds of the people, even in the remote parts of this great Empire that the Government knows about them, and is interested in their welfare, and that when they speak of the *Sircar* they are alluding, not merely to a dim force, but to a concrete authority and to living persons. That is why I have come, so far out of my way to the little known Manipur. I wanted to see how this State has prospered, during the ten years that have passed since it was placed under British administration, and also, what fortune is likely to await it, when, in a few years time the young Raja is gradually initiated into the administration of the State. The first thing I have to say is that the British Government does not repent of the clemency which induced it to spare the independence of Manipur, when the State and he people behaved so wickedly and so shamefully ten years

ago. By these acts, the State became forfeit to the Crown, and it rested with the Government to make such disposal of it as might be thought best. The Government displayed great mercy and great consideration, It refrained from adding to the territories, under its direct administration, and it showed its desire so to manage the future of Manipur, that the people might still retain their liberties, and after passing through a period of good government might, once again be entrusted to a Native Chief, who should rule in accordance with the traditions and the laws of his race. This is the policy that has been pursued. Many evil customs have been abolished under the British administration and many good things have been introduced, and the people of Manipur are now a better governed, a more prosperous and a more peaceable community, than they were before the ten years of probation had begun. Secondly, I have to say that the Government will not recede from its decision. The *sircar* is a master, whose word, is a word, that is to be obeyed. The old order of things and persons is an order that will not be allowed to come back—they are past and gone for ever. The old bad practices, that carried with them so much rebellion and disorder in the State and so much oppression to the people will never return. They have been utterly destroyed, and persons who brought these troubles upon Manipur will never again be invested with power. The Government has selected the young Raja as the future ruler of the State. He has been given a good education and he has come back to Manipur to become familiar with the people and to learn the duties of the Raj. And so long as he is a good ruler and is just and benevolent to his people he will be supported by the British Government, and the latter will then have abundant cause to rejoice at the wise step that they have taken.

Colonel Maxwel has given an account, in his speech of the changes that have passed over Manipur, during the ten years, in which he has administered the country. Consider what the British Government has done for you. The old *lallup* or forced labour has been abolished, and you are now free men and are paid good wages for your work. Domestic slavery has ceased to exist. A new system of taxation and of land revenue has been introduced, that is fair to all and is collected without hardship or oppression. Ten years ago, there was no Police to maintain order, no forest management to secure an income from the State forests, no department to look after public communication, such as bridges and roads, no education for your boys and girls. There was practically no trade in Manipur. The population was only 221,000 and the revenue was less than one lakh of rupees. Now there is a growing trade, the fisheries give an income of about Rs. 30,000 a year, the population has grown to 2,84,000, and, under a continuation of just and tranquil rule, will greatly multiply. The revenue of the State, last year, was Rs. 3,87,000, and there is a cash balance of 3 lakhs of rupees. The hill tribes are peaceful and contented, each man is safe in his own house, and if some old Manipuri of 50 or even 20 years ago, were to come back from the spirit world, he would say this is a new and a happier Manipur. For all these benefits, you owe much gratitude to the *sircar* and to Colonel Maxwell, who has been a prudent administrator and a true and trusted friend to Manipur. I hope that when his time comes to go, you will long hold his name in honoured remembrance.

I have received to-day two addresses from the Hindu and from the Mahomedan subjects of the Manipur State. The former number 1,72,000, out of the total population, and

the latter 9,000. I will deal briefly with their respective petitions. The Hindus have expressed their gratitude that Government has restored the old *Chirap* Court and the *Imphal punchayat* and village *punchayat* Courts, and has appointed natives to be Judges in them. This is a part of the generous policy of the *sircar*, who is anxious that the people should continue to be judged by their own laws and by influential men of their own race. Further they have asked that in accordance with old practice, lands should be granted free of rent to all Brahmins, shrines, Rajkumaras, and Rajkumaries. I do not think that this was the old practice. Land was given rent-free to certain of these classes, but not to all. Some of them continue to receive these privileges at present, but the policy of wholesale exemption is not one that is favoured by the British Government or that is sound, for the State. If every Brahmin and every Rajkumar and Rajkumari in Manipur were to be granted lands rent-free, there would be a considerable diminution in the public revenue, and other taxes would have to be imposed. Whether any further exemptions can be given beyond those which are now accorded is a matter which can be disposed of by the Raja when he succeeds to the administration. In praying for a reduction of the land assessment, the Hindu memorialists have also forgotten to state that if their prayer was granted, the income of the the State would be reduced by one lakh or more than one quarter of the entire revenue. This would have to be made up from some other source and the memorialists might find themselves worse off at the end than they are now. I cannot follow the minute calculations which have been made in the address, but I observe that they proceed upon the assumption that the average price of *dhan* is 3 pots for a rupee.

This has not been the average rate during the last eight years. It has been Rs. 2 anna 1 per pot. It should be remembered that, assessment rates must be guided, not by the circumstances of a specially cheap year, but by the average of a number of years, including the good as well as the bad. If an era of very low prices were now to begin, the present scale of assessment might be found to be too high. At present it does not seem to be excessive. As regards the date of the payment, it does not much matter to the State when this takes place. It is the desire to fix it at periods, and in instalments which are fair and convenient to the cultivating classes.

The Mahomedans complain, in their address, that they are treated like foreigners and do not receive a fair share of Government appointments. They must remember that they are only a small minority in a Hindu State and who have but recently come to the country. The policy of the British Government is to deal out equal and proportionate treatment to all races and creeds. Native States are gradually learning to follow more and more the same ideal, and if the Mahomedans continue to be loyal subjects of the Manipur State, they will receive more liberal treatment as time passes on. The *sircar* is asked both to interfere and to leave men alone. It cannot, at the same time, do both. These are the principal subjects that have been named in the addresses that have been presented to me.

I have been glad to see this great crowd of persons the largest number that has probably ever been collected in a single building, and I have been pleased at the local reception accorded to me by the people.

In conclusion, let me add that though I shall go far away and shall never see Manipur again I will not for get the Mani-

pur people. I will, from time to time, make enquiries about them and their condition, and they may be sure that though they are very far off, the hand of the *sircar* will be over them, and they will be protected by the officers who are sent here to represent the Government and to do the bidding of the great King (continued applause).

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CHIN CHIEFS.

[On the 24th November, 1901, replying to an address presented by the Chin Chiefs, Lord Curzon said]:—

CHIEFS of the Chin tribes,—I am glad to see you to-day and I should have been still better pleased had I been able to visit you in your own hills. There is nothing that I enjoy more than making the acquaintance of the interesting peoples who live on the fringes of the Indian Empire and who retain customs and habits peculiar to themselves, and unlike their neighbours, my desire everywhere is not to suppress their individuality but to retain it so long as it is not used to justify violence or wrong-doing. As time however, did not permit of my coming to you in your own homes I rejoice that you have come here to see me and I have received your loyal address with much satisfaction. Allusion has been made by you to the disarmament, which has for some time been proceeding in the Chin hills and to the more recent operations of the census and the Superintendent has represented the majority of the Chiefs as having acted faithfully and with zeal. I am pleased to hear that this is the case. The policy of disarmament and of Government licenses for a suitable number of guns was not at first

understood, but now that its consequences are seen in the peace that prevails in the hills and in the cessation of raids on the plains, its benefits are generally appreciated and the Chiefs know that they are consulting their own interests as well as those of Government in assisting to carry it out. You have been rewarded by the remission of one year's tribute in consequence. You also assure me that you will in no way be associated with the lawless acts, that are sometimes committed by your tradesmen owing to their turbulent nature, except to suppress them. I welcome the assurance. My own belief is that as the Chief is, so will the tribe tend to be, and that a good Chief means a good tribe. I shall bear in mind your promises and shall judge you by this task. It is the settled policy of Government to support the hereditary Chiefs to the uttermost, and to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the tribes except in the interests of order and peace. For this support, Chiefs, you owe a return to Government. The census also was most important, to some of the tribes this is a novel procedure and it excited some suspicion. You should remember, however, that the desire of Government is to know your numbers in order that if they be small we may endeavour to increase them, whereas if they be large we may be conscious of the extent of your claims. Now that we have learned from the census that there are at least 95,000 Chins in this part of the country, and probably more, we realise how large is the community for which the Government has made itself responsible. You have given me certain assurances. I will now give one to you. Do not imagine for one moment that the British Government is going to leave you or to abandon your country. As the Head of the Government I should not have come all his way to speak to you if we were going to evacuate the

Chin hills. On the contrary we are going to stay with you and you will be permanently under the British Raj. You have my word for this. The knowledge of it will enable you to turn your attention to the development of your country, to the encouragement of trade, which is now in a backward state, and the exploitation of the resources of your forests, which have long been neglected. Another source of security lies in the fact that the boundaries of the Chin country between the Chin and the Lushais and between the Chins and Manipur have now been settled, so that no further difficulties on questions of jurisdiction can arise. When a country is under a firm and civilised administration and when its frontiers have been fixed there is no further excuse for disorder. And the only thing that remains for its inhabitants to do is to promote their own prosperity by turning to the act of peace. I have been pleased to see from the reports that have been laid before me, that the Officers of Government have distinguished themselves by their energy and activity in touring amid the Chin hills. This is the true secret of Government. The Officers can only get to know the Chiefs and the people by moving about in their midst and by seeing them in their villages. Thus confidence is bred on both sides, for we trust those whom we know and we are frightened by that which is vague and unknown. For this reason also, I have marched across from Assam in order that I might make the acquaintance of the Manipuries and the Nagas and the Chins and I shall henceforward look upon the inhabitants of these regions as the people whom it will always be my desire to befriend.

ON ANCIENT BUILDINGS IN INDIA.

[On the 7th February, 1900, at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held at the Society's Rooms in Park Street, Calcutta, His Excellency Lord Curzon delivered the following speech on "Ancient Buildings in India"]:—

I hope that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect of ancient buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independent study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age, of that which has been bequeathed to us by an

earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if, ineeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors ? 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. Their abundant private wealth is available for the acquisition or the conservation of that which is frequently private property. Corporations, societies, endowments, trusts, provide a vast machinery that relieves the Government of a large portion of its obligation. The historic buildings, the magnificent temples, the inestimable works of art, are invested with a publicity that to some extent saves them from the risk of desecration or the encroachments of decay. Here all is different. India is covered with the visible records of vanished 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. If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an

alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art and beauty and the reverence that is owing to all that as evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds and in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmins stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mahomedan Musjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look it in the eyes—these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look. Much of ancient history, even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess-work. It is only slowly being pieced together by the efforts of scholars and by the outcome on research. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand, in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars, and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age.

Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European, monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the 3rd century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier. At that time the palaces of Chaldæa and Nineveh, the Pyra-

mids and the rock tombs of Egypt, were already thousands of years old. We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Mahomedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall in London, which we are far from regarding as an ancient monument. As for the later glories of Arabian architecture at Delhi, at Agra, and at Lahore, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we regard in England as the last product of a dying architectural epoch, were already grey when they sprang, white and spotless, from the hands of the masons of Akbar and Shah Jehan; while the Taj Mahal was only one generation older than Wren's Renaissance fabric of modern St. Paul's.

There is another remarkable feature of the majority of Indian antiquities—of those at any rate that belong to the Mussulman epoch—that they do not represent an indigenous genius or an Indian style. They are exotics imported into this country in the train of conquerors, who had learnt their architectural lessons in Persia, in Central Asia, in Arabia, in Afghanistan. More than a thousand years earlier a foreign influence had exercised a scarcely less marked, though more transient, influence upon certain forms of Indian architecture. I allude to the Greek types which were derived from the Græco Bactrian kingdoms, that were founded upon the remains of Alexander's conquests, and which in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era profoundly affected the art and sculpture of North West India, and the Punjab.

Indian sculptures or Indian buildings, however, because they reflect a foreign influence or betray a foreign origin, are not the less, but perhaps the more interesting to ourselves, who were borne to India upon the crest of a later, but similar, wave, and who may find in their non-Indian characteristics a reminiscence of forms which we already know in Europe, and of a process of assimilation with which our own archæological history has rendered us familiar. Indeed, a race like our own, who are themselves foreigners, are in a sense better fitted to guard, with a dispassionate and impartial zeal, the relics of different ages and of sometimes antagonistic beliefs, than might be the descendants of the warring races or the votaries of the rival creeds. To us the relics of Hindoo and Mahomedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid, and the other a weaker emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling Power.

If, however, the majority of the structural monuments of India, the topes and temples, the palaces and fortresses and tombs be of no exceeding antiquity in the chronology of architecture, and even if the greater number of those at any rate which are well known and visited, are not indigenous in origin, it remains true, on the other hand, that it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archæologist in India will in future lie. The later pages of Indian history

are known to us, and can be read by all. But a curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think the Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample.

If then the question be asked how has the British Government hitherto discharged, and how is it now discharging its task, what is the answer that must be returned? I may say in preface that were the answer unfavourable—and I will presently examine that point—we should merely be forging a fresh link in an un-broken historic chain. Every or nearly every successive religion that has premeated or overswept this country has vindicated its own fervour at the expense of the rival whom it had dethroned. When the Brahmins went to Ellora, they hacked away the features of all the seated Buddhas in the rock-chapels and halls. When Kutub-ud-din commenced, and Altamsh continued, the majestic mosque that flanks the Kutub Minar, it was with the spoil of

Hindoo temples that they reared the fabric, carefully defacing or besmearing the sculptured Jain images, as they consecrated them to their novel purpose. What part of India did not bear witness to the ruthless vandalism of the great iconoclast Aurangzeb? When we admire his great mosque with its tapering minarets, which are the chief feature of the river front at Benares, how many of us remember that he tore down the holy Hindoo temple of Vishveshwar to furnish the material and to supply the site? Nadir Shah during his short Indian inroad effected a greater spoliation that has probably ever been achieved in so brief a space of time. When the Mahratta conquerors overran Northern India, they pitilessly mutilated and wantonly destroyed. When Ranjit Singh built the Golden Temple at Umritsar, he ostentatiously rifled Mahomedan buildings and mosques. Nay, dynasties did not spare their own members, nor religions their own shrines. If a capital or fort or sanctuary was not completed in the life-time of the builder, there was small chance of its being finished, there was a very fair chance of its being despoiled, by his successor and heir. The environs of Delhi are a wilderness of deserted cities and devasted tombs. Each fresh conqueror, Hindoo or Moghul, or Pathan, marched, so to speak, to his own immortality over his predecessor's grave. The great Akbar in a more peaceful age first removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra, and then built Fatehpur Sikri as a new capital only to be abandoned by his successor. Jehangir alternated between Delhi and Agra, but preferred Lahore to either. Shah Jehan beautified Agra, and then comtemplated a final return to Delhi. Aurangzeb marched away to the south, and founded still another capital and was himself buried in territories that now belong to Hyderabad. These successive changes, while they may have

reflected little more than a despot's caprice, were yet inimical both to the completion and to the continuous existence of architectural fabrics. The British Government are fortunately exempt from any such promptings either of religious fanaticism, of restless vanity, or of dynastic and personal pride. But in proportion as they have been unassailed by such temptations, so is their responsibility the greater for inaugurating a new era and for displaying that tolerant and enlightened respect to the treasures of all which is one of the main lessons that the returning West has been able to teach to the East.

In the domain of archæology as elsewhere, the original example of duty has been set to the Government of India by individual effort and by private enthusiam ; and only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task. The early archæological researches, conducted by the founders and poineers of this Society, by Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, and Prinsep, and by many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*, were in the main literary in character. They consisted in the reconstruction of alphabets, the translation of MSS., and the decipherment of inscriptions. Sanscrit scholarship was the academic cult of the hour. How these men laboured is illustrated by the fact that Prinsep and Kittoe both died of overwork at the age of forty. Then followed an era of research in buildings and monuments ; the pen was supplemented by the spade ; and in succession, descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings, and in later days photographs and casts gradually revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unrifled quarries of Hindoostan. In this generation of explorers and writers, special honour must be paid to two names, to James Fergusson, whose earliest work was published in

1845, and who was the first to place the examination of Indian architecture upon a scholarly basis, and to General Sir A. Cunningham, who only a few years later was engaged in the first scientific excavation of the Bhilsa topes. These and other toilers in the same field laboured with a diligence beyond praise; but the work was too great for individual exertion, and much of it remained desutlory, fragmentary, and incomplete.

Meanwhile the Government of India was concerned with laying the foundations and extending the borders of a new Empire, and thought little of the relics of old ones. From time to time a Governor-General in an access of exceptional enlightenment or generosity, spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a Committee to conduct repairs at the Taj, Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutub Minar. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction arrangements for the examination, delineation, and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities. But these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than the collection of a few drawings, and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs. How little the leaven had premeated the lump, and how strongly the barbarian still dominated the æsthetic in the official mind, may be shown by incidents that from time to time occured.

In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General 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, but had somehow never been despatched. In the same, *regime* a proposal was

made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the Executive Engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the destruction of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mahomedan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh, to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some bunias' shops which when built were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindoo-Mussulman mosque at Ajmere were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the viceroy of the day was to pass. James Fergusson's books sounded one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder, and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hilltop at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldiers, and the relics, not yet entirely obliterated, of his occupation of the Palace in the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guidebooks of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jehan. It is not yet thirty years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi, in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical doctrinaires appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements,

in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date when picnic-parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they wiled away the after-noon by chipping out fragments of a gate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen. Indeed when I was at Agra the other day, I found that the marble tomb of Shah Jehan in lower vault, beneath which his body actually lies, was still destitute of much of its original inlay, of which I ordered the restoration.

That the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own. When Fergusson wrote his book, the Diwan-i-Am, or Public Hall of Audience, in the Palace at Delhi was a military arsenal, the outer colonnades of which had been built up with brick arches lightened by English windows. All this was afterwards removed. But when the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost, and a fresh coat of white-wash was plentifully bespattered over the red sandstone pillars and plinths of the Durbar-hall of Aurangzeb. This, too, I hope to get removed. When His Royal Highness was at Agra, and the various pavilions of Shah Jehan's palace were connected together for the purposes of an evening party and ball, local talent was called in to reproduce the faded paintings on marble and plaster of the Moghul artists two and-a-half centuries before. The result of their labours is still an eyesore and a regret. When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jehangir exactly three hundred years ago, still used for the profane purpose to which it had been convert-

ed by Rajit Singh, *viz.*, as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brickwork, and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore ever has seen. Ranjit Signgh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mahomedan predecessors, and half-a-century of British military occupation, with its universal paints-pot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to rescue the main building of the Moghul Palace from those two insatiable enemies. At Ahmedabad I found the mosque of Sidi Sayid, the pierced stone lattice work of whose demilune windows is one of the glories of India, used as a tehsildar's kutcherry, and difigured with plaster partitions, and the omnivorous white-wash. I hope to effect the reconversion of this building. After the conquest of Upper Burma in 1885 the Palace of the Kings at Mandalay which, although built for the most part of wood, is yet a noble specimen of Burmese art, was converted by our conquering battalions into a Club House, a Government Office, and a Church. By degrees I am engaged in removing these superfluous denizens, with the idea of preserving the building as the monument, not of a dynasty that has vanished never to return, but of an art that, subject to the vicissitude of fire, earthquake, and decay, is capable of being a joy for ever. There are other sites and fabrics in India upon which I also have my eye, which I shall visit, if possible, during my time, and which I shall hope to rescue from a kindred or a worse fate.

These are the gloomy or regrettable features of the picture. On the other hand, there has been, during the

last forty years, some sort of sustained effort on the part of Government to recognize its responsibilities and to purge itself of a well-merited reproach. This attempt has been accompanied, and sometimes delayed, by disputes as to the rival claims of research and of conservation, and by discussion over the legitimate spheres of action of the Central and the Local Governments. There have been periods of supineness as well as of activity. There have been moments when it has been argued that the State had exhausetd its duty or that it possessed no duty at all. There have been persons who thought that when all the chief monuments were indexed and classified, we might sit down with folded hands and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that railways and irrigation did not leave even a modest ½ lakh of rupees per annum for the requisite establishment to supervise the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world. Nevertheless, with these interruptions and exceptions, which I hope may never again recur, the progress has been positive, and, on the whole, continuous. It was Lord Canning who first invested archæological work in this country with permanent Government patronage by constituting in 1860 the Archæological Survey of Northern India and by appointing General Cunningham in 1862 to be Archæological Surveyor to Government. From that period date the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, which have at times assumed different forms, and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute, on the whole, a noble mine of information, in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil. For over twenty years General Cunningham continued his labours, of which these publications are the memorial. Meanwhile

orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India, local surveys were started, in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay Survey being placed in the capable hands of Mr. Burgess, who was a worthy follower in the footsteps of Cunningham, and who ultimately succeeded him as Director General of the Archæological Survey. Some of the native States followed the example thus set to them, and either applied for the services of the Government archæologists, or established small departments of their own.

In the provinces much depended upon the individual tastes or proclivities of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor just as at headquarters the strength of the impetus varied with the attitude of successive Viceroys. Lord Northbrook, who was always a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of Local Governments: and in his Viceroyalty, Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of renovation and repair at Agra—a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the Palace of Shah Jehan. The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of 3¾ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in the North-West Provinces, and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Curator of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried by his successor, Lord Ripon. During the three years that Major Cole held this post, from 1880 to 1883, much excellent work in respect both of reports and classifica-

tion was done; and large sums of money were given by the Government of India, *inter alia*, for repairs in the Gwalior Fort and at Sanchi Tope. But at the end of this time succeeded a period of some reaction, in which it appeared to be thought that the task of Central Government, in the preparation of surveys and lists, was drawing to a close, and that Local Governments might in future, be safely entrusted with the more modest, but I may add, not less critical, duty of conservation. More recently, under Lord Elgin's auspices the archæological work of Government has been placed upon a more definite basis The entire country has been divided into a number of circles, each with a surveyor of its own, and while the establishment is regarded as an Imperial charge the work is placed under local control, and receives such financial backing as the resources of the Local Government or the sympathies of individual Governors may be able to give it. In the North-West Provinces, where was recently touring, I found Sir Antony MacDonnell worthily sustaining, in point of generous and discriminating sympathy, the traditions that were created by Sir John Strachey.

For my part I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archæological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the taxpayers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thou

sand rupees go a long way in archæological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. 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.

AT THE FAMINE MEETING IN CALCUTTA.

[A public meeting was held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 16th February, 1900, in connection with the Famine in India. The Viceroy presided. On being unanimously asked to the Chair on the motion of Maharajah Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Spink, His Excellency made the following opening speech]:—

IT is a source of much distress to me that the first occasion upon which I should have been invited to take the chair at a great meeting of the citizens of Calcutta, convened by the Sheriff in deference to a requisition from the leading members both of the European and native communities, should be of the present character. It is a sorrowful task to stand up and to speak of the sufferings of millions of our fellow-creatures who, while we are living in comfort and affluence, are enduring severe hardships and privations, and are practically only being saved from the clutches of death by the direct action of the State. And yet, on the other hand, I can imagine no occasion more loudly calling for a meeting such as this, or for the presence of the Viceroy in the chair,

than one in which he should, as the head of the Government of India, as the official spokesman of society, and as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen, address that appeal to the Indian world, which he is probably only anticipating its natural instincts in making, but which, nevertheless, will derive force and concentration from the circumstances under which it is delivered. You are all aware, ladies and gentlemen, that we are confronted in India by a famine of unparalleled magnitude. Of each famine as it comes these words are apt to be used ; and I am conscious of the dangers of exaggeration. At the same time, from the figures and facts submitted to me, from the totals already on relief, and from the estimates of the probable duration and extent of the suffering that have been sent up, I entertain little doubt that, in the territories that are seriously affected, the description is literally true. I might emphasize the tragedy and the pathos of the situation by adding that in some parts of India plague co-exists with famine, and that, for instance, in Bombay city, more people are now dying in each week from plague than has ever been the case before, at the same moment that in other parts of the Bombay Presidency more people are only being saved from death from famine by Government relief. On the present occasion, however, I prefer to say nothing further about plague. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." The picture is already sombre enough without any darkening of the colours, and it is to the situation as created by famine alone that I invite your attention this afternoon.

I have, during the past few days, received accounts, specially sent to me at my request, from every affected province or part of India, which enable me to give you the most recent tidings. When I spoke in Council, exactly four weeks ago from to-day, the numbers throughout India in receipt of relief

exceeded $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions. To-day, in spite of the closer stringency of tests which has been applied, and which, I may say in passing, has been unanimously welcomed by the Local Governments and officers as both timely and necessary, the total exceeds $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions. No such number of persons has ever before been simultaneously relieved by any Government in the world. But I am constrained to admit that, in spite of every legitimate precaution that may be taken, these totals are not likely to prove the maximum, but that in the spring and summer months that lie before us, they will be substantially increased.

Bombay reports to us a distress that is attacking classes and strata of society hitherto exempt. The Punjab says that the loss of crops in that province bas been the greatest on record, and that, whereas in 1897 the numbers on relief steadily declined from the month of February onwards, in the present year they will as surely mount up. In the Central Provinces $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons are already on relief, and the Chief Commissioner contemplates that before June this total may have swollen to two millions. The Central Provinces were the dark spot of the famine of 1896-97. But the intensity and extent of the drought are greater now, and must leave a blight upon that unhappy province for many a long year to come. In Central India, even fertile Malwa, which has always been an asylum for famine stricken wanderers from other parts, has itself been stripped bare, and hundreds of thousands of poor fugitives who crowded over the border in the early days of scarcity, have drifted back again, to pick up a meagre substance wherever they can. Famine conditions of the worst type prevail in Western Rajaputana, where Jodhpore has lost as much as

90 per cent. of its stock of cattle; other States little less; and they are spreading towards the Easterm parts of that region.

All these circumstances will show you that there is no exaggeration in describing the present as an unprecedented emergency, and that it is with as forcible and overpowering a ground of appeal as any pleader for charity ever possessed, that I appear before you this afternoon. I think I may say with truth that, except in some Native States, which either did not possess the requisite organisation or which began rather late in the day, mortality from famine has, so far, been almost completely, if not absolutely, repressed. Such deaths as have occured here or there have been of a character normal in any period of distress, owing to lowered physique. At such times some of the invalids and weaklings of the village inevitably die. But there has been a conspicuous absence on the present occasion of the poor emaciated wastrels, the living skeletons, whose pitiful likenesses nearly broke our hearts when they appeared in the illustrated papers three years ago. When I remember that the great Duke of Wellington, who had to fight a big famine in the Deccan while in command there at the beginning of the present century, wrote in one of his Despatches that at Ahmednagar alone fifty-persons died of starvation each day, and when I contemplate the enormous numbers with which we are now dealing, I do feel some glow of honourable pride. To any who may think that the recent rains which have fallen in some parts of India and the fringe of which has even reached us in Calcutta, may sensibly alleviate the position, I must regretfully point out that, while they have been of some assistance in parts of the Punjab even there they have produced no check upon the upward rise of the relief figures, while elsewhere in the afflicted parts of Bombay, Rajputana,

Central India, and the Central Provinces, there has been no rain at all. There the ground is like an even, which as the spring grows into summer, will become hotter and still more burning.

Ladies and gentlemen, a month ago, I hardly contemplated that, great and increasing as our sufferings were, we could expect very much practical assistance from England. Sympathy from all, help from the particular friends of India, contributions from a few, I felt certain that we should receive. But that, in the midst of all its anxieties and troubles, the British nation should open wide its purse to us seemed to me to be unlikely, and even not to be expected. I scarcely thought that the expression of my doubt would be transmitted home. But never was I more pleased than when I ascertained that I had underrated the degree of interest which many of my countrymen in England take in India, however great their absorption in other concerns, and when the Lord Mayor came forward and offered to place the prestige and help of the Mansion House at our disposal, I felt then, and the Secretary of State shared my opinion, that to all in England who were willing to give, the opportunity should not be denied; that, whether the offerings were great or small they would be acceptable; and that, though the old country could not do for us again what it did in 1896 97, something of value might be expected from its generosity. It is in these circumstances that a branch of the fund which we are about to inaugurate this afternoon, is being opened to-day in London by the Lord Mayor, to which the subscriptions of our English friends and sympathisers will be sent. Meanwhile we had already decided to open an Indian Famine Fund here, and to make our appeal to the entire country. My first step in the constitution of the re-

quisite machinery was to ask Her Majesty the Queen-Empress if she would again consent, as in 1897, to be patron of the fund. Along with Her gracious acceptance of this post, Her Majesty generrously announced a contribution of £1,000 towards the fund, only one among many examples of her noble fellow-feeling for her Indian people. In India, I have already found that a similar interest and a like generosity prevail. Before this meeting or this fund were made known, the Maharaja of Darbhanga came to me and in that spirit of open-handed and large-hearted munificence which we have learned in a comparatively short time to associate permanently with his name, he offered to inaugurate any such fund by a donation—a truly princely donation—of 1½ lakhs or £10,000. Other generous offers and promises have since followed, and already I think, I may say that the ship that we are launching this after-noon in fairly under way.

I may mention the following additional donations:—

Maharani of Hattwa...	... ...	1,00,000
British India Steam Navigation Co. and Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co.		80,000
Nawab of Dacca	... ...	50,000
Maharaja of Burdwan	... ...	10,000
Messrs. Ralli Brothers (in addition to Rs, 20,000 given to Bombay—Rs. 30,000 in all)	...	10,000
,, Apcar & Co.	... ...	10,000
,, Copper Allen & Co.	...	10,000
,, Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co.	...	5,000
,, Graham & Co. (and Rs, 5,000 promised to Bombay—Rs. 10,000 in all)	... ...	5,000

Messrs.	Thomas Duff & Co. ...	5,000
„	Birkmyre Brothers ...	5,000
„	Schroder Smidt & Co. ...	5,000
„	Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co. ...	5,000
India General Steam Navigation Co. and Kilburn & Co.	... ...	5,000
Barry & Co.	... ...	5,000
Jardine, Skinner & Co.	... ...	5,000

Or, in all Rs. 4,65,000

I may add that I have been fortunate enough to persuade Sir Francis Maclean, the Chief Justice of Bengal, who was Chairman of the Committee in 1897, to give us the advantage of his experience and authority in the same capacity now, and also to enlist the energies of Mr. Donald Smeaton as Secretary.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, you may expect a few words from me as to the conditions under which we appeal to your charity and the objects to which it will be applied. I am not inclined to draw any pedantic distinction between the spheres of Government duty and of private benevolence. Wide as is the scope of the former, inasmuch as it includes the whole duty of saving human life, it is not so ample as to leave no margin for outside assistance. We are not asking you to relieve Government of its due burden, or to save us from one penny of expenditure that ought properly to fall upon our shoulders. Whatever you give us will make no difference in the extent and character of our outlay. That is fixed for us by the high conception that we entertain of our public duty. But for all that, there is an ample field for private generosity, both in supplement to that which the State can do and must do, and often in pursuit of that

which the State cannot do at all. It is our task to keep the people alive, and to see them safely through the period of their sufferings. But no expert knowledge is required to recognize that there are a hundred ways in which the condition of their sufferings may be alleviated, while they still last, and a fresh start in the world be given to the sufferers when the worst is over. The legitimate objects of private charity have, indeed, been carefully analysed and scientifically laid down both by Government during the last famine, and by the Famine Commission afterwards. We ask your money to provide warm raiment, clothes, and blankets, for the poor workers, who spend their nights out of doors, either in the open air or under flimsy mats of straw. In the Punjab as you know, it is still very cold at nights. Later on, when the rains come, the same covering will be required to ward off the chills that bring fever and dysentery in their train. Think again, of the good that may be done by the distribution of small comforts, of milk and arrowroot and cornflour, and other medicinal sustenance, to the aged and infirm, to invalids, and above all to children. My one happy experience in connection with the whole famine is my recollection of having saved the lives of two poor little children in Kathiawar, who were very nearly gone, but for whom I ordered milk to be supplied until they were quite recovered, as I have since heard with satisfactory results. A third object to which the funds subscribed by charity are devoted is the relief of orphans, although I hope that our timely measures and vast outlay may prevent there being many of this class upon the present occasion. Then there is a class who appeal peculiarly for private assistance, since they deliberately, though for the most honourable of motives, elect to stand outside of State relief. I allude to the *purda nashin*

women whom our system does not touch, and to the destitute, but respectable, presons and classes who are too proud to apply for Government help, who find it derogatory to labour, and who would sooner die than beg, In Native States these are likely to be provided for. But there is many a silent sufferer of these classes in British India for whom I would plead. Finally, there remains the great object upon which the bulk of the money that was subscribed in 1897 was spent, *viz.*, 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 past. Government does what it can in such cases by *taccavi* advances, by remissions of rent and otherwise ; but it is beyond our power to cover the whole field that is open : and there is not a donor, however humble, in India or in England, of even a rupee or a shilling to our cause, who may not be honestly confident that that petty sum will bring a ray of light, a dawning of hope, into the heart of some unhappy peasant who, for months, will not have known what light or hope were. These, then, are the objects upon which will be expended such funds, whether from England or from India, as the public may be willing to give us. Let me add that on the present occasion, we propose to make no discrimination between the claim of Native States and of British India. In the famine of 1897 organized relief was only in an experimental stage in Native territory ; relief fund committees had not been created ; the agency for distribution did not exist, and the fund was primarily raised for British India, This year, however, famine is much more pronounced in the Native States ; the distress in many of them is very acute ; their recuperative power will be small ; the Chiefs and Durbars have, under the initiative of Government, accepted

a responsibility quite new to them, and have organized a system which has in many cases placed a severe strain upon their resources. We owe them a return for their gallant efforts, and their people deserve the public bounty just as much as do our own. In some of these Native States private charity has already come to the assistance of the Durbars. The Seths of Bikanir and Bundelkhund have been loyally and generously assisting the Chiefs. Private committees exist in Jaipur, Ajmere, Abu, and other places. As we have read in the newspapers, public committees and funds were started, sometime ago, both in Bombay and in the Punjab. While native generosity is thus forthcoming in many parts, though not, I regret to say, equally in all, it is a pleasure to me to add that I know of many cases in which English officers, personally engaged in the famine fight, are setting aside no small portion of their own salaries to supplement the relief which they are already administering on behalf of Government. Similarly, many a native official is labouring manfully in the common cause.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, though I do not suppose that there is any one in this hall who would ask why Bengal and Calcutta should be asked to contribute when they are not suffering, yet should such a thought occur to any man, I would say to him that this is the very reason why I invite him all the more to subscribe. Not merely is Indian suffering an Indian interest irrespective of province, or district, or city, but there is in the circumstances of the present case a peculiar reason for a generous response in this part of the country. While no rain has fallen elsewhere, Bergal has enjoyed a full share, The suffering of others has even proved your gain : for the Bengal cultivators have realised for their surplus crops

a price that in ordinary times they would not have touched. Apart from this, however, was there ever a case in which the rich man out of his abundance should more freely give to the poor man in his misery? If any rich man in this city is in any doubt as to whether he should subscribe, I would gladly give him a railway ticket to a famine district and take what he chose to give me on his return. He might go with a hard heart; but he would come back with a broken one. Nor need any poor man desist from offering his mite. A mite to him may be almost a fortune to the starving. To each of us, therefore, the call should come: to every one, European or native, official, merchant, or professional man, it may equally appeal. In yielding to it, we shall be obeying a summons that lies at the root of all religion, and is the consecration of our common humanity.

THE BUSINESS OF THE MEETING OVER.

[Archbishop Goethals proposed a vote of thanks to the Viceroy for presiding. The Viceroy, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said]:—

YOUR HONOR, ladies and gentlemen,—Allow me to thank you very warmly for the compliment that you have paid me by passing this vote of thanks. It was specially gratifying to me that the motion should have emanated from such an old citizen of Calcutta as Archbishop Goethals. That within a year after my coming to India I should have received from his lips a tribute so warm as that which he has been kind enough to pay me is, I can assure you, a source of the utmost gratification to me. He is, I believe, before long going to leave Calcutta. I only hope that it is to return and that we shall not lose his genial and popular presence in our midst. The motion for a vote of thanks to me was very eloquently seconded by Raja Ban Behari Kapur, of Burdwan,

and I thank him for the words he used, although I think I would prefer to wait till the end of my five years to see if I deserve all the good things said about me instead of accepting them on the present occasion. It only remains for me to say that the confident hope I expressed in my former speech, that I might be able to make a further announcement, before I left the room, of contributions has not been disappointed. Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore has given Rs. 10,000 to the Fund; the Maharaja of Mymensing has given Rs. 5,000; and the Hon'ble Rajah Ranajit Singh of Nashipore, has given Rs. 20,000, and for all those who have not yet given, whether they sit behind me or sit before, I may remark that an excellent opportunity of showing that they are actuated by the same spirit which pervades the speeches of the speakers will be afforded them. In the vistibule, where you cannot help seeing it, is a table, and on that table is a book and by that book is a pot of ink and a pen. Therefore—it is in the power of every person here as he passes that book to write down in it his actual practical financial testimony to the realizing of this meeting. I may say that I propose to set an excellent example by writing in it myself. I hope that this example will be followed by others, and that the words which have fallen from more than one speaker this afternoon might come to pass and that in its realization this may be called a record meeting of the citizens of Calcutta. The first general meeting of the committee will be held on the afternoon of the 19th instant in the Committee room of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

[At the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held at the Senate House at 3 P. M. on Saturday the 7th February, 1900, after the usual presentation of the graduates, His Excellency the Chancellor addressed them in the following terms].—

MR. Vice-Chancellor and Graduates of the Calcutta University.—Believe me that it is with no small pleasure that I have for the second time taken my seat in this hall to-day at your annual Convocation as Chancellor of the Cal utta University. With each succeeding year my interest in my Indian work tends to increase rather than to diminish and the recurrence of this annual anniversary brings me back with renewed ardour to the contemplation, not merely of your own academic history during the past twelve months, but of the progress of that great educational undertaking of which this University is the exemplar and head.

There have just passed before me a number of young men who have this afternoon received the degree which the Calcutta University bestows upon those who have successfully surmounted its tests. I wonder if any of these young men have paused to ask themselves what is the object of the examination that they have so recently passed, and of the teaching that has enabled them to pass it. I hope that they do not look at the matter exclusively from the utilitarian point of view. On the face of it it may appear that they have been acquiring knowledge which has a definite and realisable value because it will help them to obtain a career

for themselves, and sustenance for their families and belongings. It is quite a legitimate and even an honourable object to acquire such knowledge and to use it in order to obtain such employmeut. But it would be an insult to knowledge to regard knowledge as a means only, or employment as the only end. The ultimate justification of our educational system culminating as it does in the degrees of the Indian Universities, is that the character of the individual student shall thereby be moulded into a higher moral and intellectual type. If this ideal be reached, he becomes not only a better pleader, or clerk, or journalist, or official in the Government service, or whatever his future career may be, but he becomes a finer specimen of a man. He exercises a healthy influence on his environment. He inspires others with his example. He elevates and purifies the tone of the society to which he belongs or the administration of which he forms a part.

Gentlemen, this aspect of University education is invested in India with an interest greater, I think, than in any other country. In an English University and in European Universities generally, we teach our youug men to a large extent, it is true, in foreign and even in dead languages, and to some extent in subjects which are of value rather as a mental discipline than as a practical accomplishment. For instance, many a young man learns to write Greek iambics, of which he will assuredly never compose another in his life; or he studies Euclid, though in a few years' time he will have ceased to remember a single proposition. But with all this variety and transience of subject-matter, it remains true that the thoughts, the precepts, the ideas, the framework, in fact, of knowledge which is there communicated to his mind—are, whatever the language in which they were originally

expressed, or the age to which they belong—not essentially different from those of the modern world of which he is acomponent part. We imbibe,for instance,much the same conceptions of liberty and patriotism from an oration of Demosthenes as we do from a speech of Burke. The philosophy of history is as profound in the pages of Thucydides as it is in those of Gibbon. The same problems of mental and moral science, though expressed in different formulas, are examined by Plato and Aristotle as by Berkeley and Spencer. A Greek tragedy does not set forth a paler image of the moral forces that govern the world, though it be the product of a pagan imagination, than does a Milton or a Wordsworth.

But here all is different. We teach you in your Indian Colleges, and we examine you in the Indian Universities upon subjects not merely conveyed to you in a foreign language, but representing foreign ideas and modes of thought. They are like an aerolite discharged into space from a distant planet, or like exotic plants imported from some antipodean clime. They are the outcome of an alien school of science, of philosophy, of logic, of literature, of art. Well may an intelligent observer look to see what is the issue of so remarkable an experiment, and well may he wonder whether the result of this daring alchemy will be fusion or discord. Above all, he will ask—and that is the question that I also ask, and that I want you to put to yourselves—what is the effect that is produced upon individual character, and upon that aggregate of individual characters that makes up the national character of the East, by a curriculum almost exclusively borrowed from the West? When these two intellectual streams meet, the positive, the synthetic, the practical,—and the imaginative, the metaphysical, and the

analytic—do they run side by side in the same channel, as we have sometimes seen rivers do after their confluence, one clear and bright, and the other stained and dark from the soil through which it has flowed ; or do they mix their waters in a fresh and homogeneous current, with an identity and a colour of its own?

Gentlemen, I have no doubt that much might be said on both sides of this question. There will be those who urge that the speculative side of the human intellect with difficulty assimilates the positive method, and that reflectiveness is incompatible with action. They will argue that a veneer of Western learning and culture upon an Oriental sub-stratum furnishes a flimsy and unstable fabric; that you cannot amalgamate the subtlety and acumen of the East with the more robust and masculine standards of the West ; and that the more complete the illusory and ephemeral success of the experiment, the more violent will be the recoil and the more disastrous the consequences. There is some truth in this pessimism. But it is far from being the whole truth. We are all of us familiar with the half-denationalised type of humanity who has lost the virtues of his own system, while only assimilating the vices of another. He is a sorrowful creature, whether he be a European or an Asiatic. We know the man who cloaks the shallowness of his intellectual equipment in a cloud of vague generalisation, or who has acquired the phraseology of a foreign literature without so much as touching the hem of its thought. We know the student who sells his European text-books the moment he has passed his University examinations, because literature has ceased to be for him a mercantile asset. There is the popular story of the man whose pecuniary value in the native marriage market

is enhanced by the possession of a degree, and who is said to study in order to become an eligible suitor. For all I know, there may be too many of all these types in this country ; and I have no doubt that analogous types are to be found in Western Universities, and that if you brought European students over here and set them down to study Indian metaphysics you would presently develop some specimens equally incongruous, equally superficial and equally absurd. But because we all know these freaks, and smile at them, when they cross our path, do not let us run away with the idea that they are universal phenomena, or that they are the normal and inevitable product of the amalgamation of East and West.

My own feelings are of an exactly opposite character. I am surprised, not at the egregiousness of the failures, but at the quality and number of the successes. I am struck by the extent to which, within less than 50 years, the science and the learning of the Western world have entered into and penetrated the Oriental mind, teaching it independence of judgment and liberty of thought, and familiarising it with conceptions of politics, and law, and society to which it had for centuries been a complete stranger. I say within less than 50 years, because I date the birth of Higher Education in India from the celebrated Education Despatch of the Court of Directors in 1854. Before that time there was not a University in India, not an Educational Department in any province, not a single training college for teachers in the whole country, no inspection of Government colleges and schools, while the grant-in-aid system hardly existed. During the half century that has since elapsed the progress achieved seems to me to have been not slow but startling. Of course

it may be said that the topmost layer alone is affected; and that beneath the surface-crust are to be found the same primordial elements, the old unregenerate man. But how can you expect anything else within so short a space of time? The process thus commenced can only be downward, not upwards. It is one of infiltration and of soaking in; and the surface must be saturated with the dew before its moisture can percolate to the lower sociological strata.

Anyhow, whether my views be right or wrong, and some may think me too sanguine, I see clearly that the die is cast, and that there is no going back. When Lord Macaulay wrote his famous Minute, and the British Government resolved that your Higher Education should be a European Education, whether they acted wisely or unwisely, they took an irrevocable decision, and a decision from which it would not in my judgment be politic, even if it were possible, to recede. A week ago I read in the newspapers a telegraphic message that could only have emanated from China, that home of the paradoxical and outworn. This is what the Reuter's message said: "Edict been issued Peking, ordering return to learning of Confucius, and rejection of depraved modern ideas." Gentlemen, the depraved modern ideas, which are anathema to the Chinese mandarin, have come to India, not to be abolished, but to stay. No Englishman is likely to propose a return to the excellent but obsolete ordinances of Manu; and I doubt, if he did, whether any Hindu Pandit would be prepared unreservedly to follow.

No, I prefer to think not merely that the choice has been made, but that it has been justified. When one of the most illustrious of my predecessors, Lord Wellesley, opened

his short-lived College in Fort William, and placed over its portal the inscription—

Nuncredit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,

which, for any of you who do not know Latin, I may translate thus :—"The dayspring has returned from us, and has brought back the light to you"—I believe that he furnished a true and just motto for the cause of Higher Education in India; and I hold that substantially that is the service, which we have rendered and are still endeavouring to render to you.

But, again let me say that the defence of my confidence does not lie in the intrinsic merits of the education itself, nor even in the eternal value of its truths. It consists in the effect that it is capable of producing, and that it has already produced upon character and upon morals, upon the standards of honour, of honesty, of justice, of duty, of upright dealing between man and man. I see faults in the present system. They are manifest to all. I see abuses against which we must be on our guard. Chief among them is the tendency, inevitable, I think, wherever independence of reason is first inculcated in 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 requires particularly to be on its guard. For the admission of independence is a very 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, still in a comparatively

early stage of intellectual emancipation, is liable to be afflicted. It is a sort of measles in the body politic, of which the patient will purge himself as time goes on. It may give us cause for anxiety, but it need not, if carefully prescribed for, excite alarm. It should not close our eyes to the vastly superior range of benefits that is produced by Higher Education in the fields of which I have been speaking and to the tolerably healthy condition of the learner as a whole. For my own part, if I did not think that Higher Education were producing satisfactory results in India, I should be ready to proscribe your examinations, to burn your diplomas, and to carry away in some old halk all your teaching and professional staff, your Syndicate, your Senate, your Vice-Chandellor, and even your Chancellor himself, and to scuttle it in the Bay of Bengal. It would be better to revert to the old Adam, than to inculcate a hybrid morality or to nourish a bastard civilisation.

There is another aspect of Higher Education about which I have not time to say more than a word this afternoon, and which indeed is hardly connected with the courses of an examining University such as this. I have been speaking of the objects of Higher Education as being in the main those of intellectual and moral discipline, and as affecting the character of the individual to start with, and the community in the long run. But Higher Education has other and not less noble fields of action open to it; among which I would rank none superior to the obligations of extending the range of human knowledge by original study, by experiment, and by research. A new and splendid opportunity for the gratification of these ambitions is likely before long to be afforded

by the enlightened munificence of a Bombay gentleman, Mr. Tata, of whom you have all heard. It has given me the greatest pleasure to accept his offer on the part of the Government of India and to assist in the deliberations that it is to be hoped will result in giving to his generous ideas a practical form. You have, I believe, in your own midst, a society which, on a humble scale, because it is only possessed of humble means, attempts to diffuse scientific knowledge among the educated population of Bengal. I allude to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, to which Dr. Sircar has, I believe, devoted nearly a quarter of a century of unremitting, and only partially recognised, labour. I often wonder why the wealthy patrons of science and culture with whom Bengal abounds, do not lend a more strenuous helping hand to so worthy and indigenous an institution. I was rejoiced, however, to read in the papers only two days ago that the Bengal Government has recently instituted three post-graduate scholarships for original research.

Gentlemen, when I addressed this Convocation for the first time last year, I indicated that, in my opinion, much remained to be done in the co-ordination of our educational system in India, in the correction of admitted backslidings and abuses, and in the more vigilant discharge by the Supreme Government of the responsibilities with which it is endowed. You may be sure that the matter has not slipped from my mind since; even though in the overwhelming preoccupations of official life, and of the scores of great questions that seem perpetually to be calling for investigation and reform, I have not yet been able to carry into full effect the view, which I then sketched in intentionally vague outline.

There are two considerations by which any sensible man must be affected who attempts to handle the educational problem in India, more especially if he be, by virtue of his position and antecedents, an outsider and to some extent an amateur. The first of these is the desirability of ascertaining by consultation with those who have devoted their lives to the task, and who may fairly be called experts, what is the trend of authoritative opinion upon the subject. The reformer must carry this with him; otherwise he is impotent or, if not that, he will certainly find his work abortive. The second desideratum is a recognition of the familiar axiom about going slow. The prudent General reconnoitres his country before he delivers the assault. He ponders the respective advantage of flanking movements and of a frontal attack. Above all, he desires to clear the ground of any obstacles that may retard his advance or jeopardise his success. It is for this reason—if I may borrow a metaphor from that South African campaign that absorbs so much of our interest just now—that I have during the past year been testing the various drifts or fords in the rivers that lie between me and the enemy, and have been delivering a series of attacks upon the smaller positions that separate me from that beleaguered garrison which I desire to relieve. Various Government Resolutions that have seen the public light, will have afforded you some indication of what I mean. Though I have paid my tribute to the cause of Higher Education this afternoon and have indicated my opinion of its essential permanence in our system, I am no friend of those who argue that Primary Education can therefore be neglected. On the contrary, I am one of those who think that as time passes by, Secondary and Higher Education should become more and more a field for

private effort and should make a decreasing demand upon Government intervention and control. On the other hand, Primary Education can never lose its priority of claim upon the interest and support of the State. For that Government would but imperfectly discharge its duties which, while it provided for the relatively intelligent and literate minority, ignored its obligation to the vast amorphous and unlettered mass of the population and left it to lie in contented ignorance. We have recently called the attention of the Local Governments to their duty in this respect which appears, in some cases, to have been disregarded. Again, there have seemed to us 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 schools and colleges. Long lists of books are drawn up that are apt to encourage cramming; the catalogues are not always carefully compiled, and unsuitable works creep in. The Local Governments, and in some cases the Universities, have not very 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. I have observed traces of a similar laxity in the process of affiliation of colleges and schools, and a tendency sometimes to increase the number of the affiliated without due regard to the character of the teachers, the quality of the training, or the degree of discipline. In all these matters it appears to me that closer supervision is required, and a more effective control. Do not imagine for a moment that I am departing from that which has always been the mainspring of the educational policy of the Government of India ever since Sir Charles Wood's celebrated Despatch in 1854, *viz.*, the substitution, where possible, of Government aid for

Government management, and the encouragement of private initiative and effort. I do not want to take back the pupil and to shut him up in a Government nursery. I am no friend of leading strings particularly when they are made of red tape. But I do say emphatically that the grant-in-aid system from the start involved as its corollary a due measure of State inspection and control, and that to call upon the State to pay for education out of the public funds but to divest itself of responsibility for their proper allocation to the purposes which the State had in view in giving them, is to ignore the elementary obligations for which the State itself exists. My desire, therefore, is to re-vindicate on behalf of the state and its various Provincial agents that responsibility which there has been a tendency to abdicate, and to show to the world that our educational system in India, liberal and elastic as I would have it to remain, is yet not free to assume any promiscuous shape that accident or intention may force upon it, but must conform to a scientific and orderly scheme, for which in the last resort the Supreme Government should be held accountable whether it be for praise or for blame. In later years I may be able to say something more to you of the realisation of these ambitions.

Gentlemen, the Vice-Chancellor is waiting to address the students who have this afternoon received their degrees from him, and who are about to go forth to the world with the *imprimateur* of the Calcutta University upon them and with their future in their hands! I will only stand between him and them for the additional moment that is required to impress upon them the reflection that with the receipt of a degree, their education is not exhausted, but is only just beginning, and to urge them to continue the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake in the life, be it official or professional, or private, that lies before them.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO LUMSDEN'S HORSE.

[On Monday,the 26th February. 1900, the Company of Indian Mounted Infantry, known as Lumsden's Horse embarked for South Africa by the Transport Steamer *Lindula* after a most enthuslastic send off given by the Citizens of Calcutta at the Kidderpore Docks. In the morning, the Corps rode down to the docks, where after having had their first meal on:theSteamer they waited for the hour of their inspection by His Excellency the Viceroy and the subsequent embarkation. His Excellency arrived at 5-30 P. M., and after inspecting the Corps addressed them as follows]:—

COLONEL Lumsden, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of Lumsden's Light Horse:—In bidding you good-bye this after-noon, I feel that I may claim to speak for others besides myself. I do not appear here merely as the Honorary Colonel of your Crops, proud as I am to fill that position ; nor am I merely the spokesman of the citizens of Calcutta, European and native, amongst whom you have spent the past few weeks, and who desire to wish you all success in your patriotic enterprise. I feel that I am more than that, and that I may consider myself the mouth-piece of public opinion throughout India, which has watched the formation of this Corps with admiration, which has contributed to its equipment and comfort with no illiberal hands, and which now sends forth with an almost parental interest in your fortunes. At a time when the stress of a common anxiety has revealed to the British Empire its almost unsuspected unity, and its illimitable resources in loyalty and men, it would have been disappointing to all of us

if India had lagged behind—India which, even if it is only peopled by a small minority of our own race, is yet the noblest field of British activity and energy and devotion that the world can show. (Applause). Already tbe British Regiments that we have sent from this country have helped to save Natal, and many a brave native follower has borne his part in the struggle. But as soon as the electric call for volunteer help to the mother-land ran round, India responded to the summons. She has given us from the small civil population of British birth, the 250 gallant men whom I am now addresssing, and she would have given us as many more as Government would have been prepared to accept. I doubt not that had we been willing to enrol 1,000 instead of 250, they would have been forthcoming; and that had not one thousand, but many thousand, volunteers been called for from the native races, who vie with us in fervent loyalty to the same sovereign, they would have sprung joyfully to arms, from the Hindoo or Mussulman Cheif of ancient lineage and great possessions, to the martial Sikh or the fighting Pathan (Applause).

You, however, are the 250 who have been chosen, the first body of volunteers from India that has ever had the chance of fighting for the Queen outside these shores; and you Colonel Lumsden to whose patriotic initiative this Corps owes its being, and from whom it most befittingly takes its name, are the officer who is privileged to command this pioneer body of Indian soldiers of the Empire. Officers and men, you carry a great responsibility with you; for it will fall to you in the face of great danger, perhaps even in the face of death, to sustain the honour of the country that is now sending you forth, and of the race from which

you are sprung. But you will have this consolation. You are engaged on a glorious, and, as I believe, a righteous mission, not to aggrandize an Empire, not merely to repel an unscrupulous invasion of the Queen's territories, but to plant liberty and justice and equal rights upon the soil of a South Africa, henceforward to be united under the British and no other flag. (Applause). You go out at a dramatic moment in the contest, when owing to the skilful generalship of an old Indian soldier and Commandar-in-Cheif—(applause)—and to the indomitable gallantry of our men, the tide of fortune, which has too long flowed against us, seems at last to have turned in our favour. May it carry you on its forward crest to Pretoria itself. All India applauds your bravery in going. We shall watch your deeds in the battle field and on the march. We wish you God-speed in your undertaking ; and may Providence in his mercy protect you through the perils and vicissitudes of your first contract with the dread realities of war, and bring you safely back again to this country and to your homes.

Colonel Lumsden and men, on behalf of your fellow-country men and your fellow-subjects throught India, I bid you farewel (Loud and continned applause),

1900 MEETING OF THE DUFFERIN'S FUND.

[His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the Annual Meeting of the Lady Dufferin held at the Calcutta Town Hall on the 27th February, 1900. After the adoption of the Annual Report a vote of thanks to the Viceroy was proposed by His Honor Sir John Woodburn Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and seconded by the Hon'ble Perozshah Mehta and carried unanimously. His Excellency then addressed the assembly as follsws,]:—

Your Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is the first time since I have been in India on which I find myself on a public occasion in even partial disagreement with the Lieutenant-Governor. He and I often appear together on public platforms; we usually say provision ditto to each oaher; and if there is any want of accord between us, we skilfully and deliberately suppress it. (Laughter). On the present occasion, however, he commenced his speech by depreciating the position of a Lieutenant-Governor and still more by depreciating himself. (Laughter). Well, I said to myself if a Lieutenant-Governor is allowed publicly to depreciate himself, what will other people say about him—(laughter)—and I really must request His Honor, on future public occasions, in deference to that great institution of Indian Government of which he and I are jointly the pillars, to suppress these doubts by which he seems to be actuated, and only to give expression to them in the seclusion of his own abode. (Laughter). His Honor proceeded still further to startle me by comparing himself with wax; and not till he had advanced still further in his oration, and I had remembered that wax is the most useful and popular form of illumination, did I realise what His Honor meant? (Laugh-

ter). For after this modest preface, and after assuring us that nobody cares to hear about local affairs—a statement which is surely conspicuously far from the facts; since we all know that local affairs are what we squabble about most—(laughter); the Lieutenant-Governor then proceeded to deliver a most interesting, and, in my opinion, a most illuminating speech—(laughter)—about the affairs of his own province. It is all very well for him to say that he had nothing to tell us about Bengal. Happy is the country that has no history; and I was rejoiced to find that those obscure stories of combats and sieges of which he told us could not possibly relate to the pacific dominion over which he rules. But, nevertheless, be the Bengal Province a scene of peace or a scene of trouble, the Lieutenant-Governor this after-noon gave us a most interesting account of what has been passing within it; and on the present, as on past occasions, I think that he deserves the congratulations of this meeting. (Applause). Now the vote of thanks to Lady Curzon and myself which His Honor was good enough to move was seconded in a most eloquent speech by Mr. Mehta. I understand Mr. Mehta to say that I have two veins of manner and speech—one as dry and official as parchment—(laughter); the other apparently of a more attractive mixture. I did not gather exactly what it was—(laughter); but I shall endeavour to follow the example he has set, and in that style of which he is so conspicuous a master, to address you in a tone more suitable to the object for which we are gathered together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the annual meeting of this Fund always strikes me as an occasion upon which society avenges itself upon the Viceroy for the comfortable and complimentary precedence which is, on ordinary occasions, accorded to

him. At most meetings he either speaks first, or at any rate, at an early stage in the proceedings. But at this annual function he sits uninterested, and, I can assure you, an admiring, auditor of the efforts of others. One by one they steal his speech from him, here a phrase and there a thought, until he wonders whether, short of unblushing repetition, a single word will bc left for him to say at the end. (Laughter). He is like a man standing on a little islet of sand upon which the tide is rising every minute. Each fresh wave of his predecessors' eloquence washes away a few more inches of his foothold until he is left with nothing to stand upon at all. (Laughter). These have to a large extent been my reflections this afternoon. In the first place we have this report, of which Sir William Cunningham deprecated the brevity, but as to which I can only say that I am astounded at its length. (Laughter). I do not suppose that anybody in this room has read it, though, if you do not care to take the trouble to do so, you will find it excellently condensed in Sir William Cunningham's speech to which we have just listened. Then, in addition to the report and the speech, we have the observations of the subsequent speakers to which I have already referred. All of these have pretty well covered the ground. But another reflection occurs to me. Is its possible to say anything at these annual meetings? I will not say that has not been said by previous speakers, but that has not been uttered at previous meetings? We were told just now that to day is the fifteeenh occasion upon which this annual gathering has been held in this hall. Year by year Viceroys' Lieutenant-Governors, Secretaries of Government, and other prominent persons have held forth, with greater or less eloquence, upon the same theme. They have said, more or less, the same thing in more or less the same language.

If the pillars of this hall were porous of sound, and could suddenly let out again all the Dufferin Fund eloquence that they have absorbed during the last fifteen years, should we not hear a perfect Babel of tautology and repetition? (Laughter and applause). Nevertheless, Ladies and Gentlemen, I suppose that I must, with such materials as are left to me, essay the familiar task. There is one part of my duty, however, that can never pall upon any Chairman at these meetings, and that is the agreeable operation of thanking you for the kindly terms in which previous speakers have referred to the work of the Lady President during the bygone year. I can truthfully say that Lady Curzon takes in the work of this association, not merely a sympathetic but a thoroughly business-like interest—(applause)—and I believe, though I am never admitted on those sacred occasions, that the meetings of the Committee over which she presides are conducted with a decorum that is worthy of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General—(laughter)—and I daresay often with superior practical results. (Laughter). Her desire is not merely to keep alive or to continue an organisation that has been bequeathed to her by her predecessors, but to increase its activity, to develop the range of its influence, and to carry it several steps forward towards the attainment of the ideal which was in the mind of its original founder. In this aspiration she is greatly helped by the voluntary labours of the Committee of which she is the head. (Applause).

Indeed the most remarkable feature of the Dufferin Fund organisation appears to me to be the extent to which it relies upon spontaneous effort. The hospitals, the dispensaries, the nurses, the medicines, the equipment in general of the Fund, make large demands upon its income. But I doubt

if the public at all realise the degree to which what I may call the administrative mechanism of the Fund is voluntary and gratuitous. The Local Committees, the Honorary Secretaries, the Political Officers of Government, and the Civil Surgeons, all of these give their services for nothing. With them it is a labour of love. But because it is a loving labour, do not let us any the less acknowledged it, or give to it our tribute of gratitude and respect. (Applause).

Ladies and Gentlemen, previous speakers this afternoon have dwelt upon the objects which this institution now especially keeps in view. We learn by experience; and in our effort to carry out the grand aim of this Fund, namely, the conveyance of the benefits of medical science to the women of India, we are wise if we adopt the line of least resistance, and if we energise where we have the greatest hopes of success. I entirely agree with what fell from the lips of the Lieutenant-Governor. None of us anticipate that all in a moment the *purda nashin* ladies and women of India will throw aside their scruples or the prejudices, and will profit by the teachings of a system which involves an apparent contradiction of all their ingrained ideas of social economy, of medicine, and of caste. Such a revolution it would be too much to expect in any society or country in the world. But, as the old saying goes, if the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain; and accordingly, if the Indian women will not voluntarily, because of their prejudices or misunderstanding, or will only reluctantly come to the Dufferin Hospitals, which are intended solely and purely for their good, the nurses and pupils of those hospitals must go to them. (Applause). India is a country which is very familiar with charity, and, therefore,

I am only adopting a simile which will be intelligible to all, if I say that the Dufferin Fund is a vast eleemosynary undertaking, which deputes its almoners to give freely of the noblest of gifts, namely, that of health and relief from suffering to all those women, irrespective of caste or religion, or social status, who are in need. (Applause). The more we send our female visitors, and doctors, and nurses, and midwives, into the packed native quarters of Indian cities, and into country cottages and cabins, the more rapid and permanent will be our success, and the more wide spread the benefit which the Dufferin Fund will carry in its train. (Hear,hear). These reflections suggest a mention of that which is an essential feature of this undertaking, namely, the provision of medical tuition. The Dufferin Fund will, I hope, in time become the nucleus of a great training association which will spread its schools and classes, which will grant certificates, and we send out on to the field of action an even swelling army of disciplined recruits, native, Eurasian, and European, who will carry its influence and teaching into far distatnt corners, and thus slowly, but surely, overcome the inert resistance of the mass. For this work money is needed: much more than the fund at present possesses: as much as the generosity of wealthy benefactors may be willing to give to it. Viceroy after Viceroy will doubtless stand upon this platform in ensuing years to narrate the successive stages and I hope the widening range of this humane and merciful enterprise. The task will be long, and it may not be easy. But the Lady Presidents of this Fund, of whom Lady Curzon is the President, have so far shown an inclination to shrink from the effort; and she, like her predecessors, is animated by the belief that she is doing what

is already a positive good, and may one day grow into a splendid and incalculable service, to the ignorant and suffering of her own sex in India. (Loud and continued applause).

Their Excellencies then left, the band playing the National Anthem, and the gathering separated.

REPLY TO THE DEPUTATION OF THE IMPERIAL ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

[On the 23rd March, 1900, a deputation of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association waited upon the Vicercy with an address, to which His Excellency replied as follows] :—

GENTLEMEN.—Since I received an address from your association more than a year ago, shortly after I had taken up my present office, I can truthfully say that the appeals and claims and prospects of the community which you represent have occupied a good deal of my attention. I never fail to read, or to study, anything that bears upon the subject, or to converse with those who are qualified to give me useful information. These efforts on my part to arrive at the truth, and to analyse the difficult problem of your future, rest upon the double basis of personal sympathy—since no man with a heart can fail to be touched by the misfortunes of a community, partly, if not mainly, of his own race, who appear to have fallen upon hard times—and of political interest since no Viceroy of India can be indifferent to the fortunes of a section of the population, increasing in numbers, but apparently not increasing *pari passu* in wealth, contentment, or opportunity. Every Viceroy from Lord Canning downwards has gazed at the problem,

and has been left sympathetic but puzzled. Some, like Lord Lytton, have tried to do something positive. Others have felt the difficulty of State intervention. That I am receiving you today is, I hope, an evidence that I am not anxious to be included in the passive category, or to bow you out with a compliment and a smile. Nothing would have been easier for me than to acknowledge your representations, and to have returned the civil but stereotyped reply that they will receive the careful consideration of Government. Of that reception they are in any case certain. But if I go beyond, and consent, as I have consented, to meet you here today, and to listen to a statement of your troubles from the lips of your accredited spokesmen, and if I refrain from the language of mere perfunctory politeness in reply, then I must claim the liberty to speak to you with perfect candour, conscious that you will not resent anything that is said to you in good faith and with sincerely friendly intentions, and that it is bad policy for the Government of India and the community which you represent to go on misunderstanding each other for ever, as they will continue to do if both parties evade the real issues, and show no inclination to grapple with the facts.

Now I observe that the society which you represent has recently acquired a new name, and is designated the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association. The choice of the name is the latest phase in a long contention over the question of the nomenclature that it would be best and wisest for you to adopt. In the various stages of this discussion, I find that the names Eurasians, East Indians, Indo-Britons, Statutory Natives of India, Domiciled British and Europeans, have all at one time or another been and to some extent still are, employed. Though I myself think that controversies over

nomenclature are the most barren of all human disputes—since in the long run the world judges men not by what they call themselves, but by what they are—yet it would appear that this has been regarded as a most vital question by many of your number, and that almost as much energy has been expended upon it as upon the practical discussion of the future. I may be shortsighted; but I do not myself see why there should be any deep and insidious sting—these are the words which I have found in the utterances or writings of more than one of your spokesmen—in the name Eurasian as applied to persons of mixed blood or descent—though I am far from contending that I have any right to expect my views to be shared by any one else,—nor do I understand the great and wide-spread anxiety to discover a new label. Above all, gentlemen, I am compelled to say that if I were to judge by the natural meaning of words, I should have no idea of what the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association could mean. Anglo-Indian is a phrase which is applied in popular acceptance to a particular individual and society, British as a rule in origin, which spends its life, official, professional, or otherwise, in India, and as a rule finally goes home. Thus when we speak of Anglo-Indian officials, judges, clubs, newspapers, opinion and so on, everybody understands exactly what is meant. You have a perfect right to take the same name if you please and to some extent it covers the component elements of your society. But I am not certain that you do not rather confuse some of your friends and well-wishers by adopting a designation that in popular parlance means something else, whilst the title certainly does not become any the more, on the contrary, I think that it becomes the less intelligible by having the epithet Imperial prefixed to it. True and loyal and devoted sons

of the Empire we know you, and your history has shown you to be. But so are we all; and why your society should especially require the adjective Imperial to describe it I have never seen explained. But there is another result of the expression of your designation and composition which is of more practical consequence, I believe, that you desire in the main to call attention to the claims and to focus the aspirations of what has hitherto been called the Eurasian community, although there is also the case of many English or European families domiciled, perhaps born and bred, in the country, whose blood has never been commingled with a native strain, but whose interests you desire equally to promote. But the result of this very elastic classification appears to me to be not clearness but confusion; since, when you make your demands, that which applies to your constituents at one pole, bears little or no relation to those who are at the other. The arguments from race do not, for instance, apply to the domiciled Europeans; and the interests, and employment, and prospects of the latter depend upon conditions wholly apart from those that retard the advance of the man of mixed descent. Your society in fact, as at present constituted, rests upon two bases which have *a priori* little in common with each other, *viz.*, domicile and race; and the considerations that are apposite in the one case, are often irrelevant in the other. Whilst, therefore, by casting your net so wide, you no doubt envelop a larger haul of fish, I am less confident that you advance the general interests of your clients which is, after all, the main object for which you exist.

I have only one other word of advice to give before I pass on to an examination of your specific claims. If I were one of your Directors, I almost think that in the interests of

your cause I should move a motion for a withdrawal of the pamphlet in which you bring your case before the public. The case has so much to recommend it in its intrinsic features that it seems a pity that it should be weakened by exaggeration and by declamation, since such an attitude cannot but prejudice your chances. To suggest that the Government of India and the India Office are engaged in a deep and malignant conspiracy to deprive you of your birth-right, that they desire, or that any one else desires, to stamp upon you the brand of inferiority or subordination, or that as a community you are hunted down and proscribed—phrases which very fairly represent the spirit of some of your publications—is, in my judgment, very ill-judged and quite untrue. Such statements are sufficient to set people against you. Your object should be to attract, not to alienate, public support; and you will do this by sober reasoning, and not by angry rhetoric. There are pages of the pamphlet in which your claims are fairly and moderately stated. This seems to be the case when you are engaged upon a Deputation as you have been this afternoon. But when you are talking among yourselves, you seem, if I may say so without offence, to boil over in a rather superfluous fashion; and on such occasions things are said which I am afraid would hardly stand the test of a critical examination.

There is another suggestion that I would make in passing. Who are your clients and what are their numbers? I observe that in the pamphlet they are represented by one of the speakers whose words are reported, as being over a million strong. On the other hand, in an able essay that I read the other day upon the Eurasian question by a Mr. Nundy, which I would commend to the careful attention of

every one here present, I find that the total of that community was estimated by the writer as 120,000. There is a wide margin between these two extremes. Of whom does this margin consist? When you call yourselves Anglo-Indians, do you include Englishmen who are not permanently domiciled in India? Do you include domiciled foreigners of other races, and, if so, how can they be termed Anglo-Indians? And do you embrace Eurasians, of, for instance, Portuguese descent, and, if so, how can they fall into the Anglo-Indian category? Would it not be well to let the public know who, and of what numerical strength, are the various classes for whom you plead, and who are included under the common heading which you have decided to adopt?

And now I pass from these preliminary observations which, if they have been critical in character, have assuredly not been unfriendly in intention, to an examination of the specific proposals which have from time to time been put forward by your spokesmen, and the majority of which have been repeated in the statements to which I have just listened.

The first of these is the proposal to employ Eurasians on a larger scale in the Indian Army by the constitution of a special regiment or regiments enlisted from that class. Of course, as it is, Eurasians are frequently accepted as recruits, a point as to which it would be well if your spokesmen in the pamphlet agreed with each other; for, whereas one of them states that thousands have been so admitted, another declares that this admission on sufferance, which he implies to be rarely exercised, is an insult to your people. Now, in this context, I frequently see mention made of the loyalty and bravery shown by Eurasians during the Mutiny—

and of this fact there cannot be a shadow of a doubt—and by the Eurasian Corps that were raised in that time. But it does not follow therefrom that the Corps were a success; and as a matter of fact, they were all disbanded between 1860 and 1870, on the grounds that they were as costly as a British force, that the same confidence was not reposed in them, and that there were not sufficient recruits forthcoming (I think this a very remarkable and dispiriting reflection) to maintain a total strength of only 700 men. Nevertheless, at intervals ever since the proposal has been made or revived that the experiment in some form or another should be repeated; for, there have never been wanting friends of your cause in the Government of India, who have been anxious to find what opportunity they could for the employment of a class that has so large a claim upon our sympathy. The formation of a regiment is, however, I need hardly say, in the main, a military question; and when I add that the last five Commanders-in-Chief of the Army in India without exception—and I believe that the series extends unbroken to an even more distant period—have been opposed to the experiment, you will perhaps understand how it is that it has not generally prospered. It was proposed at one time that a company of garrison artillery should be raised from Eurasians; but the first artillery soldier in India of the day, who happened to be in high office, declined to support the scheme on the ground that it would be more expensive and less efficient than a corresponding European force. When I arrived in India, these topics were still under discussion, and I am happy to have been instrumental in sending, with the assistance of some of my Colleagues who shared my desire to help you, a despatch to the Secretary of State last year in which we proposed the experimental raising of a Eurasian regiment in

India. This is the first time, I believe, that such a proposal has ever gone home with the assent of a majority of the Government of India. Thr Secretary of State, who has quite recently replied, has been unable to accept our proposal, and I see no reason why you should not be acquainted with the main reasons. The initial cost of such a regiment would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, the annual recurring cost $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs; and it has been felt unfair to place this increase of burden upon the Indian taxpayer, unless a responsible assurance could be given that there would be a commensurate increase in our military strength. So far this assurance has not been forthcoming. There were also subsidiary difficulties about the scale of pay, not merely in the military, but also, as a probable consequence, in the Civil Services, and about the necessity for legislation, since Europeans in India cannot be enlisted for local service without the passing of a bill through the British Parliament, a fence which even friendly Secretaries of State sometimes find it difficult to surmount. Such has been the fate that has attended our proposal. I am sorry that it has not fared better. But you will do well to look facts in the face, and to realise that Governments are compelled to regard this question to a large extent from the utilitarian point of view; and that, until you can convince that a Eurasian regiment, which would cost quite as much as, if not more than, a British regiment, will be at least as efficient for military purposes, they are hardly likely to give it to you for the sake of sentiment, or even of political expediency alone. As regards the subsidiary suggestion which you have submitted this afternoon for the formation of a Eurasian Army Hospital Corps, the same difficulties apply. Eurasians could never serve for rates of pay that are now given to the native

equivalent; nor could the subordinate duties such as those of bhistis bearers, and sweepers, be carried out by a Eurasian Corps. The long and short of it is that, for the present at any rate, the objections to Eurasian enlistment in the regular army are held at home to outweigh the advantages. I would gladly reverse this current of opinion if I could. But it rests, believe me, not upon any prejudice or hostility —there is not a trace of that—but upon expert advice which it is difficult to contest, or to overturn. At the same time, if you were to submit your proposals as to an Army Hospital Corps in a definite and intelligible shape, I shall be prepared to place them before the Military Authorities, though I can give you no assurance as to the reception that they may meet with.

I pass to the question of the employment of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians upon Railways. Last year, I caused a letter to be addressed to the Presidents of the various associations throughout India that represent your cause drawing their attention to the great opening that appears to be present to your community for employment, notably in the Traffic, Locomotive, and Engineering Departments, and to the meagre advantage that has so far been taken of these facilities. The figures show that out of a total of 3,08,000 persons employed upon Railways in India, only 7,000 are Eurasians, or less that 2½ per cent. I am glad to have heard this afternoon that you have taken serious notice of this suggestion, and I hope that you will not let the matter drop. I doubt, however, if you are sufficiently aware of the possibilities. In the three Departments that I have named, there are some 1,150 posts on every thousand miles of line in India the pay ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 400 a month, or 25,000

posts in all, for which Anglo-Indians and Eurasians are free and qualified to compete. Why do you not enter for these appointments? Why, on the contrary, do you allow the European and Native employees to increase at the rate, during the past year, of $3\frac{3}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively, while your numbers have only increased at the rate of less than $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.? You are mistaken if you suppose that the Railway administration can ever give you a fixed proportion of these appointments for which you can qualify at leisure. Railways are commercial undertakings, and they are apt to be somewhat indifferent to sentiment. I can but point out to you the broad, and not unremunerative, avenue that is here afforded to your energies, and invite you to profit by it more materially than you appear hitherto to have done.

And now I turn to your claims as regards appointments in the Civil Service. I understand you to complain that you no longer have the share that 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 Natives of this country. You claim accordingly that a certain proportion of appointments in all ranks of the Public Service should be reserved for you, provided you can satisfy the requisite intellectual tests. Now I might remind you that the days to which you refer were times when the number of Eurasians was much less than it is at present, when the competition was smaller and when the connection between European and Eurasian was more immediate and direct. I might also point to the case of Eurasian Engineers who are even now enjoying very high appointments and pay. But it is sufficient to note that your appeal ignores *in toto* two landmarks in recent

history, which I am afraid that no amount of special pleading—I used the term in no invidious sense—can avail to submerge. The first of these was the report of the Public Service Commission, upon which the Eurasian community was represented, and which deliberately laid it down as a broad principle, subsequently accepted by the Secretary of State, and since acted upon by the Government of India, that there should be two classes of the Public Service, the Imperial Service recruited in England, though not necessarily from Englishmen, and the Provincial and Subordinate Services, recruited in India. If Indians desire to join the former service, they have to go to England, and to pass the examinations there in order to do so. The same opportunities are open to yourselves. It is simply impossible to throw over the findings of the Commission, and to ignore the entire principle upon which the Public Service is recruited by creating a special exemption in your or in any other cases.

The second landmark is the principle laid down by the Secretary of State in 1893 about Simultaneous Examinations. Under that ruling, you enjoy precisely the same opportunities, as regards the competitive test, as do any other communities in this country. You are equally eligible to employment with them. Nay, the Government have gone further, and have in practice in many of the Subordinate Departments reserved a special proportion of places for yourselves. In the Subordinate Accounts Department, in the Provincial Branch of the Survey of India, in the Salt Department, in the Customs Department, in the Opium Department, I find that a large proportion of the appointments is either reserved to domiciled Europeans and Eurasians, or

is open to them. Nor do these facilities always pass without protest, or meet with the prompt justification that might be desired. In the Opium Department, where $\frac{3}{4}$ths of the appointments are opened to your community, the Government of India have twice in the last 10 years, received protests from the Bengal Government in favour of recruitment from England, on the ground that sufficiently qualified candidates were not forthcoming out here. For a similar reason a few years ago the Government of India were obliged to ask that a larger proportion of appointments not reserved for the Indian Civil Service in the Finance Department, in the Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department and in the Traffic Branch of the Railways, should be recruited from home. Now it is no good to represent these proceedings as an evidence of spite or unfairness on the part of Government. They are nothing of the sort. We are more than anxious to employ you. But how is it possible to create special privileges in your favour when you do not even take advantage of those which are already open to you? I am ready to select any branch of the Public service, and to scrutinise its composition, with an eye that is friendly and even partial to your aspirations. There are some quarters in which I may be able to help you; but if I am to do so I must at least demand some justification from those whom I am invited to favour.

The question of Education is the next upon which I will say a word. Upon this point your pamphlet, to which you have referred me, contains a number of statements which strike me as being very rash, and which I, for my part, cannot endorse. You actually say that no experienced statesman in India will deny that the time has long since

arrived when the Government should abolish the Education Department and all State Colleges in India, and should devote to Primary Education the sums squandered on High Education, and leave private enterprise to carry it on. I compromise my own reputation with the author of this astonishing paragraph; but I am afraid that I cannot accept his conclusions. Indeed I understand that you do not altogether accept them yourselves, since you have elsewhere invited my support for Hill Schools for Anglo-Indian boys, who I suppose, would hardly be content if I were only to provide them there with a primary standard of education. You say that Government treats your schools with a parsimony that is almost scandalous. When I read these words, I referred to Mr. Cotton's last Quinquennial Review of Indian Education, which was issued last year, and I found that the pupils in those schools were steadily increasing, and that the grants to them both from Provincial Revenues and from Government were largely on the increase also. More recently I have heard a complaint as to the unsuitability of the High School and Calcutta University Examination for Anglo-Indian boys, and as to the desirability of introducing the Cambridge University Local Examinations in this country. Before pronouncing upon this suggestion, one would have to co-ordinate the value of such an examination with the examinations already established in India. The suggestion has, I think, some merit; and it is undoubtedly desirable to afford to your children the chance of passing an examination that possesses a common standard of value. But if you have a system of Universities in a country, I see some difficulty in giving them the go-by altogether and in regulating your education by the standards of a foreign institution.

When you speak about Technical Education, you employ a phrase which is on every body's lips, but which not every body takes the trouble to understand. I am quite in favour of a training which will fit a young man for industrial employment, but I do not feel at all clear that the best method of attaining that end is by introducing the teaching of special trades into the curriculum of our schools. I think that technical instruction should follow at a later stage; and, whilst we are quite willing to give State aid to encourage any such enterprise, I think that local administrations and private initiative may be expected to help Government in a matter in which we have not the means to take a big plunge ourselves. I understand from your statement today that you do not substantially disagree with these views, and that you are taking step for the establishment of allied Technical institutions.

As regards the Hill Schools for colonisation, I do not know what part of the world you propose to colonise, or what sort of education you would suggest. I believe that a Eurasian agricultural colony was tried in Southern India a few years ago and proved a failure. I do not draw from this any inference as to other or larger schemes: and I am glad to hear that you propose to renew the experiment. It seems to me that Eurasians might be very useful in the peopling of many blank spaces on the map of the British Empire outside of India—say in South Africa; and that the idea is worthy of careful examination. But it is hardly in a shape to be submitted to Government until it has attained a much more definite form.

I have now dealt, Gentlemen, with all of the suggestions that you have put before me. There are many other sug-

gestions, I dare say neither novel nor exciting, which, if I had time, I might be willing to place before yourselves. There are many forms of handicraft in India, mechanical and otherwise, for which your community seems to me to be well adapted, but all the talk about which generally ends in smoke. Why a speaker at a public meeting in Calcutta should find the greatest difficulty in getting his speech accurately reported because there are so few competent shorthand writers, why mill-owners should have to import mechanics from the British isles, why bandmasters and bandmen should have to be imported from Europe, why the supervisors of Native labour in workshops and factories should be often of similar origin, why the higher classes of domestic servants are so commonly drawn from communities other than your own—are all problems which puzzle me considerably, but which your community might, I think, assist to solve. The fact is, I suspect, that its numbers are being gradually bisected into two classes, those who are so near to the European standard, that they have not the slightest difficulty in obtaining lucrative employment, and who, therefore, do not protest; and those who are gradually drifting away from it, and wish to preserve a superiority which they are scarcely competent to maintain. I know that there is no more unpopular philosopher to preach to any community than Self-Help; and if such a doctrine were to imply in the present case that the Government are resolved to remain apathetic while you prosecute your own fortunes, I would not for a moment endorse it. On the contrary, I am anxious to do you every good turn that I properly and legitimately can, and my action in respect of Regiments and Railways has sufficiently vindicated my intentions. But if I am to have any success, I must call upon to formulate your programme

with definiteness and precision, to eschew fallacious rhetoric, to view your position in its true perspective and to convince the Government of India that in aiding you they are aiding a community to whom they are not merely bound by ties race or of sentiment, but who are qualified to bear their full share on the work-a-day competition of modern life.

I should like to add that, if you, Mr. Pugh, or the Society over which you preside, care to address any representations to me upon any of the points that I have raised in my reply, I shall be most happy to consider them.

FAREWELL TO MR. AND MRS. DAWKINS.

[On the night of Monday, the 26th March, 1900, the Viceroy and Lady Curzon entertained the Hon'ble Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins at a farewell dinner at Government House, prior to their departure from India. After the health of the Queen had been drunk, His Excellency proposed the health of Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins in the following terms]:—

LADIES and gentlemen,—I have invited you here this evening to join me in bidding farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins. I doubt if any previous Viceroy has been placed in the unhappy position of having to say goodbye to two Finance Ministers within the space of fifteen months after his first arrival in this country. It is almost exactly a year ago since we gathered at this board to offer our parting wishes and regrets to Sir James Westland. To-night we are engaged in the same function in the case of his successor. I do hope that Sir Edward Law will break the chain of continuity, and will spare me the painful honour of bowing out a third Finance Minister during my time. (Laughter). I doubt if the Government of India could survive the shock of a

third bereavement, or whether I could possibly bring myself to compose another funeral oration. (Laughter).

Now,ladies and gentlemen, on these occasions it is usual to give a short biographical sketch, dating from the earliest period, of the guest of the evening. I am sorry to be unable to conform to this respectable practice on the present occasion, because the earlier stages of Mr. Dawkins' career are buried, so far as my knowledge is concerned, in a complete, though no doubt honourable, obscurity until the time when I was fortunate enough to be a fellow-student with him at Balliol College, Oxford. For all I know he may have been in childhood and youth a second Babbage, or calculating prodigy, a pride to his family and a terror to his neighbours—(Laughter)—; or the halo of future distinction may have hovered at an early period over his brow, unobserved by anybody, including himself. (Laughter). Whichever of these two hypotheses be correct, my knowledge of Mr. Dawkins dates only from the auspicious moment when we both took our seats at the feet of our dear old Master, Jowett, and both drained to the dregs the joyous vintage of undergraduate life at the University of Oxford.

The Master, as he was universally called, took, as is now well-known from his public letters and life, a keen interest in India, to whose government the College over which he presided has now contributed three Viceroys in unbroken succession. He encouraged young men who were destined for the Indian Service to go to Balliol aud to complete their studies there; and were he now living, nothing would I am sure, have given him greater satisfaction than the knowledge that three of his pupils, and contemporaries of each other, had come out

simultaneously to India as Viceroy, Finance Member, and last, but not least, as Private Secretary. I cannot say however, that Jowett was responsible for turning my thoughts in the direction of India; nor, so far as I know, did he exert a similar influence on my friend Mr. Dawkins.

Nevertheless, in the dim background the image of India was all the while summoning Mr. Dawkins with inexorable finger. At one time he contemplated entering the Indian Civil Service. After passing into the Home Civil Service, almost the first post that he occupied was that of Private Secretary to Lord Cross, at that time Secretary of State for India; and although for a time the siren's voices of other departments and occupations sang in his ears, and lured him away, his ultimate destiny was all the while secure. In the interval of which I am speaking, Mr. Dawkins was initiating himself in the study and in the practice of high finance. He excogitated taxes, and he manipulated budgets. (Laughter). He and Sir Alfred Milner, another common Balliol friend of ours, were the young lions of the Treasury of that day. (Laughter). They were the two champions who upheld the arms of Mr. Goschen, in his annual struggle with the Amalekites in Budget debates. (Applause).

And now came a break in Mr. Dawkins's career in which he was, for the first time, called upon to display his abilities on a wider and more cosmopolitan field. We all know of the pattern individual who surveyed mankind from China to Peru. (Laughter). Mr. Dawkins, with an originality that did him infinite credit, reversed the order, and decided to commence with Peru. Egypt and India were the next stages on his eastward march, and though he is now turning his steps homewards, I should never be surprised

if he were one day to complete the parallel, and were to be heard of as a great financial mandarin in the Celestial Kingdom, clad in a yellow jacket, a peacock feather and a red button. (Laughter). As representative of the bondholders in Peru, Mr. Dawkins had the satisfaction of placing their interests on a sound basis, and of establishing a reputation that insured his being called to Egypt by Lord Cromer when Sir Alfred Milner left that country. Assuredly there could be no better training for a future Finance Minister of India. His school was the intricate labyrinth of an Oriental administration, rendered all the more tortuous by the devices of international intrigue, but into which the clear light of day had been shed by a short generation of British finance. His master was Lord Cromer, himself an old Indian Finance Minister, and the most distinguished living public servant of England outside of her shores. It was fresh from this invaluable experience that a year ago Mr. Dawkins came out to India to take the financial tiller from the capable hands of Sir James Westland.

I will not now enter into the circumstances which have been responsible for the shortness of Mr. Dawkins' stay among us. I will only say this, that brilliant as were the prospects that were offered to him elsewhere, and that are now taking him home, prospects as brilliant as any that were offered to a man of his age in the world of finance, Mr. Dawkins was yet willing to sacrifice them all in the interests of the country whose service he had entered when he accepted the post of Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council in India. Bitterly as we regretted it, and we regarded it as a public as well as a private misfortune, neither the Secretary of State nor I felt that this was a sacrifice which we had

any right to allow our guest of this evening to make. But it was at our instance that he consented to remain in India for a year in order to give to myself in particular, and to the Government of India in general, the benefit of the profound study that he had made of the question of Indian Currency, of his wide knowledge and experience, and his high authority in finance. (Cheers).

How India at large and the Departments of the Government of India have profited by one short, though busy, year of Mr. Dawkins' initiative and advice is known, to all, or nearly all, of those who are seated at this table. It is as yet too early to pronounce the verdict of history upon the currency policy of the present administration: the full measure of credit, if it be earned, will not be given till later on, when the new system has had a fair trial, and when its stability has been conclusively established by the test of time. Meanwhile, it will be conceded by all that Mr. Dawkins has launched the ship with conspicuous skill, and that it rides proudly and triumphantly on the waves. (Applause). A stable exchange, a currency responding to the needs of the Indian business and finance, but standing in a fixed and permanent relation to the currency of the Empire, and, lastly, an intimate connection between the financial systems and resources of Great Britain and India—these were the objects which Mr. Dawkins set before himself, and which, in a brief space of 12 months he has done much to achieve. He bequeaths to his successor a task not free from anxiety, and a responsibility not diminished by the initial success, but the foundations have been well and truly laid, and the superstructure ought to stand. (Cheers). There are two other respects in which Mr. Dawkins has won in an excep-

tional degree the confidence of those with whom he has been brought into official connection. The first of these has been his freedom from bureaucratic prejudices, his accessibility to all, and his manifest desire not merely to conduct the business of his department, but to encourage the trade, to develop the resources, and to set free from artificial trammels the enterprise of the Empire. His attitude with regard to the financial transactions of the Presidency Banks, the taxation of imports, and telegraphic transfers, has been one of genuine and practical sympathy with the mercantile community in India; while in the long discussion that has attended the question of the banks he has shown a readiness to meet criticism and an anxiety only to win his point by carrying conviction that is not always found behind an official waistcoat. (Applause). The second respect in which Mr. Dawkins has deserved the thanks of the public, and perhaps more especially of myself, has been his conduct of the business of his department, and the share he has borne in the work of the Government of India. The machinery by which this country is ruled is a wonderful piece of mechanism. It is the result of a century of scientific elaboration, and it is worked by the most upright and highly trained body of engineers in the world. But I may be pardoned for saying that it has so many wheels that they sometimes retard each other's progress, so vast a weight that the elasticity of the parts is apt to be lost in the ponderousness of the whole: so many written rules for observance that the spirit is sometimes sacrificed to the letter; so fixed a groove of operation that it may almost be said to start and swerve at any novel departure. Now, I am one of those who hold that the man should be the master of the machine, not the machine master of the man.

Administration should be cautious and reasoned, but that is no ground why it should not be firm and prompt. We are a government who write much, but that is no reason why we should do nothing but write. (Laughter). Lord Wellesly remarked of the Secretaries of the Government of India that they combined the industry of clerks with the talents of statesmen. Yes, but I should like to eliminate the clerk and to exalt the statesman. (Cheers). *Non est scribendum sed gubernandum* is the motto that I should like to fix over the doors of every Government office. If the choice is between settling a matter in six weeks or in six months, I would sooner take the six weeks, if between six months and six years, I would prefer not to take the six years. I cannot see why dilatoriness should be regarded as an equal virtue with despatch, or why the departments of Government should practise a different economy from that which prevails in the farmyard, and should sit contentedly upon eggs that have long since been addled. (Laughter and applause). I mention these views, ladies and gentlemen, because in putting them into practice I have had the unfailing sympathy and co-operation of Mr. Dawkins. He has brought to the task of the Indian Government a mind keen aud alert, an intelligence trained in the best of schools, a natural capacity for business, dislike, equal to my own, of procrastination and shams, and a keen desire in the short space that has been available to him, to be up and doing. I can hardly say how much I shall miss such a colleague, or to what extent virtue will have gone out of the Government of India by his departure. There is perhaps a third respect which I should not omit to mention, in which Mr. Dawkins has during the year that he has been among us won the regard of all, and in which he has been largely assisted by the lady who sits by

my side. (Applause). I allude to the zest with which he and she have entered into all the interests and pursuits of life at Simla and Calcutta, and have endeared themselves by many acts of kindness and hospitality to a wide circle of friends. From all these many quarters will come equal regrets at their impending departure, and equal hopes for their success and happiness in life that lies before them. What the fates may have in store for Mr. Dawkins I cannot tell. He may live to sway the Counsels of a Senate, and to control the finances of a larger Empire even than that of India. However that may be, I hope that in his new occupations he may sometimes turn a thought to the country which he has served so faithfully for a year, to the colleagues who mourn his departure, and to that vast charge of Empire—the noblest burden that can be laid upon the shoulders of any Englishman—to which he has, for a short period, lent so strenuous a helping hand." (Loud cheers).

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to charge your glasses and to drink to the long life, success, and prosperity of Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins. (Loud cheers).

SPEECH AT THE QUETTA DURBAR.

[On Thursday the 12th April, 1900, a public durbar was held in Sandeman Hall, Quetta, in connection with the Viceroy's visit. The Khans of Khelat, the Jam of Las Boyla and about 150 Khans and Sirdars were present, besides the Civil and Military officials and ladies of Quetta. His Excellency thus addressed the Durbar]:—

YOUR Highness, Khans and Sirdars,—I am sorry not to be able to speak to you in your own language, but my words will presently be translated and will

thus reach your ears. However, though I cannot myself address you in a form that you will understand, I feel that I may claim to know something of your history, your customs and your country, for many years before I was appointed by Her Majesty the Queen to be Her representative in India, I had spent much of my time in travelling upon the Indian frontier, and in neighbouring countries. I have met most of the tribes, and I know the principal chieftains along 1,000 miles of that frontier, from the Pamirs to Quetta, and I take a warm interest in these people, and I am attached to their rulers. Years ago I devoted some time to travelling through Persia, a country with which many of you have close relation. On another occasion I stayed in Chitral with Mehta Nizam ul-Mulk, just before he was murdered by his brother, who is now a prisoner in British India, and on the last occasion that I was in Quetta more than five years ago, I had ridden down to Chaman by Ghuzni and Kandahar.

From Kabul where I had been for a fortnight as the guest of the Amir, seven years before that time I was also here with Sir Robert Sandeman, when the Khojak Tunnel had not even been commenced, and we rode over the mountains to Chaman by the Old Road. All these experiences have taught me to know and to love the frontier, and to take no common interest in the Baluch and the Pathan. The reason for which I have been drawn to these regions and have acquired this attachment is a simple one. I admire the spirit and the courage of the Border tribesmen. I dislike war with them, and desire to maintain an honourable peace. In many cases, as for instance formerly in Baluchistan, they are constantly quarrelling with each other and are accord-

ingly weak and disunited. I want them to unite with the British Raj in the settlement of their feuds, and in the defence of their own country. Any one who attacks should be regarded as a common foe. I want them to become as many of them do, the trusted soldiers and the loyal feudatories of the great Queen, and to realise that while there is no use in fighting us, because we are so strong as always to defeat them in the end, their religion, their traditions, even their independence are most safe, when they enter into friendly relation with the British Government, and receive from us those guarantees which we are always ready to give in return for faithful service and good behaviour. I believe in speaking the truth boldly to the men of the frontier as to all other men, and in telling them frankly where in their own interests they will do well and where they will do ill. The Sirdars of Baluchistan have learned this lesson from a long and successful experience, and the history of this country for the past 20 years, with its change from perpetual anarchy to peace, its steady progress, and its growth in population wealth and contentment, is an evidence of the truth of my saying.

I am addressing to-day, in this Durbar, different classes of chiefs and persons, to each of whom I will say a few words. There are present here the Khan of Khelat and the Jam of Lus Beyla. They possess ancient titles and they rule over famous or interesting territories. Among the ancestors of the Khan was Nasir Khan, the first who was beloved as a just and upright ruler. The example of great ancestors should never be forgotten by their descendants. If a State declines in interest or importance, it is the ruler who is rightly held to blame. Rulers are invested with a supreme

responsibility to their subjects. These may be difficult to exercise when their own position is insecure, and when they are exposed to political danger or to personal risk ; but what excuse can there be for their not taking an active interest in the welfare of their people, and showing liberality and enlightenment in administration when they are secured against any external danger by the protection of the British power ? The Sirkar gives with a generous hand, but he also expects in return, and this obligation must be paid. Secondly, I see present here the Sirdars of the Beluch confederacy ; Sirdars, you owe to the British Government the reconciliation of your old disputes and the general tranquillity which you now enjoy. I know your traditional loyalty I remember the help that you rendered in the Afghan war ; but, Sirdars, it is not only in times of crisis that you have a duty to the Government. We rely upon your swords when fighting begins, but peace has its service not less than war, and I call upon you to perform this service.

I have been shocked to hear of the too frequent outrages against Government in recent years, in which the Marris and Brahuis have been engaged. They are a disgrace to the tribes and a discredit to the chiefs. I believe that it is possible for the Sirdars, if they are resolute and united, to prevent these outrages. I am certain that in many cases it is possible for them to capture and to punish the criminals. I say to you, therefore, Sirdars, that the Government does not give to you pay and service for nothing, and that I expect you to put a stop to these lawless proceedings and to purge your tribal honour from this tarnish. When I see good service rendered I am quick to recognise it, and it is with pleasure, therefore, that I have

learned from my Agent, Mr. Barnes, that in giving warning of a robber gang Khan Saheb Baha-ud-din Bazai, and in attacking and dispersing a body of raiders, the Rustamzai levies of Nushki have recently rendered valuable help to the Government. I am pleased to acknowledge the conduct of these men, and I hold it up as an example. Thirdly, there are here present the Sirdars and Khans of districts under British Administration. You also, Sirdars and Khans, are mostly in receipt of pay, or *muafi* allowances, from the Government, and you also have your corresponding duties to perform.

There have recently taken place in British Beluchistan a number of murderous attacks upon Englishmen and Europeans by those who are sometimes called or miscalled *ghaza*. Believe me, Sirdars, that the idea that any one can earn the favour of Almighty God by killing some one else against whom he bears no grudge, and who has done him no wrong, simply because he follows another religion, which is only another way of worshipping the same God, is one of the stupidest notions that ever entered into the brain of a human being. If we could lift the *purdah* of the future world, and see what fate has attended these wretched murderers. I do not think that there would be many future Ghazis on the Pathan border or in Beluchistan. However, it is enough for me to deal with the attitude of the Government, and about this I wish you to cherish no illusions. I am determined, so far as lies in the power of the Government, to put a stop to these abominable crimes. I shall prohibit the carrying of all arms if I find that to be necessary, and I shall hold those responsible who are to blame. The leaders of the people can co-operate with the Government in two ways: they can

throw the whole weight of their influence and authority against the perpetrators of these vile outrages, and they can assist the Government to capture the offenders. I shall not be slow to reward those who render good and faithful service, but I also shall not be quick to pardon those who are satisfied with doing nothing and who openly neglect their duty.

Sirdars and Khans, as you are aware, a great famine is prevailing in many parts of India. How great it is, and with what efforts the Government of India is endeavouring to cope with it, is shown by the fact that nearly fifty lakhs of persons are being kept alive by the powerful hand of the Sirkar. We wish none of the people to die, and we spend the money of the Government in giving them work and in saving them from starvation. In Beluchistan you never have a famine as terrible as this, but I know that for three years past there has been a deficient rainfall and considerable distress in certain parts of this country, particularly in the Mari and Bugti hills, and a great mortality of cattle here too. The Sirkar has not been behindhand in relief. A grant of one-and-a-half lakhs has been made for the construction of roads by those who are in need; a quarter of a lakh is being spent in the distribution of grain among the Marris and Bugtis, and the Famine Relief Fund has recently made to Beluchistan a special grant of Rs. 10 000. I hope that these efforts may tide over the remaining period of scarcity, and that you will have good rains in the forthcoming summer.

And now, your Highness and Sirdars, let me say in conclusion what a pleasure it is to me to inaugurate with this important durbar the memorial hall to my old friend,

Sir Robert Sandeman, in which I am now speaking, 'Sinneman saheb,' as you all call and knew him, has now been dead for eight years, but his name is not forgotten, and his work will go on living as I hope, for ever. For what was Sir Robert Sandeman's work for which we honour and remember his name? It was the building up of the powerful and peaceful frontier province of Beluchistan with the good-will and acquiescence of its ruler, its Sirdars, and its people. When he first came to Khelat in 1875, the Beluchistan State was a prey to civil war, the tribes were disorganised, and fighting; Peshin and Sibi were under Afghan governors; there was no British administration in the country, and the passes were either closed to trade or were infested by marauding gangs. Contrast the present position when we see a Beluchistan that is pacified and prosperous from the Arabian Sea to the Registan Desert, and from the Persian border to the Suleiman and the Gomul; I do not say that there are never troubles or disputes, but there is no civil war; there is a growing trade; justice is dispensed; property is increasingly safe; the population is multiplying; every man who does right knows that he is certain of the protection of the British Raj. This is Sir Robert Sandeman's work, and for this he will always be remembered. It also seems to me a right thing that his memorial should be a Jirga hall; for, above all else, he carried through his policy by his use of tribal methods of which the Jirga is the foremost, by his knowledge of tribal character, and by his conciliation of tribal feelings. He was a strong and independent man, but he never coerced by force where he could lead by free will. He had the power of character to dictate. But he also had the tact and good humour to persuade. It

was for this tbat he was trusted by all men and was beloved by the people. I am proud to come here today as Viceroy of India and to open this memorial hall to one who was not merely my friend, but a nobleminded son of Great Britain. Since I was here with him his successor with whom I stayed later on Sir James Browne, has also passed away. He too had wonderful influence with the tribes, and was trusted by every Pathan on the border. The frontier is a hard master; it is greedy of the lifeblood of its servants; and both these brave and able men died at their posts. No more competent successor to them could have been found than my present Agent, Mr. Barnes. He learned his lessons in the school of Sir Robert Sandeman; and with energy and ability and a high sense of duty, he has pursued the same path and carried on the same work. I rejoice to think that Beluchistan, the apple of the frontier eye, has been well guarded by a series of such devoted and capable officers of the Queen, and in such hands may it long continue to prosper. (Applause).

SPEECH AT THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE AT RAJKOTE.

[On the 6th November, 1900, Lord Curzon visited the Rajkumar College at Rajkote, and there delivered the following speech]:—

YOUR Highness, Chiefs, ladies and gentlemen,—Between two and three years ago before I came out to India as Viceroy, there was placed in my hands a book,containing the addresses that had been delivered by an English Principal to his pupils in an Indian College. The College was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, in which I am now speaking. The author of the addresses was the late Mr. Chester Macnagh-

ton. I had not till that time been aware either of the existence of the College or of the name of the Principal; but from what I have read I formed the opinion that here was an institution which,in spite of some disencouragement at the start, and amid many drawbacks and obstacles, was doing a noble work for the rising generation of the princely and aristocratic families of Kathiawar and Guzarat; and that it had in its first Principal a man of high character of lofty ideals snd with a peculiar gist for exciting enthusiasm. Mr. Macnaghton has since died after a service of 26 years as the head of this College with which his name will always be associated, where now before the entrance his statue stands, and which his ideals may, I hope, for long continue to inspire but he has found a worthy successor in Mr. Waddington, to whose interesting address we have just listened, and who carries on the work of the College upon the same liberal and progressive lines. In such hands its furure should be as secure as its past has already been fruitful. Gentlemen, a year ago when I was at Rajkot I visited this place, and was shown over the buildings by Mr. Waddington. Unfortunately the College was then in vacation, and only a few of the Kumars were in residence; still I was enabled to understand the internal economy of the College and to grasp the principles which regulate both the physical and the mental tuition of the boys. You may judge what a pleasure it is to me who am an old public school boy and college man myself, to see you all here to-day upon the occasion of your annual prize distribution or commemoration day, to have listened to your recitations, which seemed to me to be most excellently done, to be invited to hand the prizes to the successful competitors of the past year and to say a few words to the assembled Kumars. One feature of these functions I

will, however, spare you. I do not propose to tell the boys, who have not won prizes on the present occasion, that they are just as clever and as good as the boys who have, though this is the customary form of encouragement to administer, because it is obviously not the case. Neither will I tell you that your education, when you leave this College is not ended, but is only just beginning, because I assume that you are sufficiently intelligent to know that already. Nor will I say that you should henceforward act in a manner, worthy of the traditions of the College because if this institution has existed for 30 years without producing in its students the *esprit de corpse* of which I speak nothing that I can say would now inculcate it, while it would be doubtful whether in such a case the place itself was worthy to exist at all. I prefer to make a few observations to you, connected both with the present position of the College and with the future that lies before those who have passed through its courses.

To me it is quite clear that the Rajkumar College demands, just as I think that it also deserves, the continued support and confidence of the Chiefs. It was by their contributions and princely endowments that this institution was started. By their donations were built the lecture rooms and living-quarters and halls. They have given the prizes and medals which it has been my good fortune to distribute to-day. No assistance was rendered by Government either in the construction or in the maintenance of these buildings. The Political Agent in Kathiawar is, I believe, the Chairman of the governing Council; and undoubtedly the advice, which an experienced officer like Colonel Hunter is in a position to give you, must be invaluable indeed. But for the exer-

tions of one of his predecessors, Colonel Keatings, in all probability the College would never have sprung into being; while later incumbents of the post, such as that capable and sympathetic administrator, Sir James Peile, have sedulously watched and encouraged its growth. On the other hand, while you cannot dispense with this form of aid and guidance, it is upon the continuous interest and liberality of the Chiefs themselves that the future of the College must in the main depend. If they continue to give their support, it will flourish. If they are apathetic or indifferent or hostile, it will dwindle and pine. From this point of view I was very pleased to hear of the wise step by which a number of the ruling Chiefs, most of whom have themselves been educated in the College, have lately been associated with its government by being placed upon the Council. They are bound to its interests by the double tie of old fellowship and of responsibility as members of the ruling order; and in their hands, if they do their duty, its future should be safe. At the present moment I believe that no fewer than 12 out of the 32 ruling Chiefs of Kathiawar have been educated at the Rajkumar College; and I am not paying either them or the College any undue compliment when I add that they are among the most enlightened and capable of their class. (Applause). Of course, we cannot compel every Chief or "Thakur" to send his son or the cadets of his family here. There were a large number who resented the apparent wrench to social habits and native traditions at the beginning. Some have never yet quite relinquished this suspicion, There will also always be a certain number of parents who will prefer private tuition for their sons, or education at the hands of native teachers, or a course of study abroad. I would not interfere with their

discretion. Each parent has his own ideas about the bringing-up of his boys; and I can conceive nothing worse than to force all fathers or all sons into the same mould. You would get a very dismal and flattened out type of character as the result. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, I would appeal to the ruling families of Guzerat and Kathiawar, and indeed, of the Bombay Presidency as a whole, to continue their support to this institution, and to send their sons and grandsons here, both because I think that the system itself is sufficiently elastic to escape the dangers of stereotyping a particular form or cast of character of which I have spoken, and because I do not entertain a doubt that the general influence of the College has been and is of inestimable value in its influence upon the well-being and good government of the province.

And now a few words to the young men and boys whom I see before me. Mr. Waddington used what seemed to me to be wise words when he spoke of the difficulty of transplanting the best in Western thought and tradition without impairing the Indian's love for his home and his country. That is, and has been, and will continue to be the difficulty all along. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that because in this and the other Chiefs' College in Northern and Central India the boys are given the nearest equivalent, of which India admits, to an English public school education, the aim is, therefore, to turn them outright into English boys. If this College were to emancipate its students from old-fashioned prejudices or superstitions at the cost of denationalisation, I for one should think the price too heavy. The Anglicised Indian is not a more attractive spectacle in my eyes than the Indianised

Englishman. Both are hybrids of an unnatural type. No; we want the young Chiefs, who are educated here to learn the English language and to become sufficiently familiar with English customs, literature, science, modes of thought, standards of truth and honour, and, I may add, with manly English sports and games, to be able to hold their own in the world in which their lot will be cast, without appearing to be dullards or clowns; and to give to their people, if they subsequently become rulers, the benefit of enlightened and pure administration. Beyond that we do not press to go. After all, those Kumars, who become Chiefs, are called upon to rule, not an English but an Indian people; and, as a Prince, who is to have any influence and to justify his own existence, must be on good terms with his own subjects, it is clear that it is not by English models alone but by an adaptation of Eastern prescriptions to the Westetn standard that he can hope to succeed. Chiefs are not, as is sometimes imagined, a privileged body of persons. God Almighty has not presented them with a *sunnud* to do nothing in perpetuity. The State is not their private property. Its revenues are not their privy purse. They are intended by Providence to be the working bees and not the drones of the hive. They exist for the benefit of their people. Their people do not exist for them. They are intended to be types and leaders and examples. A Chief, at whom any one of his subjects can point the finger of scorn, is not fit to be a Chief. If these views are correct, it is clear that this College has a great and responsible work devolved upon it, since it ought to be, not merely a school of men, but a nursery of statesmen; and that the worst way of discharging its trust, would be to rob its pupils of their surest claim to the confidence of their countrymen, which is this; that,

though educated in a Western curriculum, they should still remain Indians, true to their own beliefs, their own traditions and their own people. Therefore Chiefs and Pupils of the Rajkumar College, I say to you and it is my parting word: be loyal to this College, spread its name abroad, and see to it that in your own persons it is justified before men. While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles and Indian princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption, and recollect that you will be remembered in history, if you earn remembrance, not because you copied the habits of an alien country but because you benefited the inhabitants of your own. If I could feel that my poor words were, likely to waken in any of the young men, whom I am addressing and who may be destined to high responsibility in the future, a keener and fresher sense of duty than has perhaps hitherto occurred to his mind, the pleasure, which I have experienced in coming here to-day, which is already great, would be tenfold, nay, a hundred-fold greater. (Loud and prolonged applause).

SPEECH AT THE RAJKOTE DURBAR.

[On the 7th November, 1901, the Viceroy hold a great Durbar in the Connaught Hall of the Memorial Institute at Rajkote. After the chiefs and notables were introduced to His Excellency, Lord Curzon addressed the assembly as follows]:—

CHIEFS and Durbaris of Kathiawar,—Since Ihave been in India nothing has surprised me more than that none of my predecessors ever found time or interest to visit Kathiawar. When I came here last year for the first time

to show my sympathy with the Chiefs and people in their misfortunes, and acquire some personal knowledge of the manner in which they were combating the great famine, I was much struck with the peculiar characteristics of this province. It seemed to me to present, in an unusual and attractive combination, the features of an old territorial nobility, standing midway between the paramount Power and its own subjects, and bound by solemn obligations to both, with abundant evidences of modern enlightenment and civilization. It is a country that possesses sites of ancient and historic sanctity, which are yearly visited by thousands, of pilgrims. It contains a number of small but flourishing cities and ports. It is intersected by a net-work of railways, having indeed nearly as many miles of railroad as it has of first class roads. It is well endowed with hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and the latest symptoms of progress; and it can boast of some of the most cultivated Chiefs on the western side of India. My visit last year was a short one; but I resolved that I would take the first opportunity of returning, in order to improve my acquaintance with Kathiawar at a more favourable moment in its fortunes.

That is the object, Chiefs and Durbaris, with which I have invited you here to-day. I desire to convince you that though you live in a somewhat unfrequented corner of the Indian continent, which is away from the principal lines of movement and travel, your welfare and your concerns are very dear to the Government of India, and that the head of that Government takes a personal interest in your well-being. (Applause.) It is an object of ambition that I should meet and make the acquaintance of as many of the

Chiefs and Nobles of India as may be possible during my time. I like to know them in order to realise their position,—its advantages and its difficulties,—for it is attended by both,—and to appreciate their work. For this reason I make longer tours and wider diversions from the beaten tracks than some of my predecessors have done. I have spoken of the benefits that result to myself in the shape of increased knowledge, of greater sympathy, and of more intelligent discrimination. I trust it is not a vain hope that they may be in some measure reciprocal. (Applause). Many of the Chiefs and Thakurs, residing in out-of-the-way parts, and only brought into contact with the Agents of the Local Government, the Government of India in all likelihood appears to be a mysterious force that is seldom materialised into positive existence. To all such I should like to invest it with greater nearness and actuality. I wish them all to realize that the Viceroy is not merely a figure-head of Imperial authority, but also their counsellor and friend, (Applause). If he comes and sees them and speaks to them in their own homes, they may realise that they are not overlooked or forgotten, but that they play their part,—and it is no mean part—in the collective administration of the Empire. (Renewed applause). Chiefs, the feature in Kathiawar, that struck me most last year, was the recognition among you, in spite of the minute sub-division of territory-jurisdiction and of many possible causes of disunion, of common interests and corporate life. The Chiefs in this province reminded me, in fact, of a sort of medieval guild, constituted for the purposes of co-operation in matters where the interests of all coincide, or that can best be advanced by common action. You have your annual meeting of Parbharis,—a species of

local Diet or Parliament—to discuss the administration of corporate funds. You have a fund known as the States General Fund, contributed in fixed proportions by all. You have a system of railways, owned by different States and managed by a body upon which various proprietors are represented. Recently a convention has been concluded to facilitate the administration of justice between several States, each enjoying separate jurisdiction of its own, at Rajkote. This corporate existence is typified by the existence of a number of admirable buildings or institutions, designed for the welfare, not of one State only but of all. There is the Rajkumar College, where I spoke yesterday; there is the Training College School for teachers; there is the Hospital for Women and Chemical Laboratory. These institutions have been founded by the liberality of individual Chiefs or donors and they are administered out of joint funds. I had the advantage of visiting the majority of them last November.

During the past year you have had presented to you an opportunity of displaying both collective energy and individual zeal in your encounter with the most serious famine that has afflicted Kathiawar since the famous visitation of 1812-13. Two days ago I was inspecting the celebrated inscriptions of Emperor Asoka on the great rock that lies at the foot of the holy hill of Girnar. In those edicts were enjoined, upon the people of the Emperor's vast dominions, lessons of charity, piety and the sparing of animal life. It is gratifying to me to think that these precepts were not forgotten in the recent distress by the Chieftains of Kathiawar. They have, with rare exceptions, risen to and fulfilled their obligations, under the able leadership and subject to constant

advice of Colonel Hunter (applause), in whom the Kathiawar States are about to lose a firm friend and the Government of India a most valued officer. All the machinery of famine works and famine relief with which we are now so sorrowfully familiar, have been forthcoming in this province; works and poor houses and hospitals have everywhere been opened throughout the past twelve months; the infirm and the destitute have been cared for and means of livelihood have been offered to every man, woman and child who had hands with which to work. Advances have been made to help ruined cultivators to start again in the world; and in generous interpretation of their obligations, several of the Darbars have not shrunk from incurring heavy debts. Here as elsewhere the famine has taught us lessons which should be valuable for the future. It is sometimes disputed whether railways or irrigation are of greater service in the prevention of drought. This is a very barren and senseless controversy, since it may fairly be said that neither is a preventive at all. On the present occasion, famine struck a great many areas in India, where there were excellent railway communications and abundance of tanks: but the water dried up in the tanks just when it was most wanted; while railways, though they could bring grain to the famished peasant, could not make it germinate in parched and moistureless soil. But I venture to say that if there is a part of India where both railways and tanks efficiently demonstrated their value in time of famine, it was here. The railways poured in grain from distant markets with a regularity that kept prices at a point, consistently lower than in the dearth of 1897; and if there was any chief in Kathiawar, who was diffident about forward railway policy, I think that his doubts must have been removed during the past summer. He has only to look

up the records of the great famine of 1813, when Kathiawar parents sold their children and men killed and devoured each other, to realize the full meaning and the value of a constant and cheap supply of grain. As regards irrigation, the experience of the past year should also have taught you the necessity of storing rain-water in irrigation tanks wherever contours of land are favourable. Such works will not obviate famine, but they will greatly mitigate its intensity. There is another lesson which, I hope, that the famine has taught you, and that is the positive necessity of laying by a portion of your incomes in every year, as an emergency fund, to meet these sudden and terrible straits. The fascination of living up to one's income is well known in all classes and countries. That of living in excess of it, is also not without its votaries among Native Chiefs; but when famine ensues, a rude awakening comes; for, an exhausted treasury is powerless to meet the demands that fall thick and fast upon it, and the State is thereupon burdened with debt that may hamper its development for years to come. On the present occasion there has necessarily been considerable recourse to loans. The finances of some of the States, greatly to their credit, were able to weather the storm without any recourse to outside assistance; but they were in the minority. In these circumstances the Government of India has rendered you every possible assistance in its power. I have myself kept a most careful watch upon the requisitions of Native States in all parts of India where there has been famine; and I think it will be conceded without demur that, while avoiding prodigality or slackness, we have neither grudged nor stinted our help. (Applause). Apart from loans, made by local funds in the Kathiawar Agency, which amounted to nearly 11 lakhs and the

private loans, guaranteed by the Agency, which amounted to 40½ lakhs more, the Imperial Exchequer has lent to Kathiawar Chiefs sums of money which, excluding such loans as have already been repaid, represent still an outstanding debt of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. I think, therefore, it may truly be said that we have all pulled heartily together in the peril, the supreme Government, the Local Government, Chiefs and people, in order to tide the province over its dark hour of misfortune. And in this loyal co-operation in the cause of suffering humanity, I find a solace in contemplating the trials of the last year as well as a hopeful augury for the future. Chiefs of Kathiawar, I should not come here as Viceroy of India, were I not confident that my message to you was one of sympathy and encouragement. You are representatives, in this part of India, of a system of which no one is a more convinced supporter than myself. I am a firm believer in the policy which has guaranteed the integrity, has insured the succession and has built up the fortunes of Native States. I regard the advantage accruing from the secure existence of those States, as mutual in the case of Chiefs and States. It is obvious since old families and traditions are thereby preserved, that a link is maintained with the past that is greatly cherished by the people and an opening is given for the employment of native talent which the British system does not always or equally provide. But to us also the gain is indubitable, since the strain of the Government is thereby lessened. Full scope is provided for the exercise of the energies that might otherwise be lost to the Government. The perils of excessive uniformity and undue centralisation are avoided and greater administrative flexibility ensues. So long as these views are held,—and I doubt if any of my successors will ever repudiate them—

Native States should find, in the consciousness of their security, a stimulus to energy and to well-doing. They should fortify the sympathies of the Government by deserving them. To weaken this support, would be to commit a suicidal crime. If Native States, however, are to accept this standard, it is obvious that they must keep pace with the age. They cannot dawdle behind and act as a drag upon inevitable progress. They are links in the chain of Imperial administration. It would never do for British links to be strong and native links weak, or vice versa. As the chain goes on lengthening and the strains put upon every part of it increases, so is uniformity of quality and fibre essential; otherwise unsound links will snap. I therefore think and I lose no opportunity of impressing upon Indian Chiefs that a very clear and positive duty devolves upon them. It is not limited to the perpetuation of their dynasties or the maintenance of their Raj—they must not rest content with keeping things going in their time. Their duty is one, not of passive acceptance of an established place in the Imperial system, but of an active and vigorous co-operation in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities. When wrong things go on in British India, the light of public criticism beats fiercely upon the offending person or spot. Native States have no right to claim any immunity from the same process. It is no defence to say that the standards there are lower and that as censors we must be less exacting. That would be an admission of the inferiority of the part played by the States in the Imperial scheme, whereas the whole of my contention rests upon its equality, and the whole of my desire is to make it endure. In Kathiawar it is gratifying to me to think that these propositions, which I regard as fundamental principles of Indian statescraft, are

generally accepted ; and that the majority of the Chiefs and Thakurs, whom I am addressing, are already engaged in putting them into operation. (Applause).

Holding the views that I do, I welcome nothing more than the opportunity of giving such encouragement, as lies in my power as the head of Government, to those who have it in their power so greatly to help and encourage me. I hope that I have not been remiss in this direction. There has never been a year in the Indian history when the loyalty of the Indian Princes and people has been more triumphantly vindicated and aroused by the stirring events that were passing in foreign lands and thrilled 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 in Asia. (Applause). It has not been possible to accept all these offers ; and indeed, in South Africa it was not possible to accept many ; but the war in China has presented me with an opportunity of showing how greatly Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government have valued these demonstrations of loyalty which I was not slow to seize. It will always remain a source of pride to me to have been instrumental in persuading them for the first time to send the Imperial Service Troops outside of these shores. I frankly admit that it is not the purpose for which those contingents were originally raised. They were offered by the Chiefs and accepted by Government to take part in the defence of India ; but opportunities that we can furnish for their employment in India or upon the Indian frontiers are few and far between ; and when the Chiefs came forward and begged to be allowed to share the larger responsibilities of the Empire and to vindicate their loyalty upon a wider field,

he would, I think, have been a ~~ambitious~~ narrow-minded pedant who, on such an occasion, would have damped their enthusiasm or waved aside the offer. It was, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I urged Her Majesty's Government to accept the offers, so spontaneously and generously made, and that I have since superintended the despatch to China of picked Contingents from the Imperial Service Forces.

Kathiawar did not take part in this particular contribution (Applause); but in the South African War, the Chiefs had already shown the spirit by which they were animated. From the relatively small force of the Imperial Service Cavalry that are maintaind by the Chiefs of this province, Junagadh gave 15 horses for South Africa; Bhavnagar contributed 100 horses, as well as 50 to Lumsden's Horse, and the Indian Government borrowed 35 horses from Jumnagar. You have, therefore, not been left outside of the great movement that has throughout the past year swept like a mighty tide from one end of the British Empire to the other. (Applause). You have contributed your share to its volume and its strength. I am now arranging for a despatch to Australia of a selected Contingent of 100 Officers and Non-commissioned officers of the Native Army and the Imperial Service Troops who have been invited by the Colonial authorities as guests of the new Federal Government of Australia, to assist on the 1st of January at the inauguration of the new Commonwealth. It will be a fitting thing that on the day when the new off-shoot of the British Empire is to start into official being, the festival should be graced by the presence of those who will symbolise the part that has been played in the consolidation of the parent fabric by Indian swords and by India's sons. (Applause). It is, therefore, in a memorable year, Chiefs and

Nobles of Kathiawar, that I have come hither to address you—the year that has been one of anxiety and suffering, but that has also been one of noble devotion and recognition of higher aims. If it has been sorrow to me to observe pain and anguish, it has also been a comfort to note the spirit which they have engendered, and to have touched the instrument whose chords have thrilled to so sublime a tune. I take this opportunity, therefore, through you, of thanking the Chiefs of India for the part that they have played in a year that fitly marks the passing away of an old century and the opening of a new. A hundred years hence may it be in the power of some successor of mine to speak to the Indian Princes and people in the language of similar good cheer and congratulation. (Loud applause).

CONTENTS OF THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL.

[On the 26th February, 1901, there was a large gathering at the Dalhousie Institute to hear His Excellency explain the contents of the Victoria Memorial Hall. His Honour Sir John Woodburn, the President, invited His Excellency to speak. Lord Curzon delivered the following speech]:—

I do not think it necessary to say much about the general question of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. A good deal of the doubt or misconception that at first existed arose from ignorance of the real nature of the plan. This has been in the main dissipated by the publication of the full text of the original Memorandum and of the proceedings at our meeting of February 6th in the Calcutta Town Hall. There only remain a few points, in this connection upon which something may be added. It is

quite clear, and as I have before said, very natural and proper, that different parts of India and different localities should institute their own Memorials although it is not always easy to determine what they shall be. The question before us, and before me in particular, was whether there should be a National Memorial as well. Now, gentlemen, my view was that this was an occasion on which India would desire not merely to express its deep devotion to the late Queen's memory, but also to demonstrate to the world, in some striking manner, the truth of that Imperial unity which was so largely the creation of her personality and reign. Had each province been left exclusively to erect its own memorial, and had no effort been made to concentrate the public sentiment in some grander conception, we should doubtless have had, as we shall have, a number of excellent funds, and institutions, and buildings. They would have presented the feelings and the generosity of the Individual province or locality, but they would not have condensed or typified the emotions of the nation. Visitors to India and posterity in general, would hear or know little about this fund or that trust, however considerable the original endowment subscribed; the income derived from it, whether applied to charitable objects, or to the advancement of education or research, could benefit but a small number of persons out of the population even of the province or district; and so, in time, the name and memory of the Great and Good Queen would have faded out of the public mind, because there was no visible object to bring it perpetually under the eye of future generations.

The case, therefore, for a National Memorial seemed to me to be a very strong one and nothing that I have read, or that has occurred since, has done anything to shake it. The question next arose whether, an all-India Memorial being accep-

ted, it should or should not have assumed a concrete shape. There is much, I think, to be said on both sides to this question; and we ourselves felt this so strongly that we decided to pronounce for neither to the exclusion of the other. All that we did was to give priority to the concrete Memorial, or in other words, to ensure its execution as a first charge upon the Fund. No one could say, none of us can yet tell, what will be the total sum that we shall collect, or whether it would have been adequate to the constitution of a capital fund the income accruing from which could be devoted to an object of really national service. Moveover, amid all the multiplicity of opinions, no one could inform us, and no one has yet been able to decide, what should be the non-concrete object to which an all-Indian contribution should be applied. And, if this difficulty has been felt by smaller communities, who are only called upon to express the desires or to provide for the needs of restricted areas, how much more does it apply, and on a hundredfold scale of magnitude, to the entire continent! I think, therefore, it will be conceded that given the desirability of a National Memorial, we acted not unwisely in allowing priority to the concrete monument, leaving to subsequent discussion the allocation of the surplus funds that we may receive. Though I should not like to be too sanguine at the present stage, it seems to me to be not at all improbable that we may be presented with a total sum large enough to enable us after building the hall to do something substantial in the interests of charity; and no one will be better pleased than myself if this is the result. I have devoted much anxious thought to a consideration of the numerous suggestions that have been made. I had read many scores, if not hundreds of these and have been struck by the fact that, meritorious as

many of them are, no two are identical. In other words, there is no sort of national unanimity on the subject. For the present I am disposed to think—if there be surplus—that we shall find it difficult to fix upon a better object to which to devote it than the Indian people's Famine Trust, which was inaugurated by that splendid donation from the Maharaja of Jaipur last year. Famine is the one great calamity that is capable of attacking the whole country. Its relief is the one great charitable boon that will affect not isolated units, or even hundreds or thousands, but millions. Moreover, the objects of the Famine Relief Trust are outside of, and do not conflict with, the proper sphere of Government duty. These, however, are only my own ideas; and I give them for what they may be worth.

As regards Technical Education, I have not a word to say against an object in itself so admirable. It is in many ways the need of the future in India. But I have this to say about it at the present stage. The interest of no fund that might be accumulated could possibly provide for more than the education of an infinitesimal minority, per annum, among the youths of India. The principles upon which they are to be trained, and the openings that might be found for their professional abilities and attainments, are not yet determined, and even in England, after 15 years of struggle and discussion are still in a fluid state. Finally, I hardly think it fair to connect the desire to commemorate the Queen's name with a task that has no definite association with her memory, and that is so pre-eminently the duty of the Government and of the community in combination, as that of providing for the education of a particular section of the population. Some people talk and write as though technical instruction were going to solve the

Indian agrarian problem, and to convert millions of needy peasants into flourishing artisans. Gentlemen, long after every one in this room has mouldered into dust, the economic problem will confront the rulers of India. It is not to be solved by a batch of Institutes or a cluster of Polytechnics. They will scarcely produce a ripple in the great ocean of social and industrial forces. Indeed, if they were to fail or to remain empty, as might conceivably be the case at this stage of our evolution, and as has been the case with some of the premature experiments already made, where would the memory and honour of Queen Victoria be? Technical education is a problem that must be met by the patient and combined efforts of the Supreme Government, the Local Governments, Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, mercantile firms, and philanthropic and enterprising men. Let us all give to it that attention, but do not let us use the Queen's name to absolve us from our legitimate responsibilities.

It seems to me therefore, that if we succeed in raising a great National Fund which is partly devoted to the building of the Victoria Hall, and partly to the still further endowment of the Famine Trust, we shall at the same time, have erected an impressive and enduring memorial to the name of Queen Victoria, and shall have consecrated the feelings aroused by her death to the service of the people in a manner that will beneficially affect the largest number. In the meantime, however, I have no desire to pronounce with finality upon the secondary or utilitarian object; and while our funds are accumulating, I shall be very glad to profit by the advice that will doubtless continue to reach me from many influential quarters.

Next I come to the question whether, presuming an all-Indian Memorial to be desirable it was for the Viceroy to place himself at the head of the movement. I must leave this delicate question to be decided by the voice of others, not by my own. Perhaps after all the result will be the most conclusive answer. All I would say at this moment is that if the position of the Viceroy is to be what in my opinion it ought to be the opportunity of fusing and giving expression to the aspirations of the entire community is one that he should be proud to seize, and that, if in some quarters it be said that he should have left the movement to ferment and to come to a head as best it could, I suspect that, had this advice been followed, it would have been said in a good many other quarters that he had signally failed to realise the unique opportunities of his position, and had allowed a golden occasion to slip by of vindicating the loyalty and the devotion of the Indian Empire to the British throne.

I pass to another of the preliminary questions which it has seemed desirable to discuss. It appears to have been thought in some quarters that the scheme for a Victoria Hall in Calcutta has been snatched up, so to speak, in precipitate haste, and foisted almost without consideration upon the notice of the pnblic. This is far from having been the case. This scheme was not for the first time conceived or matured during the fortnight that elapsed between the death of Her Majesty the Queen and the Town Hall Meeting. On the contrary, it has rarely been out of my mind during the two years in which I have been in India. I had been collecting information, consulting individuals, working out all the possible ramifications of the proposal, long before the Queen was smitten by her last fatal illness. I had, of

course, no idea at that time of proposing such a building as a permanent Memorial to the Queen, because so marvellous was her vitality that such an idea as her early decease had never entered into our minds. But I had hoped, before leaving India, to carry the idea into execution as a fulfilment of what I regard as a great Imperial duty, viz., the handing down to posterity of what the past has failed to provide for us, that is a standing record of our wonderful history, a visible monument of Indian glories, and an illustration, more eloquent than any spoken address or printed page, of the lessons of public patriotism and civic duty. I had even gone so far as to talk over this scheme with friends, to prepare designs for a building, and to think of where it might be placed. Then came the death of the Queen; and then it was that, not merely in my own mind, but in that of the representative persons whom I consulted, the idea took shape that we were already in possession of the germ of a great Imperial Memorial, worthy of Queen Victoria and worthy of India. It was, therefore, no sudden to incohate project that was submitted to the Calcutta Meeting. On the contrary how complete it was, the information that I shall presently place before you will enable you to judge.

There is only one other prefatory question to which it is necessary to advert. I have seen it asked why, instead of suggesting a scheme to others, I did not write to all the Princes and Governors, and leading men, and ask them to suggest one to me, and then decide according to the nature of their replies. Gentlemen, I invite you soberly to consider what the contents of such a post bag would have been. It needs no intuition to discern that I should have received not the scheme but one hundred, and I dare say as many more. And then a representative Committee would have had to be

convened in order to discuss these schemes. It would have taken some weeks to assemble. Its deliberation would probably have taken as many months and meanwhile where would the enthusiasm and the liberality of the people have been? We all know that even the noblest emotions are apt to dwindle off to be chilled if an outlet is not provided for them while they are still warm and a course more likely to freeze the heart of the generous Indian public than that which has been suggested, I cannot imagine.

From this brief discussion of what I have called preliminary questions, I now pass on to a more detailed examination of the scheme of a Victoria Hall as it exists in the minds of those who have originated it. And the first subject to which I shall address myself is this. What will be the contents of the building when raised? I shall next ask where and how can they be procured; and having attempted to answer both these questions I shall, I trust, have left a clear impression in the mind of the public both as to what the scheme is and as to what is not. Even among those who have warmly supported the idea, some doubts have been expressed on these points. "You are going to build a magnificent hall which will only be a second-class museum or an empty shell. You talk of collecting Indian relics and trophies, where are they? You want to commemorate great men and great events, who and what are they?" These are the sort of questions—and I do not regard them as unreasonable—that have been addressed to me. Indeed in some quarters there has been an attempt to throw ridicule upon the entire scheme. I shall, I hope, be able to show these critics that there is no ground for their unfriendly suspicions; and that all India may

legitimately be asked to co-operate in a movement which, if its help be given, may easily be endowed with a truly cosmopolitan character, which will have a most practical as well as a sentimental side, and will contain not trash but treasures.

The building will be called the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will therefore, I think, be befitting that a central or a central space should be devoted to the mementoes of Her Majesty the Queen. Whether or not the statue of the Queen that has already been executed shall be erected inside or outside this building, is a matter that will remain over for subsequent decision. Probably it will remain outside. A separate representation of Her Majesty might perhaps be placed inside the hall. Around it might be grouped memorials of her reign. It might be possible to secure autograph letters from her to the various Governors-General and Viceroys who have had the honour to serve her. I, at any rate, shall be prepared to contribute, as the last. Some other personal relics we may be so fortunate as to secure. Upon the walls of this hall might be inscribed in letters of gold upon marble or upon bronze, both in English and in the different vernaculars, the famous Proclamation of 1858, and such other messages as the Queen has, at various times, addressed to the Indian people. If the original are procurable they might be placed in glass-cases below. The Emperor Asoka has spoken to posterity for 2,200 years, through his incriptions on rock and on stone. Why should not Queen Victoria do the same?

I have, on a previous occasion, observed that the Memorial Hall would be devoted to the commemoration of notable events and remarkable men, both Indian and European, in the history of this country. I will now proceed to indicate

the character of the incidents and the personality of the individuals, who may perhaps be held worthy of this honor and the manner in which it may be conferred. At the beginning it is almost necessary to draw a line which shall be the starting point of our historical procession. I may say at once that the idea is not to convert this Hall into an Archæological Museum, or to compete with the various institutions of that character that already exist in different parts of the country. I conceive it to be impracticable in a single building to convey a synopsis of all Indian history from the time of the Aryan immigration to the days of electric tramways and motor cars. I have not the slightest desire to accumulate here Buddhistic sculptures, or implements of the bronze and stone ages. They will find their home more fitly in the Imperial and Provincial Museums. Similarly, I do not think that we can include representations of the legendary and quasi-mythological epochs of Indian history, the period in fact of the epics. Anything that dates from those days can only be a copy of originals existing elsewhere, or can have what is in the main an antiquarian rather than historical interest. In practice it will I think, be found that the earliest date from which it will be possible to accumulate any sort of original record, will be the foundation of the Mogul dynasty. We may begin with Baber, and from then we may continue to the present date. Through out the world progress seems to have taken a definite leap forward at about the same epoch : and the situation will be much the same as though in England we began to make a collection with the Tudors, in Russia with Ivan the Terrible, in France with Francis I, in Germany with Charles V. in Turkey with Solyman the Magnificent, in Persia with the Sefavi dynasty, in Japan with Iyeyasu.

I will first take Indian history. It ought, I think, to be possible to obtain some records of every period and every dynasty from the Moguls to the present day. These records would take the form of paintings, enamels, sculptures, manuscripts, and personal relics and belongings. I have heard of their being offered for sale in India in recent years the headdress of Akbar and the armour of Jehangir. Passing to the Mahratta ascendency, we should procure, portraits of Sivaji and the leading Mahratta princes, generals, and statesmen. Then, if we turn to Sikhs, we should have similar memorials of the leading Gurus from Nanak to Guru Govind, of Maharajas Runjit Singh, Sher Singh, and Golap Singh of of Jammu and Kashmir. All of these are, I believe procurable. From Rajaputana we should collect memorials of Rana Pertab of Mewar, Raja Man Singh and Siwai Jai Singh, the astronomer, of Jaipur, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur From Gwalior we should desire to commemorate Mahadaji Rao Scindia and Dowlat Rao Scindia ; from Bhopal the Nawab Sikandra Begum, from Hyderabad Asaf Jah, the first Nizam. For my own part I should not hesitate for a moment to include those who have fought against the British provided their memories are not sullied with dishonour or crime. I would not admit so much as the fringe of the pagri of a ruffian alike the Nana Sahib. But I would gladly include memorials of the brave Rani of Jhansi and of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. There is, I believe, a very interesting picture of the death of Tippu at Seringapatam in the palace of the Nawab of Murshidabad. If we come to more modern times, I have already collected, with the aid of those gentlemen who have been good enough to advise me, a list of the names of eminent Indian statesmen, writers, poets, administrators, judges, religious reformers and philan-

thropists who might be entitled to commemoration in such a Valhalla. I will mention a few typical names alone. Omichund the great Bengal banker in the days of Lord Clive, Ali Verdi Khan, Raja Naba Kissen, Mir Jafar, Chaitanya, the founder of Vishnuism, Dwarkanath Tagore, Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, who died in England, Keshub Chunder Sen, whose portrait is in the Town Hall, Rajendra Lal Mitra, the antiquarian, Raja Krishna Chandra, Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College, Romesh Chunder Mitra, the distinguished Judge. To these might be added the more eminent of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, and of the Talukdars of Oudh. In the memorandum previously issued were mentioned the names of well-known statesmen or public characters, such as Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jang, Sir Jamsetjee Jejheebhoy.

I now pass to British History. Here we shall endeavour to secure portraits, or busts, or mementoes—and where the originals are not forthcoming reproductions may perhaps be available—of the long line of distinguished men who have made the British Empire in India. They will fall into several categories; the pioneers of commerce and empire—such as Sir T. Roe, Job Charnock, Sir Josiah Child; Governors, Governors-General, and Viceroys from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times; famous personages, such as Sir Philip Francis and Sir Elijah Impey; eminent Governors or Lieutenant-Governors or administrators of the provinces—such names, for instance, as Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of Lord Chatham, Sir Thomas Munro, and Streynsham Master from Madras; Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Richard Temple from Bombay; Sir Henry Lawrence, James Thomason, Sir

Ashley Eden, Sir Henry Ramsay from other provinces. There will be a category of great Generals and soldiers of whom I may instance a few—Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, Lord Lake ; Lord Harris, Lord Keane, Sir David Ochterlony, Sir Charles Napier, Sir James Outram, Lord Gough, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Colin Campbell, (Lord Clyde), Sir Hugh Roe (Lord Strathnairn), Lord Roberts. There will be frontier heroes; such as Sir Herbert Edwards, Colonel James Skinner, Colonel John Jacob, and General John Nicholson: military adventurers such as the famous George Thomas who rose from being a sailor and a cavalry leader to be Raja of Hansi, and the cluster of foreigners who entered the service of Mysore, the Maharattas and Ranjit Singh. There will be the men of letters, and science, historians, such as Orme, Tob, Sleeman, Elliot, James Mill, Lord Macaulay, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Hunter ; students or scholars or antiquarians, such as Sir William Jones, James Rennell, H. H. Wilson, H. T. Colebrooke, James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Professor Max Muller, Professor Monier Williams, Sir Henry Rawlinson. Sir Henry Yule; financiers such as James Wilson jurists such as Sir Henry Maine and Sir James Stephen; explorers and pioneers, such as Capt. John Wood, Alexander Burnes, Moorcro Hayward Sir Joseph Hooker; reformers and philanthropists, churchmen and missionaries, such as John Clark Marshman Carey, David Hare, Dr. Duff, Bishops Heber and Cotton. These are only a few of the names that have occured to me, and are neither a complete nor an exhaustive list. They are merely typical instances of the service and the character that have helped to build up the fabric of British dominion in India and that seem to me to be entitled

to the honour of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity.

And now having specified the type of persons whom it is proposed to honour let me pass on to the methods by which it may be done. One or more of the galleries of the Victoria Hall will doubtless be devoted to sculpture. Here will be collected the life-size figures, or the busts and medallions, of great men. A large number of these memorials, as I shall show presently, are already in existence, and will, it is hoped, be available for our purpose. I shall indicate methods by which others may be procured. Cases will arise in the future in which a desire to commemorate some eminent person may not justify, either in the scope of the services rendered or in the extent of the money subscribed, the crowning honour of a statue on the maidan. The busts of such persons will appropriately be placed in the sculpture gallery of the Victoria Hall.

A second gallery or galleries will be devoted to paintings, engravings, prints, and pictorial representations in general both of persons and of scenes. Here will be hung original pictures and likenesses ; or where these are not procurable, copies of such. There are still scattered about in Calcutta and Bengal, and I dare say in other parts of India, quite a number of oil paintings, dating from the end of the last century and the beginning of this, commemorative of interesting persons and events. Now and then these find their way into the auction-room. More commonly they rot into decay. It is possible, in mezzotints and stipple and line engravings to recover almost a continuous history of Anglo-Indian worthies, battles, sieges, landscapes, buildings, forts, and scenes during the last 200 years.

While speaking of pictorial representatation, it has been suggested to me that around the open corridors of the inner courts and quadrangles of the building might be depicted frescoes of memorable incidents or events. Fresco-painting is an art in which the Indian craftsman once excelled. Witness the pictured caves of Ajunta, the painted walls and ceilings of Fathepur Sikri, the decorated pavilions of Agra and Delhi, the brilliant Summer-house of Tippu at Seringapatam. This art is not extinct in India, and is being fostered and revivified in Institutes and Schools of Art. I do not see why great historic scenes such as the the three battles of Panipat or the battles of Plassey, Sobraon, Assaye, Miani, the self-immolation of Rani Pudmin, and the women of Chitore, the Rahtor Queen closing the city gates against her husband when he returned defeated, the first audience of British factors with the Great Mogul, the relief of the Residency at Lucknow, the Proclamation of the Queen at Allahbad in 1858, the Delhi Durbar of 1877 should not be thus commemorated. Precautions would have to be taken for the proper conservation of the frescoes during the rains. If pigments were found to be an unsuitable medium, however applied, resource might be had to mosaics. Should more durable memorials still be preferred, it might be decided to fix bronze or copper plates in panels on the inner walls, containing inscriptions or bas-reliefs, dedicated to memorable scenes.

In the centre of the galleries that are occupied by paintings, or in adjoining rooms, I suggest that there should be placed stands and cases, with glass lids, containing the correspondence and hand-writing, the personal relics and trophies and belongings of great men. It ought to be possible to procure autograph letters of all the Governors-General and Viceroys of India, and of the majority of those whose names

have already been mentioned. Miniatures, articles, of costume, objects that belonged in life-time to the deceased, and that recall his personality or his career—all of these will fitly appear in such a collection. I may mention as an illustration the objects that are exhibited in the King's Library at the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in many kindred institutions.

A wider extension of the same principle may be applied to the commemoration of historical events. I should like to exhibit the originals, or where these cannot be procured, copies of Treaties, and Sanads, and Charters. I fancy that the original Charter of Queen Elizabeth of 31st December 1600 to the merchants of the East India Company is no longer extant, and that the earliest surviving grant is that of Charles II in 1661. Excellent facsimiles have been made in England of several of these documents. It may be noted in passing that the copy of Magna Charta which is exhibited in the British Museum is not the original, but only a reproduction. The oldest extant MS., which is itself not the original, is kept under lock and key in a fire-proof safe elsewhere. A great many original documents are, however, in the possession of the Government of India or of the India Office at home; and a selection of the more interesting or important might be made from these. As regards earlier Indian history we may perhaps be so fortunate as to come into possession, or may be favoured with the loan, of Oriental manuscripts of which there are still a great many in this country, though, from lack of care and of means fot collecting them, the majority have either perished or are fast leaving the country.

From documents or manustcripts it is a natural transition to maps and plans, both Native and Euro-

pean. It should not be difficult to collect, either in original or in duplicate a complete set of all the maps of Calcutta from the beginning of the 18th century to the present day. Similar plans should be procurable of Fort St. George at Madras and of Bombay, and of many other factories, cities, and forts throughout the country. There is no means of studying local histoty and topography to compare with that of maps and I should hope that we might acquire and exhibit a first rate collection.

Side by side with maps I should be inclined to place newspapers. We could not hope to make any complete collection. That is the function of a library or of a museum. But a careful selection of some of the rarer or more interesting specimens might throw valuable sidelights upon the past. Coins might also be every properly included. Here we might make an exception and penetrate even further back than the Mogul days. A Microcosm of the history of India through all the ages might be constructed from a classified exhibit of the different coins that have been current in India, Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Hindu, Afghan, Mogul and finally British, including a specimen of every coin that has been struck in India during the Queen's reign. From the contents of a few cases we might grasp the outlines of history more vividly than from a library of books.

Among other objects that have occurred to have been suggested to me, I may mention musical instruments and porcelain. To some extent these are rather on the line between a historical gallery, which the Victoria Hall is intended to be, and a museum of the arts. Both, however, have a definite historical bearing. In a country where music has reached such a high pitch of development as in India, a collection

of native instruments is in a certain sense a page of history. In the case of China it may be even more so. For instance, there is no more interesting record than the few surviving pieces of the magnificent dinner services that were used in the time of the old East India Company. We have only a few specimens left in Government House, the bulk having long ago perished. There used to be a great deal at Madras but what little of this was left has, I believe, drifted to London.

And now I pass to what I hope may be a leading feature of the Victoria Hall. Several of the Indian Princes have already subscribed to the Central Memorial Fund. I have little doubt that many more will do so. I have observed in those organs of the Press which have addressed themselves to belittling this scheme, the suggestion that pressure has been, or will be, brought upon Princes or Durbars to contribute. This insinuation is both ungenerous and unjust. No solicitation has been or will be made. It is open to a Native Chief to join or to stand aloof as he pleases. He is not likely to set before himself any other standard than the measure of his own desire to join in a National Memorial to the Queen. That their contributions will not be devoted to an object in which they will bear no part or share will be evident from what I am about to say. The wonderful history of the Native States, the splendour of their courts, the achievement of their great men, can only fitfully be gathered by the visitor to India or even by the resident in the country, from visits to their capitals and courts. I should like to constitute a Princes' Court or Gallery in the Victoria Hall, where such memorials should be collected as the Princes were willing to contribute or to lend. We might collect pictures of leading Princes and Chiefs. We might commemorate notable events

in their dynasties and lives. They might be willing in some cases to present us from their armouries with duplicates of the large collections that are there contained. spears and battle axes, and swords, shields and horse-trappings and coats of mail—these are the abundant relics, in India and elsewhere, of an age of chivalry. Where gifts are not found possible, the Chiefs might be prepared, as is so often done by the Royal Family, by noblemen, and by rich collectors in England, to allow a portion of their collections to appear on temporary loan, the lender being, of course, put to no expense, and his possessions being returned to him at the termination of such period as he himself desired.

Whatever be our success as regards native arms, I entertain no doubt of being able to amass a first-rate collection of British specimens. I would propose to devote one gallery to a chronological illustration of the history of British Arms in this country. I would present in cases a complete collection of British uniforms from the days of the earliest sepoys of the Company to modern times. From the various arsenals it will be a matttter of ease to collect specimens of the muskets, carbines and rifles, the powder flasks and pistols, the swords and lances, the cannon and guns of the various phases of military fashion in this country. An enclosed verandah in the fort at Lahore is so packed at present with Sikh trophies that everything cannot be got inside. Elsewhere military trophies are lying scattered about unhonoured and unknown. In the same gallery I would place a complete collection of British medals that have been granted for service in this country and on its borders; and here too I should hope will repose the tattered regimental banners that tell the tale of glory won, and pass on an inspiration to successors.

Another very proper adjunct of the Victoria Hall would be a collection of models. There are many objects of immense historic interest which we either cannot procure, because they have vanished or could not introduce into our galleries because of their size and unsuitability. These may very fitly be represented by models. Such models might, for instance, be made of the ships that have brought European merchants and adventurers to India, from the vessel in which Vasco de Gama first cast anckor in the Harbour of Calicut on May 20th, 1498, to the pioneer sloops a century later, of Captain James Lancaster and Sir Henry Middleton; and from them to the four-masted sailing ships that still lift their spars against the sunset on the Hugli, and the ocean liners whose smoking funnels bear the colours of the British India and the P. and O. Nor need models be confined to ships. Nothiug bring home more closely the stories of battlefields, and seiges, and assaults at well ddsigned models The storming of Chitor or Gwalior, of Bhurtpur or Seringapatam, becomes a different thing to all of us, when we have the actual scene reproduced in miniature before our eyes. I shall certainly have placed in the Gallery a model of old For William in Calcutta, of which I am at present engaged in identifying and demarcating the outlines. I remember when at Oxford seeing in the Bodleian Library a white marble model of the Calcutta Cathedral according to the original and uncompleted design. But why it should it should repose at Oxford instead of Calcutta I do not know.

I have now dealt to the best of my ability with the principal categories of objects that appear to be suitable for inclusion in the Victoria Hall. Perhaps my hearers will be inclined to agree with the friend who after I had unbosomed

myself to him on the matter, exclaimed to me : "Why, the danger is that you will have, not too little, but too much !" I will now proceed to point out the sources from which these and similar objects may be procured.

Two main channels of collection I have already indicated, namely, gift and loan. Many persons who would not be willing to part with cherished possessions might consent to lend them : and as the Bethnal Green and other museums, we might perhaps hope for a succession of such favours. Nevertheless, for the bulk of our exhibits we must look to gift or purchase. Fortunately we already possess the admirable uncleus of sueh a collection as I have described in this place. Who can doubt that the fine marble statue of Warren Hastings by Westmacott which, is now effectually concealed from public view in the southern portico of the Town Hall—a building which is itself condemned—must find its way to the Victoria Hall ? The same may be said of Becon's great marble figure of Lord Cornwallis in the ground floor of the same building, a masterpiece that is now strangely out of place amid dusty records and scribbling clerks. If the Town Hall be, as alleged, condemned, there are other portraits and busts that might very well be transferred to the new building, There are the pictures of Her Majesty Queen Victoria herself and the Prince Consort which I believed that she presented to the Town of Calcutta. There are portraits of LordsClive and Lake now hanging on dark corners of the staircase of Dr. Duff and Dwarkanath Tagore. There are busts of James Prinsep and the Duke of Wellington. In the High Court are two pictures of Sir Elijah Impey, one by Kettie, the other by Zoffany. Perhaps the learned Judges might spare us one. The Asiatic Society, whom I am addressing te-

night in their plethora of treasures, possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder, Sir William Jones. They might like to diffuse his name. Similarly they own portraits of four Governors-General, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, which are now only seen by a few scores of persons, and which they might be willing to place on loan for the edification of a larger public. I may next turn to the building in which I am now speaking, and which was originally erected with very much the same object, *viz.*, a National Valhalla, as the new Hall which we are about to raise. I do not think that any one will claim that it has quite succeeded in vindicating its initial claim. Lord Dalhousie's Statue, which I see opposite me, originally belonged to Government House, and surrendered by Sir John Lawrence to this building, after its completion in 1866. Separate funds were raised for the commemoration of Havelock and Nicholson and resulted in the busts of those two great men that we see before us. Chantrey's beautiful statue of Lord Hastings which stands in the entrace by which we all came in, has nothing to do with this building at all for the portico in which it was placed was raised in Lord Amherst's time to hold the statue and the Dalhousie Institute was subsequently tacked on behind it. It will, I think, be generally conceded that all these memorials will find a more appropriate and a more worthy home in the Victoria Hall. I may carry the same line of argument and illustration further. We have three busts of Sir T. Metcalfe in the Metcalfe Hall. Having bought the place for Government, I shall be very glad to hand over one of them to the Victoria Hall. Metcalfe, the founder of a Free Press in India, ought to be commemorated there. Perhaps, too, we may appeal, for some friendly assistance

to the Bar Library. There, I believe, are to be found, unless they have already perished, 14 volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the hand-writing of Mr. Justice Hyde. There is his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nuncomar, and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person I believe that there is also in the High Court the original bond given by Bolagi Das to Nuncomar, which was pronounced a forgery at the trial. Speaking of Warren Hastings, I have been told that some years ago, and I dare say still, unless they have been devoured by white ants, there were contained in the Collector's Office at Chittagong, of all places in the world, quite a number of official documents in the writing of that great man and bearing his signature, with those of Francis Barwell, Clavering, and Monson. Similar documents are, I doubt not, to be found in the almirahs or cupboards of many a district officer throughout the country and could, with a little search, be recovered from an oblivion which in a climate such as this is sooner or later synonymous with total destruction. I noticed a short time ago a cry of pain from a Madras paper at the idea that I might be going to indent upon Madras for the letters of Sir Thomas Munro. Well and how does Madras show its reverence for that most interesting correspondence? By allowing it to repose in a dingy cupboard in the Collector's Office at Salem. I have no desire to rob any place, or any society, or any individual, of that which may be dear to them. But I submit that we should at least treat Sir Thomas Munro better, for it would be difficult to treat him worse, than his own Presidency has done.

I have said enough, I think, to indicate that in this country, in record-rooms, in offices, and in kutcherries will be found a plentiful mine of documentary richness. From the

Imperial Library, and from the Foreign Office here we may be able to make a substantial contribution. Appeals in the newspapers will doubtless bring to our knowledge the existence of many objects at present lost to the public view. In England I should make similar appeals. The India Office might be willing to restore to us some of the objects belonging to the old East India Company which are in their possession, or to present us with copies or duplicates. I would myself undertake to write to the families or descendants or living representatives of the remarkable men whom we may desire to commemorate. Learned Societies might be willing to contribute something to us from their abundance. Finally, there is perpetually passing through the hands of the London dealers and auctioneers a stream of interesting memorials of the Anglo-Indian past, which attract no notice because they do not belong to celebrated collections, or because their owners are not known to fame, but upon which a careful watch might be kept by experts, appointed for the purpose.

I entertain no shadow of a doubt that within ten years of the date upon which the doors of the Victoria Hall are opened there will, unless there be some grave inexplicable relapse in public interest or in competent supervision in the interim, be collected therein an exhibition that will be the pride of all India, and that will attract visitors to this place from all parts of the World. I should add that if sufficient means are forthcoming, I would certainly propose adequately to endow the building, so that a sum may be annually available for adding to the contents, and maintaining them at a high standard of excellence.

I have now, I trust, said enough to show both what the Victoria Hall will be, and what it will not be. It will not be

museum of antiquities, filled with undeciphered inscriptions and bronze idols and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum, stocked with samples of grains, and timbers, and manufactures. It will not be an art museum, crowded with metal ware of every description, with muslins, and kinkobs, and silks, with pottery, and lacquer ware, and Kashmir shawls. It will not be a geological, or ethnographical, or anthropological or architectural museum. All these objects are served by existing institutions; and I do not want to compete with or to denude any such fabric. The central idea of the Victoria Hall is that it should be a Historical Museum, a national Gallery and that alone, and that it should exist not for the advertisement of the present, but for the commemoration of that which is honourable and glorious in the past. Neither is it proposed to constitute the Victoria Hall, even while retaining its character as a Historical Gallery, a museum a representative of all countries. We could not possibly collect the materials; many of them would not survive the Indian climate, and the result would be an indescribable medley, which would merely confuse instead of informing and stimulating the senses. It is, I think, essential that the art, the science, the literature, the history, the men, the events which are therein commemorated must be those of India and of Great Britain in India alone. That is the whole pith and marrow of the idea and I venture to think that it would be most unwise to depart from it.

I must remove another misconception. Enquiries have been addressed to me as to whether there might not be incorporated with thia building a magnificent Imperial Library, where there should be collected all the notable works, in whatever language that have been written about

India, or that have been composed in the Indian vernaculars. The authors of these enquiries are perhaps unaware that I have already provided for this object. For nearly two years ago the negotiations have been proceeding for the acquisition of the Metcalfe Hall and its library by the Government. They are now on the verge of a happy termination We propose to renovate and redecorate that handsome building; to transfer to it the whole of the Imperial Library at present deposited in the Home Department of the Government of India; and to present it with an endowment sufficient to enable it within no very lengthy space of time, to become a really representative collection of the literature that I have mentioned. We have obtained, through the good offices of the Home Government, the services of a most competent Librarian from the British Museum, and I hope, before I leave India, to have converted the Metcalfe Hall into a miniature edition of the Library and Reading Room in that great institution, a place which shall be the heaven of Indian and Anglo-Indian scholars, and the nursery of writers and students. There is obviously, therefore, no need for adding a Library to the Victoria Hall.

There is, however, one feature that might, I think, not improperly be included in the building. Like most structures of a similar character in Europe, it should probably possess a really fine hall, distinct from the hall that is especially dedicated to the Queen. Such a hall might be used for the Chapters of the Indian Orders, for a great durbar, or for any other ceremonial function, An organ might be placed at one end for concerts and choral performances Upon occasions it might supply a meeting ground for the public, much in the same way as the Banqueting Hall is used at Madrás.

As time passes on, benefactors might adorn this Hall with pictures or frescoes, and with the statues of princes and great men. I may add that in the future I hope that the leading Chiefs may be seen at Calcutta more frequently than in the past. I have for some time been in negotiation for the purchase of Hasting's House, the old country residence of Warren Hastings, at Alipore; and if this transaction be satisfactorily concluded I propose to utilise the house which is a fine building, quite apart from its historical associations, for the occasional entertainment of the princes, who are always so lavish in their hospitality to the Viceroy as the guests of the Government of India in Calcutta.

A few details only remain to be noticed. It is too early as yet to speak about the style of a building, when the money has not yet been subscribed with which it is to be raised. That will have to be settled, as will most of the other points that I have raised, by a representative Committee later on. There will probably, however, be general agreement that it should be built of the best and most solid material, white marble for choice, and that it must be so constructed as to resist the deteriorating influences of a tropical climate. There must be unity of design in the plan, but scope must be left for later generations to add to the original structure should the occasion arise. It has already been announced that it is proposed to inscribe in a prominent place in the building the names of all subscribers of ½ lakh and upwards. When the collection has been made, cheap but full guide-books will be prepared both in English and in the vernacular, so as to tell the visitor where to go, and what it is that he is about to see. Finally the surrounding space will be converted into

a beautiful garden, which, with due regard to the flower beds and lawns, should be accessible to all, and will be a joy and delight to the town.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is the scheme of the Victoria Hall, as it presents itself to me, assisted by the able advice of the numerous authorities and scholars whom I have consulted. I hope to have shown you that it will not be a merely sentimental creation, but that it will have a most utilitarian aspect as well. There is no more practical or business-like emotion than patriotism. I believe that this building will give to all who enter it, whether English or Indians, a pride in their country, in addition to reminding them of the veneration that all alike entertain for the great Sovereign in whose honour it was built. I believe that it will teach more history and better history than a study-full of books. I believe that it will appeal to the poor people just as directly as to the rich and that they will wander, wondering perhaps, but interested and receptive, through its halls. Lastly, I believe that it will do much to bind together the two races whom Providence, for its mysterious ends, has associated in the administration of this great Empire, and whose fusion has been so immeasurably enhanced by the example, the wisdom and the influence of Queen Victoria.

I will only add that I shall be most happy now or in the future to receive any communication or suggestions from any who may have useful light to throw upon the realisation of the scheme upon which we have embarked.

SPEECH AT THE GUILDHALL.

[The following is the text of Lord Curzon's speech at the Guildhall]:—

MY Lord Mayor, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen—Let me begin by thanking the Chamberlain very warmly for his kind reference to Lady Curzon. Though, as he remarked not officially present here to-day, she is yet in this hall to hear the courteous things that he said about her, and with which, in reference to the assistance she has rendered to me and to the work that she has done in India, I venture cordially to associate myself. (Cheers). My Lord Mayor, I do not suppose that there is any honour which a public man can value more highly than the freedom of the City of London. No fee can purchase it, no conqueror can claim it as his own; it is the free gift of the Corporation of the greatest city in the world, and it has the added dignity of the associations that accompany it, and the memory of the illustrious names with which each fresh recipient is proud to find his own enrolled. (Cheers.) But, my Lord Mayor, the honour seems to me to carry an especial grace when it is conferred upon those servants of the Crown who have been serving their country in distant parts, for it shows them that in their absence they have not been altogether forgotten, and that those of you who are at the heart of the Empire are not indifferent to what is passing on the outskirts. (Cheers.) By a law which was designed for different times, and which, in my opinion, is now obsolete, no Viceroy of India can leave India, whatever the urgency, public or private, without vacating his office and so it is that a man may be absent, as I have been, from

his country for an unbroken period of five and a-half years without sight or sound of home. During his long exile the weight and isolation of his great post tell heavily upon time. Fatigue of body and spirit often weigh him down; the volume of the work that he has to discharge is such as no man who has not undertaken it can well imagine. You may judge therefore, my Lord Mayor,—what a reward I had almost said,—what a tonic to body and soul is such reception as this to such a man (cheers); how his heart was within him at the sympathetic recognition of his countrymen, and when fresh courage and spirit are infused into him to go forth again and renew his task. Mr Lord Mayor, the City Chamberlain in his speech has drawn an appreciative and flattering picture of some of the aspects of the Administration with which I have been concerned. If I detected in some of his remarks the too generous partiality of one old Etonian for another (cheers), I am yet conscious of the service that he has rendered to India by drawing the attention of this representative assemblage to some features in our recent administration.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

May I also take advantage of the present opportunity to say a few words to my countrymen about that great charge—the greatest that is anywhere borne by the English people, nay, more, in my judgment, the most onerous and the most impressive that has ever rested upon the shoulders of a conquering and a civilised race? I sometimes think that the most remarkable thing about British rule in India is the general ignorance that prevails about it in England. (Laughter). Seventy years ago Lord Macaulay said, in his great speech about the Government of India, that a broken

head in Coldbath Fields produced a greater sensation amongst us than three pitched battles in India (Laughter.) Twenty years later Lord Dalhousie, that great pro-Consul, wrote that nothing short of a great victory or a great defeat in India created in English society the faintest interest in Indian affairs. If these are the tests of English interest in India, then my lords, any such service as it may have been in my power to render must be, indeed, unknown. But I think that things have somewhat advanced since those days. Communications have greatly improved between the two countries; postal and telegraphic charges have been cheapened; more cold-weather visitors come out to us in India every year; and there is always an intelligent minority of persons here who follow, with the utmost interest, everything that goes on there. Yet, in its main essentials, the indictment still remains true, and you have only got to look to the morning newspapers, with rare exceptions—and there are exceptions, for instance, I was delighted to see, only a day or two ago, that the *Times* has announced its intention of recommencing the series of periodical articles upon India which those of us who are interested in that country used to read with so much delight in by-gone days—I say, you have only to look to the newspapers to see that, with rare exceptions, the average Englishman is much more interested in the latest football or cricket match, in a motor trial, or in a wrestling encounter, than he is in the greatest responsibility that has been undertaken by his fellow-countrymen on the face of the earth. (Cheers). Even if he looks abroad he sees more and hears more about the 11,000,000 who inhabit the Colonies than he does about the 300,000,000 who inhabit India. In the happiness of our insular detachment, or in the pride of racial expansion, he forgets that the greatest consti-

tuent of the Empire in scale and in importance lies neither in these islands, nor in the Colonies, but in your great Asiatic dependency. (Cheers.) It is true, my lords and gentlemen, that for this ignorance and want of proportion on his part there is abundant excuse. Here are our own people; this is the hearthstone of the Empire and the nursery of this race; these islands must always be our first concern; even the Colonies are, in a sense, only one stage more distant, because they are peopled by our own kith and kin. India, on the other hand, is very remote and very unintelligible, and the average Englishman, if only he bears nothing about it from day to day, is apt to think that matters must be going on sufficiently well. My lords and gentlemen, I have always ventured to hold a different idea about British rule in India. To me it is the greatest thing that the English people have done, or are doing now; it is the supreme touchstone of national duty.

OUR INDIAN RECORD.

If the nations of the earth were to stand up to be judged by some supreme tribunal I think that upon our European record, or upon our colonial record, we should survive the test. But if there were the slightest hesitation on the part of the judge or jury I would not hesitate to throw our Indian record into the scales. (Cheers). For where else in the world, my lords and gentlemen, has a race gone forth and subdued, not a country nor a kingdom, but a continent, and that continent not peopled by savage tribes, but by races with traditions and a civilisation older than our own (hear, hear); with a history not inferior to ours in dignity or romance, subduing them not to the law of the sword, but to the rule of justice (cheers), bringing peace and order and

good Government to nearly one-fifth of the entire human race, and ruling them with so mild a restraint that the rulers are the merest handful amongst the ruled, a tiny speck of white foam upon the dark and thunderous ocean? (Cheers) I hope I am no rhapsodist, but I will say that I would as soon be a citizen of the country that has wrought this deed than I would be of the country that defeated the Armada, or produced Hampden or Pitt. (Cheers). But we all live in a severely practical age, and I can afford to be rather more concrete in my illustrations. I should like to convey to this audience some idea of the part India is capable of playing, nay, of the part that it has recently played in the Imperial burden. (Cheers). As I say, my illustrations shall be drawn from recent history and from my own experience. Two of them have been mentioned by the City Chamberlain in his speech. If you want to save your colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it (cheers); if you want to rescue the white men's Legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you ask the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and Indian Generals are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling-stations of the Empire, in Mauritius, Singapore, Hongkong, even Tientsin or Shan-haikwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway in Uganda or in the Sudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he turned to me for assistance. (Cheers). It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations

equally of Demerara and Natal; it is with Indian trained Officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile (laughter and cheers): it is with Indian Forest Officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam, with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth. Speaking before an audience such as this, I should wish, if I had time, my Lord Mayor, also to demonstrate to this great assemblage that, in my opinion, India is a country where much greater openings for the investment of capital would lie in the future than has been hitherto the case, and where a great future of industrial and commercial exploitation lies before us. Then, again, how familiar we are in recent times with the argument that India is the vulnerable point of the Empire. And assuredly it is true that if we were engaged in a great international war—which God forbid—it is not at Dover nor London that one, at any rate, of your possible antagonists would strike. He would not bombard Quebec or land a force in Sydney Harbour. It is in Asia that the pressure would be applied; it is your Indian frontier that would bear the brunt. It is there or thereabouts, that in all probability the future of your dominion might be decided. There is an old proverb which says, "He that England fain would win, must with Ireland first begin." I have always thought that this was rather a dubious compliment to our brothers across St. George's Channel, but I suppose it alludes to the times when the foreign invader who had aggressive intentions upon us used to begin his invasion in that quarter. At all events, if you were now to substitute "India" for "Ireland" in the refrain, I do not think you would be so very far from the mark. (Hear hear). I hope I have said enough therefore, my lords and gentlemen (cries of "Go on")—I only meant at this stage of my observations (laughter)— to show you that you cannot

afford to leave India out of your calculations. She is as important to you as you are beneficial to her, (Here, here). In the world politics of the future, believe me, India will play an increasing part, and a time will come when in our reformed Board Schools free from any friction or annoyance, the average English boy will require to know more about India than he does now (hear,hear), will require to know as much about India as he does now about Marathon or Waterloo. Of course, I grant, my Lord Mayor, that the features of government in the two countries are entirely different. And perhaps this is the main cause of the ignorance and misconception to which I have referred.

ENGLISH AND INDIAN PROBLEMS.

We have in India good many of the problems that you have here but they are magnified almost beyond recognition by the complexity of the factors and the immensity of the scale. We also have our own factors, to which in the tranquil uniformity of life in these islands, you are fortunately strangers. You have not the perpetual and harassing anxiety of a land frontier 5,700 miles in length, peopled by hundreds of different tribes, most of them inured to religious fanaticism and hereditary rapine. A single outbreak at a single point might set entire sections of that frontier ablaze. Then, beyond it, we are brought into direct contact with the picturesque but perilous stability of native States and independent, or quasi-independent, Native States, some of them incurably diseased, hastening to their fall; and behind them, again, are the muffled figures of great European Powers, advancing nearer and nearer, and some of them finding in the conditions temptations to action not in strict accordance with the interest that we are bound to defend. (Hear hear). That, my Lord

Mayor, is the external problem of India. Then if we look within, whereas you in England have a population that is relatively homogeneous, we have to deal in India with races that are as different from each other as the Esquimaux is from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk (laughter), with creeds that range between the extreme points of the basest animalism on the one hand, and the most exalted metaphysics on the other; with standards of life that cover the whole space between barbarism and civilisation. You have here an aristocracy that is drawn from the pepole, and that goes back to it. Our aristocracy in India consists of native chiefs of diverse races, many of them as much aliens to the people as we ourselves, presenting every variety of *status* and privilege, from the magnificent potentates that you sometimes see in this country to the pettiest landed proprietor. You hardly know here what the phrase "land revenue" means. In India it is the be-all and end-all of millions of population, and it is the mainspring of our internal administration. In England your railways are built, managed, and financed by private enterprise: in India they are one of the chief charges of Government. I remember that it fell to me, as Viceroy, to issue orders, on my own responsibility, as to the better accommodation for native passengers in third-class carriages. Here, in England, your education problem, as any Parliamentarian present will bear me out, is thorny enough; but it is as nothing compared with ours in India, where we are trying to graft the science of the west on to an eastern stem; where we have to deal with religious differences compared with which all your sectarian animosities almost sink into the shade; where we have chaos of languages and stages of mental organisation that extend, as I remarked, from the transcendentalist to the savage.

Then, here in England you do not know what famine is. My Lord Mayor, I thank the Chamberlain for the remarks he made on that subject in his address. It is quite true I had to administer in India the greatest famine that has ever befallen that country in modern times within the range to which it applied, and I can assure you that it is an experience that will wring blood from a stone. You have your sunshine and storms, your drought and your floods here in this country, but you do not know the appalling possibilities that are summed up in the single word "monsoon," and which spell the difference in India between life and death to areas in any one of which the whole of the United Kingdom might be swallowed up. You have your suffering and destitution, but you have not such an appalling visitor as the plague—the plague now in its seventh year in India defying analysis, defeating the utmost efforts of medical skill and the administrative energy, inscrutable in origin, merciless in its ravages, sweeping off, as our records show, very often thousands in a day and tens of thousands in a week, then, above all, your public men in England have not before them the haunting question that is always before us in India, like a riddle of the Sphinx—what is in the heart of all those sombre millions, whither are we leading them, what is it all to come to, where the goal? Such, my Lord Mayor, are some of the superficial differences between the problem of government in India and in England. They are, I think, sufficient to show you that those who are charged with the government of that great dependency can seldom have a careless moment or an idle hour. They are weighed down with anxiety, an almost overpowering responsibility and with unending toil. But I can assure you that every one of them, from the Governor-General down to the latest-joined Civilian, is proud

of the duty, and resolved to do justice to it (cheers); and when the Commander is called up and praised a thrill runs down the ranks, and encourages the latest-joined private in the lines. (Cheers).

REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Sir Joseph Dimsdale said something about the character of the work in which we have been engaged during the past five years. My Lord Mayor, it has been a work of reform and reconstruction. Epochs arise in the history of every country when the administrative machinery requires to be taken to pieces and overhauled and readjusted to the altered necessities and growing demands of the hour. The engines are not working to their scheduled capacity, the Engineers are perhaps slack. I agree with those who inscribe on their administrative banners the motto "Efficiency." (Hear hear). But my conception of efficiency is to practise as well as to preach it. (Cheers). It is with this object that we have conducted an enquiry in India into every branch of the administration. First we began with the departments themselves, the offices of Government, revising the conditions under which they work, freeing them from the impediments of excessive writing with its consequences of strangulation of all initiative and dilatoriness in action. Then we proceeded to enquire into every branch of the Government in turn; we endeavoured to frame a plague policy which should not do violence to the instincts and sentiments of the native population; a famine policy which should profit by the experience of the past and put us in a position to cope with the next visitation when unhappily it bursts upon us; an education policy which should free the intellectual activities of the Indian people, so keen and restless as they are, from the paralysing clutch of examinations; a railway policy that should provide

administratively and financially for the great extension that we believe to lie before us; an irrigation policy that should utilise to the *maximum*, whether remuneratively or unremuneratively all the available water resources of India, not merely in canals —I almost think we have reached the end there—but in tanks and reservoirs and wells; a Police policy that will raise the standard of almost the only emblem of authority that the majority of the people see, and will free them from petty tyranny and oppression. (Cheers). It is impossible to satisfy all classes in India or elsewhere. There are some people who clamour for boons which it is impossible to give, but the administrator looks rather to the silent and inarticulate masses and if he can raise even by a little the level of material comfort and well-being in their lives he has earned his reward. (Cheers). I am glad that our finances in India put us in the position to give the people the first reduction of taxation that they have enjoyed for twenty years. (Cheers). We have endeavoured to render the land revenue more equitable in its incidence, to lift the load of usury from the shoulders of the peasant, and to check that reckless alienation from the soil which in many parts of the country was fast converting him from a free proprietor to a bond slave. (Hear, hear). We have done our best to encourage industries which little by little will relieve the congested field of agriculture, develop the indigenous resources of India, and gradually make that country more and more self-providing in the future. I would not indulge in any boast, but I venture to think as the result of these efforts I can point to an India that is more prosperous, more contented, and more hopeful, (Cheers). Wealth is increasing in India. There is no test you can apply which does not demonstrate it. Trade is growing. Evidences of progress and prosperity

are multiplying on every side. Six years ago, just before I left England, a Committee of experts were sitting in London to provide us in India with that which is the first condition of economic finance—that is, a sound currency policy. I thank Sir Henry Fowler, the Chairman of the Committee, and the authorities co-operating with him, for the great services they rendered to India. Profiting by their labours we have introduced there a gold standard and established fixity of exchange, and we seem to have put an end to the fitful and demoralising vagaries of the silver rupee. (Cheers).

INDIAN LOYALTY.

But I think I can point to more satisfactory symptoms still. I believe there to be a steady and growing advance in the loyalty of the Indian people. (Cheers). When the late Queen Victoria died there was an outburst of sorrow throughout India almost equal to anything that you could see here in England. A little later on when the present King succeeded and we celebrated his coronation at Delhi, there was a similar display of national feeling, not at Delhi alone, but in every village and hamlet throughout that great continent. I know it has been the fashion in some quarters to deride that great ceremony at Delhi as a vast and unprofitable display. My Lord Mayor, if we spent about as much, and I do not think we spent more, in crowning the Emperor of 300,000,000 as you spent here in crowning the King of 42,000,000, I do not consider that we need reproach ourselves very much for what we did. (Cheers). But we did much more than that; already the people of India knew and revered the Prince of Wales because they had seen him. We brought home to them at Delhi that that Prince was now their ruler and that in his rule were their security and salvation. (Cheers). We touched their hearts with the idea of a common

sentiment and a common aim. Depend upon it, you will never rule the East except from the heart and the moment imagination has gone out of your Asiatic policy your Empire will dwindle and decay.

THE RULE OF NATIVE PRINCES.

There is another respect in which India has been advancing by leaps and bounds and on which I should like to say a brief word. In the point to which I am about to refer I doubt if India would be recognised by those who knew it a generation ago. The British public knows that about one fourth or one fifth of the population there is under the rule of native Princes and chiefs, though subject, of course, in all essentials to the British Parliament. There are many hundreds of these chiefs all included, but the most important of them number less than 100. In this country you know all about their ancient lineage, their customs and courts, the loyalty that they exhibit to the Crown. But it has sometimes been the fashion here to regard them as picturesque experiences from the dull uniformity of Indian life, to look upon them as survivals of an obsolete era without any practical utility and sometimes sunk in selfishness and lethargy. My Lords, that is not my idea of the Indian Princes. I have always been a devoted believer of the continued existence of the native States in India, and an ardent well-wisher of the native Princes, but I believe in them not as relics, but as rulers (cheers), not as puppets, but as living factors in the administration. I want them to share the responsibilities as well as the glories of British rule. Therefore it is that I have ventured to preach to them the gospel of duty of common service in the interests of the Empire, of a high and strenuous life. (Hear, hear). But you cannot expect them

to attain these standards unless you give them an adequate education, and therefore it is that in consultation with them we have revised the entire curriculum of the Chiefs' colleges in India, which have been set up for their instruction, and if you thus train and educate them you must give them an object and a career. It is for this reason that, by permission of His Majesty the King, I founded that institution known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, where we give military education to the pick of the Indian aristocracy, and which will eventuate as time goes on, in granting for the first time commissions as British Officers to Indian chiefs, nobles, and gentlemen, (Cheers). My Lords and gentlemen, that is a policy of trust, but I am confident that it will be repaid, for already the Princes of India are giving to our efforts the response that might be expected of their nobility of character and their high traditions. They are coming forward in response to our appeals, They welcome, and do not resent these changes, and we are gradually, may I think, we are quickly, creating there the spectacle of a throne surrounded by feudatories who, not only render military service, but who also vie with it in administrative energy and devotion to the welfare of their people. (Cheers), My Lords and gentlemen, I ought not to conclude these remarks without saying a word about another and a wider aspect of our policy—the problem of frontier defence. (Hear, hear). It is not necessary for me to sing the praises of the Indian Army. The Indian Army has written its name on the map not only of India, but of the British Empire. It is writing its name in the windy passes of Tibet at this moment. Army reform is very much in the air, and I can assure you that in India we are not free from the contagion. We are doing our best there in respect of equipment, organisation, and armament, and in readi-

ness to mobilise and facilities of communication to carry out the lessons of the most recent science and the most recent experience. And since as we have been told, you have banished to India our modern Hercules, we are not letting him rest, but are utilising him in the execution of labours every whit as important as those on which he might be engaged here.

TIBET AND THE FRONTIER QUESTION.

We have had a period of almost unbroken peace for six years on that stormy frontier of India, which looks towards the North-West and Afghanistan, and I think the reason is this—that, abandoning old and stale controversies, we have hit upon a policy in India that is both forward and backward—forward in so far as we hold up to our treaty frontier neither minimising nor shirking obligations, backward in so far as we do not court a policy of expansion or adventure, but depend rather on a policy of co-operation and conciliation than one of coercion or subjugation of the tribes. I do not prophesy about the future. No man who has read a page of Indian history will ever prophesy about the frontier. We shall doubtless have trouble there again. Turbulence and fanaticism ferment in the blood of those races, but we have given you peace for a longer period than you have enjoyed at any time during the last thirty years, and I believe that slowly and surely we are building up the fabric of local security and contentment on the frontier. But I am not sure that some student of public affairs will not interpolate at this moment the question—What, then, are you doing in Tibet, and how do you reconcile that with the policy of peace and conciliation that you have described? My Lord Mayor, the instruments of Government often cannot

speak their own mind, and my lips are tied by obligations which you will be the first to recognise. (Hear, hear). At the same time, as the recent head of the Government of India, I may perhaps say a word. If we shrink in India from expeditions, and if we culminate a policy of adventure, we had not the slightest hesitation or doubt in recommending the policy that we did to the Government. We felt that we could not afford any longer ,with due regard to our interests and prestige on that section of the frontier, to acquiesce in a policy of unprovoked insults endured with almost unexampled patience at the hands of the Tibetan Government ever since they, and not we—please remember this ever since they, and not we—assumed the aggressive, and first invaded British territory eighteen years ago (cheers), and still less did we think that we could acquiesce in this treatment at a time when the young and perverse ruler of Tibet, who it seems to me has shown himself to be the evil genius of his people, was refusing to hold any communication with us even to receive letters from the representatives of the British Sovereign, at the same time that he was conducting communications with another Great Power situated, not at his doors, but at a great distance away, and was courting its protection. I was sent to India, amongst other objects to guard the frontier of India and I have done it (Cheers). I was not sent to India to let a hostile danger and menace grow up just beyond our gates and I have done my best to prevent it. (Cheers). There are people so full of knowledge at home that they assure us that all these fears are illusory and that we could with dignity and prudence have gone on turning our other cheek to the Tibetan smiter. (Laughter). These fears were not illusory. The danger was imminent and real. Perhaps the frontier states

may be taken to know something about it and if we have as we never had before, the frontier states of Bhutan, Nepaul, and Sikkim all supporting our action and deploring the folly and obstinacy of the Tibetan Government, there must be strong *prima facie* ground that we are not entirely mistaken in our policy. (Cheers). No one regrets more than myself the fighting with innocent people or the slaughter of ill-armed but courageous men. I should have liked to carry it through without firing a shot, and we did our best to do so. Months were spent in the sincere but futile effort to avoid it, but only the meanest knowledge of the frontier required to know that it is not vacillation that produces respect, and that the longer you hesitate and falter the severer is the reckoning you have to pay. I hope that as the result of these operations we shall be able to introduce some measure of enlightenment into that miserable and monk-ridden country, and without adding to our own responsibilities which the Government are without the least wish to extend, we shall be able to ward off the source of political unrest and intrigue on this section of our border and gradually build up, as I believe it to be in our power to do, harmonious relations between the people of that country and ourselves. My lords and gentlemen, these have been the main incidents of the policy of the Government in India during the last six years.

BASIS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

There is only one other feature of the situation to which I wish to allude, if you will bear with me, because it is in one sense the most important of all. I have been talking to-day about the acts and symptoms of British rule in India. What is its basis? It is not military force. It is not civil authority. It is not prestige, though all these are part of it. If our rule

is to last in India it must rest on a more solid basis. It must depend on the eternal moralities of righteousness and justice (Cheers). This I can assure you is not a mere phrase of the conventicle. The matter is too serious on the lips of a Governor-General of India for cant. Unless we can persuade the millions of India that we will give to them absolute justice as between man and man, equality before the law, freedom from tyranny and injustice and oppression, then your Empire will not touch their hearts and will fade away. (Hear, hear). No one is more ready to admit than I that if you put side by side the rulers of the European races and the rulers of the Asiatic races, and particularly the Indian and the English, where you have a small minority face to face with a vast alien conglomeration you cannot expect to have complete coalescence. On the one side you have pride of race, the duty of self-protection, consciousness of power; on the other you have struggling sentiments and stifled aspirations. But, my Lord Mayor, a bridge must be built between the two, and on that bridge justice must stand with unerring scale. (Cheers). Harshness, oppression, ill-usage, all these in India are offences, not only against the higher law, but against the honor and reputation of the ruling race. I am as strong a believer as any man in the prestige of my countrymen, but that prestige does not require artificial supports, it rests upon conduct and conduct alone. My precept in this respect does not differ from my practice. (Hear, hear.) During the time I have been in India the Government have taken a strong stand for the fair treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects, who are equal with us in the eyes of God and the law. (Cheers). I rejoice to say that the conduct of Englishmen in general in India towards the Indians is exemplary, even in trying and provocative

circumstances ; but where exceptions occur I think the sentiment of the majority should be as quick to condemn them as is with conduct and that the Government, which is above race or party, against whom any injustice is a reproach or a slur, should receive the unhesitating support of the entire community. (Cheers). That is the policy which the Government has pursued in my time, and by my conduct, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, I am willing to be judged. (Cheers). I will now bring these remarks to close. It is seventeen years since I first visited India ; it is fourteen years since I first had the honour of being connected with its administration. India was the first love, and throughout all that time it has been the main love of my political life. (Cheers). I have given to it some of my best years. Perhaps I may be privileged to give it yet more. (Loud cheers). But no man could do this unless he saw before India a large vision or were himself inspired with a fuller hope. If our Empire were to end to-morrow, I do not think that we need be ashamed of its epitaph. (Cheers). It would have done its duty to India, justified its mission to mankind. But it is not going to end. (Cheers). It is not a moribund organism. It is still in its youth and has in it the vitality of an unexhausted purpose. I am not with the pessimists in this matter. I am not of those who think we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and West which the roaring tides of Asia will sweep away presently. I do not think our work is over or drawing to an end. (Cheers). On the contrary, as the years roll by, the sky seems to me more clear, the duty more imperative, the work more majestic, the goal more sublime. (Cheers). I believe we have it in our power to will the people of India into a unity beyond anything they have dreamed of and to give them blessings beyond those they yet enjoy,

(Cheers). Let no man admit the craven fear that those who have won India cannot hold it, or that we have only made India to our own or its own making. That is not the true reading of history. That is not my forecast of the future. (Hear, hear). To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure. (Cheers). I thank you, my lords and gentlemen, for the encouragement that has been given by the citizens through me to those engaged in this great and noble undertaking, and I shall go forth again refreshed and reinvigorated by your sympathy. (Lord cheers).

LUNCHEON AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

Following the ceremony at the Guildhall, the Lord Mayor entertained a distinguished company at the Mansion House at luncheon to meet Lord Curzon "on his admission to the freedom of the City of London."

LETTER FROM MR. BALFOUR.

After the loyal toasts had been honoured, the Lord Mayor read the following letter from Mr. Balfour, remarking that he received it an hour and a half previously :—

My Dear Lord Mayor,—The House of Commons is still sitting, and seems likely to sit, (Laughter). Under these circumstances, to my profound regret, I am unable to take part in a ceremony to which I had been greatly looking forward. I had two motives in desiring to be present at the first ceremonial, which is, I suppose, while I am writing actually taking place. One of these was my lifelong affection for your distinguished guest (cheers), the other was my great admiration for the genius and energy with which he has administered the highest and most responsible post outside

the United Kingdom which his country can confer. (Cheers). I much wished to give expression at the Mansion-house to both these sentiments, but as hard necessity makes this impossible I hope you will, at all events, consent to read this letter to your guests. (Cheers).

SPEECH AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

In the course of his reply to the toast of his health Lord Curzon said:—

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

MY Lord Mayor,—I detect only one omission in your remarks, and it has reminded me of a still greater omissionin the speech I made in the Guildhall this morning. When any assemblage of Englishmen meet together to extol the manner in which India is governed, do not let them forget the men by whom it is governed. This is the more necessary, because owing to the conditions of their work the majority of them are unknown at Home. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, a few high officials more or less fill the public eye and earn praise for the work which is done by others. Sometimes, it is true, they are criticised for acts on the part of their subordinates of which they have never even heard, but the names of many high Officers have been written on cairns that other men have raised. And who, if I may pursue the subject for a moment, are these men of whom I speak? They are drawn from every part of the country and every rank of society. They are typical of the best of the British race and of British life. Some of them are the pick of your Universities. Others take to India names that have already been borne in that country by generations before them. Accident, no doubt, takes some into the Civil Service, hereditary associations take others, but I

believe that it is the Englishman's passion for responsibility, his zest for action in a large field that is the ruling motive with most. And I think that they are right, for in India initiative is hourly born. There great deeds are const antly being done, there is room for fruition, there is a horizon for Resolution. (Cheers). I do not mean to say that it is not at Home, but to one coming back from a long service abroad those considerations are less patent to the eye. In the Guildhall this morning I saw men who had administered provinces with a population double that of the United Kingdom, with a population, India excluded, half again as great as that of the whole British Empire. I have myself served with colleague s in India any one of whom would have been entitled to a place in the Imperial Cabinet, any one of whom would have risen to high place in any Government in the world. It is true that names of these men are not on the lips of their countrymen—their faces are unknown—but allow me to say for them on this rare occasion when I have the opportunity of speaking that they are the real Empire-builders, for in the sweat of their brow have they laid the foundations of which you in England only see the fair and glittering superstructure as it rears its head into the sky. (Cheers).

ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY OF ENGLISHMEN.

I sometimes think that in the catalogue of our national virtues we hardly lay sufficient stress upon the enormous administrative ability of the English race—I speak of ability as distinguished from the moral ingredients of character and courage, which are the more obvious elements of success; and yet, in all parts of the Empire, more especially in India, we have an amount of administrative ability which could not be purchased for millions of pounds sterling, and which is the envy of every other Empire-possessing nation in

the world. They are perhaps not known at Home. Their services are only known to those under whom they work, but on an occasion like this, when the head of their service has the opportunity of speaking for them, he would do injustice to his own feelings and injustice to their service if he did not say a word on their behalf. (Cheers). I hope that in what I have just said I have not given the impression that I think the service of these men is unrecognised at Home. I do not believe there is any deliberate lack of interest or want of pride in their work. It rather arises from the Englishman's familiar indifference to the great things he is doing on the face of the earth and his fussy and parochial agitation about the small things. ("Hear, hear" and laughter). If I may keep you a moment longer, there is one other aspect of the work of the Civil Service in India to which I should like to refer. I spoke this morning about the magnitude of the undertaking; let me add a word about the industry it entails. I sometimes hear people at Home speak about the members of the Indian Civil Service as though they were persons who had little else to do in India but perspire. (Laughter). At least, that is their idea about the men who live and work in the plains, and as for those happy ones, including myself, who go up to Simla or the hill stations, we are regarded as happy denizens of places where a mild frivolity alternates with an almost Olympian repose. That is not my experience of any seat of Government in India, whatever its altitude. I remember reading a story of two great Frenchmen—I believe they were M. Littre, the great lexicographer, and M. Dumas, the novelist. They are said at one time to have occupied the same residence and to have kept such different hours of work that when one of them was going upstairs in the early morning after completing the labours of the night

he used to meet the other coming downstairs to commence the work of the day. (Laughter). I do not say that we have reached that point in India—Consule Planco—but there are many among the admirable Officers by whom I have been served who would not find it very startling.

THE MEN OF THE PLAINS.

While we are speaking about service in India let me add one word about the men on the plains. I do not think any man ought to make a speech about India without remembering the men on the plains. All through the heat of the summer, when the earth is like iron and the skies are like brass, when during the greater part of the day every chink and crevice must be closed to keep out the ravening air, these men and their wives with them—for Englishwomen in India are just as capable of devotion and heroism as are their husbands (cheers)—these men and women remain at their posts devoted and uncomplaining. They sometimes remind me rather of the men who are engaged in the engine room of a great man-of war ; there they are stocking the furnace while the great ship is being manoeuvred and the big guns are thundering overhead, sometimes they go down with the vessel without ever having seen the battle or the fighting ; but if their commander wins the victory up they come, begrimmed with smoke, to take their share in the rejoicing. My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, these are the real organisers of victory and never let any man think of the service of his son or brother or relative in India without turning a thought to the men and women on the plains. (Cheers). Such, my Lord Mayor, is the character and such is the work of the men with whom it has been my privilege to co-operate during the last five and a half busy years. We

have been living in strenuous times in India. I have heard it whispered that they have been too strenuous for some, but from the members of the Civil Service during the whole of this time I should never have learnt that fact. Though the work of reconstruction and reform which I was speaking about in the Guildhall this morning is one which must have imposed a heavy strain on their energies, I have never from any one of them, young or old, high or low, heard one murmur of protest or complaint. You will pardon me if I refer to this fact on the present occasion, and if I say that in accepting the compliment you have offered to me I think much more of them. It is on their behalf more than on my own that I gratefully acknowledge the gracious words you have spoken, and thank you for the manner in which you have proposed my health. (Loud cheers).

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS, 1905.

[The Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University was held in the presence of a very large gathering, Lord Curzon presiding as Chancellor, and Sir Andrew Fraser as Rector, occupying chairs on either side. The usual proceedings of degree-giving were gone through formally. His Excellency the Chancellor, who, on rising, was received with cheers, then spoke as follows]:—

I do not propose to address you to-day upon purely educational topics. I have often inflicted them upon previous Convocations. I would like to turn aside for half-an hour from those dusty fields and to talk to you about something, which is even more personal to the undergraduate body; namely, yourselves and the work that lies before you.

The majority of you are about to do what I remember so well doing myself, though it is now rather a long time ago; namely, to gather up the advantages of such education as you have received, and with this bundle on your back to start forth on the big road which we call life. What will it mean to you? And what are its lessons? I do not pretend to know what lies in the mind of Young India, or even of that small section of it which I am now addressing. A difference of race carries with it a difference of ideas. The currents of the East and West may flow between the same banks, as I believe it is their destiny to do for long generations to come, but they never absolutely commingle. And I daresay, when I try to put myself in your place and to see what is in your minds, I altogether fail to succeed. I am confident, sometimes, that it is so when I have observed the obscure meanings attached by Indian commentators to what has seemed to me to be simple and true. Conversely, I am quite sure that the Englishman often fails to understand what the Asiatic mind has been pondering over and is led, perhaps by exaggeration of language, thinking that there was a corresponding extravagance of thought, whereas there may have been none at all. These are the dangers common to all of us, who walk to and fro on the misty arch that spans the gulf between the East and the West, but there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity, irrespective of country or race. These are of universal application, and, among this class, there are some that are peculiarly applicable to the Indian situation and the Indian character. In the contemplation of these we are on common ground; and it is to them that I wish to call your attention this afternoon. Place in the front rank of these principles truthfulness. There are scores

of people who pride themselves on never telling a falsehood but who are yet habitually false—false to others, and, what is worse, false to themselves. Untruthfulness consists in saying or doing anything that gives an erroneous impression either of one's own character or of other people's conduct or of the facts and incidents of life. We all succumb to this, It is the most subtle of temptations. Men who make speeches; men who plead cases; men who write articles in the newspapers: men who are engaged in business; even the ordinary talker at a dinner table; each of us, for the sake of some petty advantage or momentary triumph, is tempted to transgress. The degree of non-truth is so slight, that it does not seem to amount to untruth. We salve our conscience by thinking that it was a pardonable exaggeration. But the habit grows. Deviation from truth slides by imperceptible degrees into falsehood, and the man, who begins by crediting himself with a fertile imagination, merges by imperceptible degrees into a finished liar. But an even commoner form of untruth is the unspoken untruth, the doing something which conscience condemns as not quite straight, but for which the reason is always finding something as an excuse. Those who encourage this tendency end by becoming two human beings in the same form like the Doctor Jekyll and the Mr. Hyde of Stevenson's story. Perhaps, the guilty man prides himself on being complex. He is really corrupt and, one day, he wakes up to find that he can no longer resume the good habit, but must remain the base or distorted deformity for ever. I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest idea of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful. Still less, do

I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But, undoubtedly, truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West, before it had been similarly honoured in the East where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common inuendo that lurks in the words "oriental diplomacy," by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental Literature. In your Epics, truth will often be extolled as a virtue but quite as often it is attended with some qualification and, very often, praise is given to successful deception, practised with an honest aim. I remember reading in an Indian newspaper the following paragraph:—There is not a question but that lying is looked upon with much more disfavour by Europeans than by the native society. The English opinions on this subject are strong, distinct and uncompromising in the abstract. Hindu and Mahomedan opinions are fluctuating, vague, and to a great extent dependent upon times, places and persons." Now, the commonest forms which are taken by untruth in this country seem to me to be the following:—The first is exaggeration, particularly in language—the tendency to speak or write things which the speaker or writer does not believe or which are more than he believes, for the sake of colouring the picture or producing an effect. It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences, or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputation flourish in an unusual degree. There is a thing which we call in English "a mare's nest", by which we mean a pure figment of the imagination, something so preposterous as to be unthinkable. Yet, I know no country where

mare's nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed, until it is officially denied; Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are excelled as heroes; political opponents are branded as malefactors; immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance. The writer, no doubt, did not mean to lie, but the habit of exaggeration has laid such firm hold of him that he is like a man who has taken too much drink, and who sees two things where there is only one, or something where there is nothing. As he writes in hyperbole, so he tends to think in hyperbole, and he ends by becoming blind to the truth. There are two particularly insidious manifestations of this tendency against which you ought to be on your guard. The first is flattery; and the second is vituperation. Flattery is much more than compliment in an extravagant form. It is often a deliberate attempt to deceive to get something out of some one else by playing upon the commonest foible of human nature. We all like to be praised, and the majority like to be flattered. A commonplace man enjoys being told that he is a great man; a fluent speaker, that he is an orator; a petty agitator, that he is a leader of men. The vice is actually encouraged by that which is one of the most attractive traits of the Indian character; namely, its warmth of heart. A man has a natural inclination to please, and so he glides into flattery. And flattery is only a few steps removed from sycophancy, which is a dangerous form of untruth. Flattery may be either honest or dishonest. Whichever it be, you should avoid it. If it is the former, it is nevertheless false. If it is the latter, it is vile. But I think that, in India, the danger of the opposite extreme is greater still. I speak of the slander and

vilification of those with whom you do not happen to agree. I do not wish to be tempted this afternoon into anything that might be thought to have a political bearing, for it would not be proper to this Convocation. I will only say, therefore, that to many true friends of India, among whom I count myself, the most distressing symptom of the day is the degree to which abuse is entering into public controversy in this country. It is a bad thing for any State, if difference of opinion cannot exist without inuendo and persecution, and if the vocabulary of the nation is trained to invective. Authority will never be won by those who daily preach that authority exists only to be reviled. National happiness cannot spring from a root of bitterness, and national existence cannot grow in an atmosphere of strife. I would like to urge on all of you, young men, when you go forth into the world, to avoid this most dangerous of all temptations. Respect your opponents and do not calumniate them. Believe in the good intentions of others rather than the bad, and remember that the self-government, to which you aspire, means not only the privilege of assisting to govern but also the preliminary capacity of governing yourselves. Therefore, I come back to my original point. Do not exaggerate; do not impute; but turn naturally to truth as the magnet flies to the pole. It is better to be believed by one human being for respect of the truth than to be applauded for successful falsehood by a thousand. By truth, you will mount upwards as individuals and as a nation. In proportion as you depart from it, you will stagnate or recede.

Then, my second word of advice is this. Try to form an independent judgment. The curse of our day is the dependence on others for thought and decision of every description,

and the multiplication of machines for relieving a man of the necessity of independent opinion. The lowest and commenest of these machines is what school-boys call a key, that is a book in which they are saved the trouble of thinking for themselves by finding the work done for them by somebody else. The highest form is the article in the daily newspaper or the magazine, which relieves you from thinking about the politics or events of the day, by supplying you with the thoughts of another. Advance in civilisation multiplies these instruments of selfish convenience. For an anna, or less, a man can purchase his opinions just as he purchases his food or his clothing. Of course, books and the Press do much more. They spread knowledge and stimulate intelligence, and, without them, we should sink back into brute beasts. I am only speaking of their questionable side. For the paradox is also a truth that, while they encourage intellectual activity, they are also sometimes an indirect incentive to intellectual torpor. Of course this is truer of newspapers, which represent an ephemeral form of literature than it is of books which are often immortal. We all of us get into the habit of reading our favourite journal, and cherish the belief, that we are thinking, while we are really only browsing on the thoughts of others. Sometimes, our anonymous mentor is a very wise man and we do not go far astray. Sometimes he is the reverse and we err in his company. But the great danger of second-hand thought is, not merely that it is not original but that its tendency is to be one-sided, and, therefore, unfair. The common instinct of mankind is to take a side. It is the survival of the old era of combat, when each man had to fight for himself and his family or clan. From youth upwards we find ourselves taking a side in the rivalries of School and College life, and

in many ways these rivalries develop the keener instincts and the finer side of human nature. But the mind ought only to take a side as the result of a mental process. If we have examined the two sides of a case and are convinced that the one is right and the other wrong, or that one is more right than the other, by all means adopt and adhere to it. But to make your decision and to shape your conduct simply because a writer in a book or a newspaper has said it, whether it be right or wrong, is not thought, but very often an abnegation of thought. It is putting the authority of the mind in commission, and setting up some other authority, of which you perhaps know nothing, in the judgment-seat. So I say to you, young men, that the first duty of a student, that is of a man who has studied, is mental independence. Strike out a line of thought for yourselves; form your own judgment; do not merely listen to the thinking of the old bell-wether, who leads the flock, but stand on your own feet; walk on your own legs; look with your own eyes. This does not mean, of course, that you can afford to be self-opinionated or conceited or obstinate. Nothing is more offensive than arrogance or license in youth. You remember the famous sarcasm of the Cambridge tutor at the expense of a youthful colleague, "we are none of us infallible, not even the youngest"; but the excess of a virtue merges easily into vice, and no-where more easily than in the case of freedom. Freedom involves, not the absence of all restraint but liberty within the limits of a reasonable self-restraint. Otherwise, as history teaches us, freedom usually degenerates into license, license into disorder and disorder into chaos. Goethe, the German poet-philosopher, used to say that only in Law can the spirit of man be free. So it is, and just as Law is the condition of independence of spirit,

so are moderation and respect for others the condition of independence of judgment. This combination of qualities should come naturally to the phi losophic Hindu. He should cultivate independence of mind and thought and action, but his great introspective power s hould save him from degenerating into intellectual self-sufficiency or insolence.

There is another tyranny, which I think that you ought to avoid and that is the absurd and puerile tyranny of words. It is not the most fluent nations in the world who have done the most in history. Every nation and every time have their orators, and they are the secular teachers and apostles of their day. But when every body talks, then as a rule few act; and, when the talkers talk too much and too often, then finally, nobody pays any heed, and the impression gets abroad that they are incapable of action. When I read the proceedings of the Conferences and meetings that are always going on in all parts of India, I am far from deprecating the intellectual ferment to which this bears witness, and I am not sure that it is not a direct imitation of English practice. But I sometimes think that, if fewer resolutions were passed and a little more resolution was shown—resolution to grapple with the facts of life, to toil and labour for your country instead of merely shouting for it—the progress of India would be more rapid. Eloquence on the platform is very much like soda-water in a bottle after the cork has been removed. For, in a little time, all the sparkle has gone. Moreover, eloquence no more regenerates nations than soda-water gives fibre and strength to the constitution. Now, in India, there are two sets of people—the reticent and the eloquent. I daresay you know to which class the people in this part of the country belong. I am sometimes lost in admiration at the facility

with which they speak in a foregin language and I envy the accomplishment. All I say to you is, do not presume upon this talent, do not believe that the man who can mske a speech is necessarily a statesman ; do not let your fluency run away with your powers of thought ; above all, do not think that speech is ever a substitute for action. The man, who in his village or his town devotes himself to the interests of his fellow-countrymen and by example and by effort improves their lot, is a greater benefactor than the hero of a hundred platforms.

There is a further piece of advice that I should like to give you. Strive, to the best of your ability, to create a healthy public opinion in your surroundings. Public opinion in India cannot, for a long time, be the opinion of the public—that is, of the masses—because, they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all. In these circumstances, public opinion tends to be the opinion of the educated minority ; but, if it is to have weight, it must be co-ordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community who are perhaps hardly capable of formulating an opinion of their own. Nothing can be more unfortunate than a divorce of gulf between the two. If what is called public opinion is merely the opinion of a class, however genuine, it can never have the weight of the opinion of the masses, because like all class feelings, it is necessarily interested. Of course, in India, it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is really representative, because there are so many different classes whose interests do not always coincide ; for instance, the English and the Indians, the Hindus and the Mahomedans, the officials and the non-officials, the agriculturists and the industrialists. But, I

think, that the great work that lies before educated India in the near future is the creation of public opinion that shall be as far as possible representative of all the interests that lie outside of Government. If we take the native element alone, it would be an immense advantage to the Government to have a public opinion that was representative of Native sentiment generally; not of one section or fraction of it. For, public opinion is both a stimulus to Government and a check. It encourages energy and it prevents mistakes. But, if it is to have this vivifying and steadying influence, then it must be public and not sectional; temperate and not violent; suggestive and not merely hostile. Surely, this must be patent to all. We have all of us frequently seen a manufactured public opinion in India which was barren and ineffective, because it merely represented the partisan views of a clique and was little more than noise and foam. In my view, the real work that lies before Indian patriots has the suppression of the sectional and the elevation of the national in the life of the people; and I think, that any educated young man can contribute to that end by the exercise of personal influence, and the balance of judgment. It is always a bad symptom when there is one public opinion that is vocal and noisy and another that is subdued and silent. For the former assumes a prerogative that it does not deserve, while the latter does not exert the influence to which it is entitled. The true criteria of a public opinion, that is to have weight are, that it should be representative of many interests; that it should be two or more sided, instead of only one; and that it should treat Government as a power to be influenced, not as an enemy to be abused. Some day, I hope, that this will come, and there is not one amongst you who cannot contribute to that consummation.

The last question that I put to myself and to you is this —What scope is there for you in the life of your country? In my opinion, there is much. When I hear it said, that India is a conquered nation and that Indians are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, I smile at the extravagance; but I am also pained at the imputation, when I see High Court Judges, some of them in this Hall; Ministers of Native States wielding immense powers; high executive and judicial officers in our own service; leaders of thought and ornaments of the Bar; professors and men of science; poets and novelists; the nobility of birth and the nobility of learning. I do not say that every Indian corporal carries a field-marshal's baton in his knapsack. For the prizes come to the few. But I say, that none need complain that the doors are shut. To all of you, who have the ambition to rise, I would say:—Use your student days to study the history and circumstances of your race. Study its literature and the literature of Europe, and particularly of the country whose fate is bound up with your own. Compare the two. See what are their lessons or their warnings. Then, equip yourselves with a genuine and manly love for your own people. I do not mean the per-fervid nationalism of the platform but the self-sacrificing ardour of the true patriot. Make a careful diagnosis; not only of how you can get on yourselves, but how you can help your countrymen to prosper. Avoid the tyranny of faction and the poison of racial bitterness. Do not arm yourselves against phantasms, but fight against the real enemies to the welfare of your people, which are backwardness and ignorance and antiquated social prescriptions. Look for your ideals not in the air of heaven but in the lives and duties of men. Learn that the true salvation of India will not come from without but must be created within. It

will not be given you by enactments of the British Parliament, or of any Parliament at all. It will not be won by political controversy. And, most certainly, it will not be won by rhetoric.

It will be achieved by the increase of the moral and social advance of your people themselves, deserving that which they claim, and by their deserts making stronger the case for more. To you all, therefore, I say, look up, not down ; look forward, not backward ; look to your own country first and foremost and do not waste time in whistling for the moon. Be true Indians—that is the promoting of your Nationality ; but while doing so, strive also to be true citizens of the Empire. For circumstances have thrown you into a larger mould than that of race, and have swept you into the tides that direct the world. As Nationality is larger than Race, so is Empire larger than Nationality, Race weakens and gets overlaid in the passage of time and gives place to broader conceptions. For instance, in India, see the claim constantly made, that a man is not merely a Bengali or an Uriya or a Maratha or a Sikh, but a member of the Indian Nation. I do not think it can yet be said that there is any Indian Nation, though, in the distant future, some approach to it may be evolved. However that may be, the Indian is most certainly a citizen of the British Empire. To that larger unit he already belongs. How to adjust Race to Nationality and how to reconcile Nationality with Empire, that is the work which will occupy the British rulers of this country for many a long year to come. I am one of those who believe, that it can be accomplished without detriment to Race or Nationality and with safety to the Empire. I want the Indian people to play their part in this great achievement and to share the results. (Loud cheers).

1905 BUDGET SPEECH.

[The following is the speech made by His Excellency Lord Curzon in the course of the debate on the Budget Statements in March 1905 in the Supreme Legislative council]:—

I should like to congratulate my Hon'ble colleague Mr. Baker upon the reception accorded to his first Budget. He has assumed charge of his important office in a year which is the culminating point, up to date, of the process of financial recovery that has been proceeding uninterruptedly for the past six years and whose origin may be traced back still further to the foresight and prudence of Sir David Barbour and Lord Lansdowne six years earlier.

A CYCLE OF PROSPERITY.

I do not mean to say that a point has been reached from which we shall now decline. There is not, so far as I can see, the slightest ground for anticipating any such consequence. But the closer budgeting that has been employed in drawing up the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the next year, the narrower margins that have been left, and the heavy and increasing calls that we have accepted for the ensuing years in carrying out our great measures of administrative reform and Military reorganisation, render it unlikely that my Hon'ble friend will always be able to count upon similar surpluses even if an unlucky change of wind does not drive him sooner or later into the financial doldrums. Of course, the most satisfactory feature of the Budget has been that Mr. Baker has been able at one and the same time, to provide the means for a great increase in administrative outlay and for a reduction in the burdens of the people. That is the dream of the fortunate financier

which all cherish but few realise. I remember saying in the Budget debate a year ago that it would perhaps be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time but that if I were not so fortunate I should hope to bequeath the opportunity to my successor. That successor has turned out to be myself and I suppose that I may therefore congratulate myself if not on my fore-cast at least upon my good fortune. But in these remarks I must not be taken to assume the smallest credit for the surpluses that have been obtained year after year for the past six years. The head of the Government may, by the manner in which he conducts the affairs of the country at large and its foreign affairs in particular, exercise a considerable influence upon the scale of expenditure during his term of office. But apart from the general sense of confidence present in or absent from his Administration, he cannot exercise much effect upon the revenue. Whether the price of opium per chest goes up and down, whether the Railway returns are more or less, whether the Customs Revenue expands or recedes, whether the Land Revenue is stationary or shrinks, depends in the main upon circumstances outside of his control. I always think it therefore a very absurd thing to give credit to any individual for what is really the result of outside circumstances and of any speaker at a public meeting who wished to denounce the head of the Government were to do so by denying him all credit for the receipts of his Finance Minister, I should be the first to vote for the motion.

THE APPLICATION OF THE SURPLUSES.

But after all, surpluses are surpluses and the case is not the same when it comes to disposing of them. I cannot, therefore, go so far as to agree with the critic

who wrote the other day "unfortunately for our country, its revenues have somehow or other been leaving surpluses year after year since the beginning of His Excellency's rule." I wonder whether this critic would have preferred a succession of annual deficits. One can imagine what he would have said of the Viceroy in such a case. It is in the disposal of surpluses that, in my opinion, the responsibility of the head of the Government does most definitely come in. It is one of the first of his functions in consultation with the Finance Minister and his colleagues, to consider the fair and equal distribution of the bounty which good fortune may have placed in their hands.

I have found no more pleasing duty than this during the past six years, and in acting as we have done, it is no vain boast to say that we have proceeded throughout upon definite principles and on what seemed to us to be logical lines. My view has always been that as the revenue of this country comes in the main from the people of the country it is to the people that the disposable surplus, if there be one, should return. And who are the people of whom I speak? They are the patient, dumb millions, toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of Budgets, but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence. It is to them that my heart goes out. They are the real backbone of our economic prosperity. They give us nearly twenty millions per annum in Land Revenue alone or about one-fourth of our entire receipts. And alongside of them are the artisan, the petty trader, the small shopkeeper, the minor official, the professional man of humble means, numerically much smaller than the cultivating classes but representing different and very important sections of the population—all relatively poor and all entitled to some return when the

State has the wherewithal to give. Hon'ble Members can scarcely realise how anxiously, year by year, we have considered the claims of all these classes and have endeavoured to apportion the relief equitably between them.

A sufficient illustration may perhaps be found in the present Budget. What is the tax that touches all classes down to the very humblest? It is the Salt Tax, and therefore, we have brought it down to the lowest figure that it has reached since the Mutiny, certain that we have long passed the point at which the middlemen can absorb the reduction and that it must now filter down to the poorest strata of society. We thereby sacrifice nearly 1¼ millions per annum, in addition to the million sterling per annum that we surrendered when first we reduced the tax two years ago. A gift of 2¼ millions a year is one that even with a population of this enormous size is not to be despised.

Then, if we go on to ask what are the administrative needs that most affect the lower orders of the people in India, will not the reply at once be forth coming—a purer, better paid and more efficient Police, superior opportunities for lifting themselves in the world by education, both in the rural and urban districts, the application of modern science and discovery to the one great staple industry by which the vast majority of them live, namely Agriculture, and provision for all those local needs in the shape of communications, sanitation and hygiene, &c., which mean the difference between comfort and destitution, health and disease, contentment and suffering to millions of our fellow-citizens? And if for these purposes we have surrendered on the present occasion more than another million sterling per annum, will any one either grudge the existence of the surplus, to start with, or the manner in which we have disposed of it? I daresay that there

are other forms of relief which others would have preferred. In previous years we have benefited some of the classes who have now been left out. Who knows but that Mr. Baker may have a good turn to do to others some day later on?

THE INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

Speaking generally, however, my impression surveying the entire field of Indian taxation, as I draw near to the end of my time, is, that though there may be other taxes which we should like to lighten and which certain classes of the community would perhaps like to see lightened still more, there is no tax at present imposed in India which can fairly be called burdensome or oppressive, either because it takes out of a class more than they can reasonably pay or because it cripples a trade or an industry. I think there are very few even among the most advanced countries in the world of which such a statement could be made with equal truth. Perhaps however as I have alluded to the present year as the culminating point in an era of financial progress, and as I have been discussing the means of remitting to the people the surplus product of their own industry, I may take the opportunity of pointing out to the Council what is the full measure of financial relief that the Government of India have been fortunate enough to afford to the taxpayer. Since the period of surpluses began with the first budget that I heard expounded at this table in 1899, the bounty of one year is apt to be swept out of sight by that of another and totals are hardly realised until they are put before us in the naked reality of figures.

FINANCIAL RELIEF IN LATE YEARS.

I would divide the benefactions which have been made since 1899 under the following heads, and, of course, I only include in them those measures of relief which have been

given outside of the ordinary expenditure of Government and out of the surpluses which we have obtained. In remission of taxation we shall have given in the seven years including the financial year for which we are now providing, a total sum of Rs. 7¾ crores or over £5 millions. In special remissions of Land Revenue and of interest and capital of loans in both cases in connection with famine, we shall have given over Rs. 3 crores or £2 millions. For increased expenditure upon Education, quite apart from the ordinary Imperial and Provincial Grants, we shall have given over Rs. 2 crores or £1,400,000 in grants. For expenditure on purposes of Local administrative amelioration, such as roads, bridges, water-supply, hospitals, and dispensaries, sanitation, &c., we shall have given over Rs. 4½ crores or £3 millions. Minor grants for special purposes such as the Rs. 50 lakhs which are still waiting to be spent on the scheme for improving the congested parts of this great city, a scheme which in broad outlines has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, amount to nearly Rs. 1¼ crores or £800,000. The total sum, part of it non-recurring but the greater part of it to be continued year by year, that has been given back in my time to the people of India in the form of relief of taxation and other benefactions amount to over Rs. 19½ crores or £ 13 millions. I present these figures to Hon'ble Members as indications of the finance of what we sometimes hear described, though the remark does not appear to find an echo within this Chamber, as a reactionary *regime*. I am willing to let the figures speak for themselves, but there is a famous passage in a speech that was delivered in the House of Commons in 1858 that might be quoted also, " Where was there a bad Government whose finances were in good order, where was there a really good Government whose finances were in a bad order? Is

there a better test; in the long run of the condition of a people and the merits of a Government than the state of its finances?" That speech was delivered with direct reference to the Government of India, and the speaker was John Bright. In my speeches in these Budget debates, I have been in the habit from year to year of indulging in what, in the phraseology of trade, is called stocktaking and of taking the public into the confidence of Government as to the administrative responsibilities which we had assumed or hoped to carry out. In my earlier years these remarks had necessarily to be couched in the future tense and many were the criticisms that were then passed upon abortive enquiries and over-ambitious programmes. We do not hear so much of these now. Next year, if I am spared till then, will be my last Budget debate and it will then perhaps fall to me to review the entire field of work and to show where we have achieved our purpose and where we have failed.

THE VICEROY'S REFORM SCHEMES.

I remember writing to Prime Minister who appointed me, that seven years would be required for the task, unless it proved too much for the labourer's strength. I have sometimes wondered whether the onlookers ever weigh the latter consideration. We all look at the progress of the cart and observe with shrill cries whether it is sticking in the ruts or getting on; but few spare a thought for the horse until perhaps it staggers and drops between the shafts and then, why then another animal is brought to take its place. The first twelve reforms which I foreshadowed in 1899 are, I am glad to say, now accomplished. The next twelve have been carried also; and in the remaining year, I hope we may carry to completion the third dozen also. When I speak of accom-

plishment and completion, I do not, of course, mean to suggest that there is or can be any finality in administrative work. It goes on like the seasons, and from each oak as it is planted, fresh acorns fall. But there after all is the tree, a living and sprouting stem, a unit in the forest to be reckoned up and perhaps also to gain in value as the time goes on. For instance, an institution like the North-west Frontier Province, which has admirably answered its purpose and has so far falsified all the predictions of its enemies, is a realised fact which no one is in the least degree likely to change and which might give food for reflection to some who denounce the shifting of provincial boundaries as though it were a crime and an evil instead of being, as it is capable of being if wisely and opportunely carried out, a very considerable blessing. I have no more to say about the accomplished reforms on the present occasion and even in what I have said I hope that no trace of false exaltation has crept in. Reforms in India may sometimes require an external impulse to start them, but they are the work of hundreds of agencies, some important and others obscure and well do I know that nothing could be achieved were it not for the co-operation of colleagues to work with whom has been a six years' delight for the wise counsel and cheerful industry of hundreds of faithful fellow-workers in all parts of the country, as well also, and I gladly make the admission, for the sometimes embarassing but often stimulating influence of public opinion.

FAMINE ADMINISTRATION AND AGRICULTURE.

To-day I propose to confine my attention to such items of our programme as have been pushed several stages further towards completion during the past twelve months, and which,

I hope, will be finally and firmly grounded before the year is over. Hon'ble Members will recollect that in the year 1899-1900 we had the last great Indian famine. That visitation must have left an indelible impression upon every one who was brought into close contact with it, whether in relation to its effect upon the physical condition and sufferings of the people or to the economic position of the country as a whole. I have often stated my conviction that it will not be the last Indian famine. We compete and struggle with Nature, we may prepare for her worst assaults and we may reduce their violence when delivered some day perhaps when our railway system has overspread the entire Indian continent, when water storage and irrigation are even further ceveloped, when we have raised the general level of social comfort and prosperity, and when advancing civilisation has diffused the lessons of thrift in domestic expenditure and greater self-reliance and self-control we shall obtain the mastery, but that will not be yet. In the meantime, the duty of the Government has been to profit to the full by the lessons of the latest calamity, and to take such precautionary steps over the whole field of possible action as to prepare ourselves to combat the next. It was for this purpose that we appointed the Famine Commission under that most expert of administrators, Sir Antony MacDonnell, in 1901. Nearly four years have elapsed since then, and the general public has perhaps almost forgotten the fact, but the intervening period has not been spent in idleness. There is no branch of the subject of famine relief, famine administration, and, still more, famine prevention, which has not been diligently ransacked and explored, and there is no portion of the recommendations submitted to us by the able Chairman and his lieutenants which has not been discussed with Local Governments and

been already made, or, if not, is about to be made, the subject of definite orders. Instructions were first issued explaining the principles of famine relief as deduced from the experiences of the latest famine and the findings of the Commission. Then came a revision of the existing Famine Codes in each Province, for the conditions and the practice vary to a considerable extent. This has been a work of great labour. It is now all but complete, but the value of these revised and co-ordinated Codes will only be seen when the next struggle comes. Then they will be found to provide the armament with which each Local Government in India will fight the battle. The next stage was when the Irrigation Commission investigated the existing programmes of relief works throughout India and submitted recommendations for their improvement and maintenance. These also are in course of being carried out and special establishments have been sanctioned for the purpose. Then there was a group of separate recommendations made by the Famine Commission which they included under the head "Protective," in the final part of their Report. These were, in some respects, the most important of all, for they related to the broad measures of state policy demanding either executive or legislative action on the part of the Supreme Government. I must say a few words about some of these. One of them, the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the Bombay Presidency, still remains to be dealt with. A second, namely, the degree and nature of Government aid by means of loans to agriculturists, has also been treated by the irrigation Commission and is about to form the subject of a communication to the Local Governments in which suggestions are made for rendering the present system more simple liberal and elastic. A third, namely agricultural develop-

ment, has been made the subject of a separate speech by one of my Hon'ble colleagues, Sir Denzil Ibbetson this afternoon. It would be superfluous for me to follow in his footsteps. Good fortune has presented us simultaneously with certain advantages for taking up this too long neglected branch of our duties in the last few years. Firstly, we have had the funds which our predecessors had not. Hon'ble Members have noted with particular approval the special grant of Rs. 20 lakhs which we have given for the purpose in the present Budget and which is only the precursor, as we hope, of larger sums to follow. Then we have had for the last five years a Finance Minister in Sir Edward Law who took the warmest interest in agricultural development, and, I believe, derived more sincere pleasure from a successful agricultural experiment, than he did from the yield of any impost; and finally, we have had in the Hon'ble Member for the revenue and agricultural Department, a perfect master of his subject, whose profound knowledge of the cultivating classes, had added both a warm appreciation of their needs and a statesmanlike grasp of large ideas. The stone which I am to lay at Pusa in two days' time will, I hope, be the foundation stone not only of a fabric worthy of its object, but also of a policy of agricultural development henceforward to be pursued systematically, in good years and bad years alike, by the Government of India ; so that a time may one day arrive when people will say that India is looking after her greatest living industry, as well, let us say, as she is now looking after her greatest inherited treasure, *viz*., her ancient monuments. There are two other objects which were recommended by the Famine Commission.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

The first of these was the institution of Co-operative Credit Societies, sometimes less correctly styled Agricultural Banks. Several Hon'ble Members now at this table will remember our legislation of last year by which we provided for the foundation of such Societies. There was no remark more frequently made in the course of the discussion or more obvious in its truism than that any steps in this direction must be slow and experimental and that quick returns or striking results could not be expected. In many parts the spirit of co-operative institution can be built upon it. There is also a great deal of elementary preaching or what an English statesman once called "Spade work" to be done before substantial results can be expected but we have not been idle during the year. Specially selected officers have been appointed as Registrars of Co-operative Societies in the six main Provinces and they are now engaged in spreading a knowledge of the principles among the cultivating classes. The various concessions made by the Government of India in order to lend encouragement, concessions in respect of income tax, stamp duty, registration fees, and Government loans have all been notified and are in operation. Three Provinces have framed their rules under the Act. In four Provinces Societies have already begun to be registered. Madras and the Panjab having taken the lead in addition to these there is a much larger number of Societies started but not yet actually on the register. Here the United Provinces which initiated the experiment in Sir A MacDonnell's time and which now possess 150 Societies, are to the fore. Even in such distant Provinces as Assam and Burma, we hear of great interest being displayed and of applications being received. The statistical result is too immature to admit of

weathers, finally reported in April, 1903. I wonder how many of the Hon'ble Members whom I am now addressing and still more how many of the outside public have read their Report. To me the first part of it which relates to general considerations is infinitely more interesting than a novel, for it deals not with the hypothetical problems of human character but with the positive agencies that affect the growth and decline of human life and it bases conclusions, dramatic in their sweep, upon premises of scientific precision. By slow but sure degrees, ever since we have been assimilating and taking action upon that Report and our final views and orders upon it will shortly see the light. As this is the last occasion which I shall ever speak at any length upon this subject in India let me summarise the situation as it now stands. There are two classes of irrigation in this country : State irrigation or works constructed or maintained by the State and private irrigation conducted by communities of individuals largely by means of wells. I am here only concerned with the former, I need not before an Indian audience, expatiate upon the distinction so familiar in our Reports and Budget Statements, between "Major" and "Minor" works, "productive" and "protective" works. Major works are either productive in which case we find the money for them out of surplus revenue or from loans, or protective in which case we provide for them from the annual Famine Insurance Grant of Rs. 1½ crores; the distinction between "productive" and "protective" being that the former are expected to prove remunerative though they have not always been so; while the latter are not expected to be remunerative at all. In other words productive works are, or may be, protective also, but protective works are not expected to be productive. Minor works are those which we undertake entirely out of the revenue of the

year. Now let me see what our outlay upon all these works up till the present hour has been and what the property thus created represents. The Government of India have spent in all Rs. 46½ crores or £31 millions upon State irrigation works in all the above classes. With it they have dug nearly 50,000 miles of canals and distributaries. They have irrigated an area of 21½ million acres out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres and they derive from it a net revenue of Rs. 2,700,000 per annum or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. If we capitalise the net revenue on capital revenue at 25 years' purchase we obtain a total of 67½ millions sterling or considerably more than double the capital outlay. These figures are an indication of what has already been done. Next what are we going to do or what are we capable of doing? In my first year in India I went to see the Chenab canal in the Punjab which had been finished a few years earlier. At that time it irrigated 1,000,000 acres; it now irrigates 2,000,000. At that time it had cost £1½ millions, there have now been spent upon it 2 millions. At that time it supported a population of 200,000 persons; the population is now over 1,000,000 and this huge aggregate is diffused over an expanse now waving with corn and grain that but a few years ago was a forsaken waste. Since then we have completed the Jhelum Canal, which already irrigates 300,000 acres and will irrigate three quarters of a million. Everywhere these lands, once waste and desolate, are being given out to colonisation and the Punjab Province, if it lost the doubtful prestige of the Frontier with its disturbing problems and its warring tribes, has gained instead the solid asset of a contented and peaceful peasantry that will yearly swell its resources and enhance its importance. Then you have heard of

quotation, but I have said enough to show that Government having planted their seed do not mean to let it perish from want of nurture. None of us can say whether it will develop into a healthy plant but every chance shall be given to it.

LAND REVENUE REMISSIONS.

The next matter to which I referred is one in which I have taken the keenest interest during my time in India since it touches the marrowbone of that agricultural class of which I was speaking a little while back—I mean elasticity in Land Revenue collection and greater liberality in the suspension and remission of the fixed demand in times of distress whether local or widespread. The Famine Commission dealt with this and also laid it down among the principles to be adopted as accepted canons of Government in our Land Revenue Resolution of January 1902. But something more was required than the mere statement of an orthodox principle and we have since been engaged in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Local Governments to the elaboration of its operation with results that will shortly be published. Already a fluctuating assessment *i.e.*, a demand that is capable of being varied from year to year is accepted in practice by most Local Governments and is applied to precarious tracts. What I am now referring to is elasticity in collection, *i.e.*, an allowance for exceptionally bad seasons by the suspension or remission of payment due. This is an act of remission, of compassion on the part of the State, but it is compassion in a form little distinguished from justice, for it relates to cases and seasons in which the cultivator cannot pay his fixed demand, because the crops which he has reaped barely suffice for his own sustenance and where, if he is called upon to pay it, he can only do so by plunging deeper into debt. In such a case, rigidity of

collection is not only a hardship but an injustice. It is to avoid such consequences and at the same time to escape the opposite extreme of laxity in collection and the consequent demoralisation of the people that we are about to lay down the principles underlying this method of relief.

IRRIGATION SCHEMES.

I next turn to irrigation. It is five years since I last alluded at any length to this subject in a Budget debate. I then discussed the possibilities of irrigational expansion that seemed to lie before us in India, and speaking upon the authority of my expert advisers I indicated the limits physical rather than financial, that appeared to exist to such expansion and answered the popular misapprehension that because India is a land of great rivers and heavy rains, it is, therefore, possible to capture all that surplus water and to utilise it either for the extension of cultivation or for the prevention of famine. After that came the famine of 1900, and, as a sequel to the famine, it seemed to me that this matter, so vital to the future of India, should be re-examined by the very highest authorities whom we could find visiting every part of the country examining into local conditions, programmes and needs, approaching the matter from the point of view of protection against famine rather than of remunerative investment of State funds and presenting us with an authoritative pronouncement upon the capabilities for further irrigation of the whole of British India and of the India and of the extent of the obligation both in State irrigation and in the encouragement of private enterprise which Government might legitimately assume. That was the genesis of the Commission presided over by Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, which was appointed in the autumn of 1901, and which, after an investigation that extended over two cold

weathers, finally reported in April, 1903. I wonder how many of the Hon'ble Members whom I am now addressing and still more how many of the outside public have read their Report. To me the first part of it which relates to general considerations is infinitely more interesting than a novel, for it deals not with the hypothetical problems of human character but with the positive agencies that affect the growth and decline of human life and it bases conclusions, dramatic in their sweep, upon premises of scientific precision. By slow but sure degrees, ever since we have been assimilating and taking action upon that Report and our final views and orders upon it will shortly see the light. As this is the last occasion which I shall ever speak at any length upon this subject in India let me summarise the situation as it now stands. There are two classes of irrigation in this country: State irrigation or works constructed or maintained by the State and private irrigation conducted by communities of individuals largely by means of wells. I am here only concerned with the former, I need not before an Indian audience, expatiate upon the distinction so familiar in our Reports and Budget Statements, between "Major" and "Minor" works, "productive" and "protective" works. Major works are either productive in which case we find the money for them out of surplus revenue or from loans, or protective in which case we provide for them from the annual Famine Insurance Grant of Rs. 1½ crores; the distinction between "productive" and "protective" being that the former are expected to prove remunerative though they have not always been so; while the latter are not expected to be remunerative at all. In other words productive works are, or may be, protective also, but protective works are not expected to be productive. Minor works are those which we undertake entirely out of the revenue of the

year. Now let me see what our outlay upon all these works up till the present hour has been and what the property thus created represents. The Government of India have spent in all Rs. 46½ crores or £31 millions upon State irrigation works in all the above classes. With it they have dug nearly 50,000 miles of canals and distributaries. They have irrigated an area of 21½ million acres out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres and they derive from it a net revenue of Rs. 2,700,000 per annum or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. If we capitalise the net revenue on capital revenue at 25 years' purchase we obtain a total of 67½ millions sterling or considerably more than double the capital outlay. These figures are an indication of what has already been done. Next what are we going to do or what are we capable of doing? In my first year in India I went to see the Chenab canal in the Punjab which had been finished a few years earlier. At that time it irrigated 1,000,000 acres; it now irrigates 2,000,000. At that time it had cost £1½ millions, there have now been spent upon it 2 millions. At that time it supported a population of 200,000 persons; the population is now over 1,000,000 and this huge aggregate is diffused over an expanse now waving with corn and grain that but a few years ago was a forsaken waste. Since then we have completed the Jhelum Canal, which already irrigates 300,000 acres and will irrigate three quarters of a million. Everywhere these lands, once waste and desolate, are being given out to colonisation and the Punjab Province, if it lost the doubtful prestige of the Frontier with its disturbing problems and its warring tribes, has gained instead the solid asset of a contented and peaceful peasantry that will yearly swell its resources and enhance its importance. Then you have heard of

the fresh obligations which we have since undertaken in the same quarter. £5¼ millions have just been sanctioned for the group of canals known as the Upper Chenab, the Upper Jhelum and the Lower Gari Doab. Before another decade has elapsed, 2,000,000 more acres will have been added to the irrigated area with a proportionate increase in the population and with an estimated return of 10 per cent. on the capital outlay. So much for the near future. Now let me look a little further ahead and come to the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission. They have advised an additional expenditure of 44 crores or nearly 30 millions sterling spread out over 20 years, an annual average expenditure of £1½ millions. We accept that estimate. We regard it as reasonable and we hope to be able to provide the funds. This will increase the area under irrigation in British India by 6½ million acres, as compared with the 4 millions which I mentioned five years ago, the difference being explained by the fact that as we draw towards the close of this gigantic programme we shall no longer be able to talk glibly of remunerative programmes or of lucrative interest on capital outlay but shall find ourselves dealing with protective works, pure and simple, where no return or but little return is to be expected and where we shall have to measure the financial burden imposed on the State against the degree of protection against scarcity and famine obtained for the people. I do think that we need shrink from that more exacting test, for we shall have approached, if the metaphor may be permitted, the rocky passes in which our forces will then be engaged across smiling plains and verdant pastures, in which they will have derived strength and sustenance for the harder and less remunerative toil that will lie before them. I wish that we could proceed even faster, but that is

out of the question. Canals are not like railways, where companies are ready to find the money and to undertake the work, where an embankment can anywhere be thrown up by unskilled labour and where the iron or steel plant that may be required can be ordered by telegram from Europe or the United States. In irrigation you have, in the first place, to find the funds from the borrowings of the State which are not capable of unlimited expansion. You have to spend much time in preliminary investigations and surveys. You then have to obtain your labour for the particular work. It is estimated that to spend the amount which I have named a host of 280,0000 workmen and coolies will be required for 250 days in each of the 20 years in addition to those required for the maintenance of the existing works and of the new ones as they come into operation, and. finally, you have to engage and train your skilled establishment which is a matter of careful recruitment spread over a series of years. These are the considerations that must always differentiate irrigation work from Railway work in India, and that militate against the same rate of speed in the former. And then when we have done all this, where shall we stand? We shall have done much—we shall have done what no other nation or country has done before. But the surplus water from the snows of the Himalayas and from the opened doors of heaven will still spill its unused and unusable abundance into the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The calculations show that of the total average rainfall of India as much as 35 per cent. and a much larger proportion of the surface flow amounting to 87 per cent. is carried away by rivers to the sea. The programme that I have sketched will at the most utilise only 2½ per cent. of this surface flow, and the remainder will still continue its aimless and unarrested

descent to the ocean. Why is this? The answer is very simple, and to any one who has any knowledge of the meteorological or geographical features of this continent, it is very clear. Rain does not always fall in India in the greatest volume where it is most needed. What Cherrapunji could easily spare, Rajputana cannot for all the wealth of Croesus obtain. Neither does rain fall all through the year in India. It descends in great abundance within narrowly defined periods of time and then it is often very difficult and sometimes impossible to store it. Providence does not tell us when a year of famine is impending and we cannot go on holding up the water for a drought that may never come. It would be bad economy even if it were not a physical impossibility. Sometimes, where water is most plentiful there is no use for it, because of the sterile or forbidding or unsuitable nature of the soil. Sometimes, it flows down in blind superfluity through a country already intersected with canals. Sometimes, it meanders in riotous plenty through alluvial plains where storage is impossible. Sometimes, again, the cost of storage is so tremendous as to be absolutely prohibitive. These are some, though by no means all, of the reasons which place an insuperable barrier to the realization of academic dreams. Facts of this sort we may deprecate but cannot ignore, and time will never come when we can harness all that wealth of misspent and futile power and convert it to the use of man. What we can do the Commission have told us; what we mean to do I have endeavoured imperfectly to sketch out in these remarks. Restricted as is the programme when measured against the prodigious resources of nature, it is yet the maximum programme open to human agency and to finite powers, and it is one that may well appeal either to the enthusiasm

of the individual or to the organised ability of the State. We are about to embark upon it with the consciousness that we are not merely converting the gifts of Providence to the service of man, but that we are labouring to reduce human suffering and in times of calamity to rescue and sustain millions of human lives.

COMMERCIAL REFORMS.

There a few other subjects to which I must allude. The presence of the Hon'ble Mr. Hewett at this table and the speech which he has delivered indicate that we have in the past year obtained that which has for a long time been the cherished aspiration of the mercantile community, *viz.*, a separate Department and Minister of Commerce and industry. Six years ago, I should have said that this was impossible, two years ago I did not regard it was likely, but the facts of commercial and industrial expansion cannot be gainsaid and as soon as the case began to be made out it was convincing in its logic and pertinence. The days are gone by when Government can dissociate itself from the encouragement of commercial enterprise. There used to be a sort of idea that business was an esoteric thing to be conducted by a narrow clique who were alone possessed of the oracles of wisdom and with whom Government were hardly supposed to be on speaking terms. That was an absurd theory at any time. It is additionally absurd in a country like India where the Government is responsible for so many forms of commercial and industrial activity, where it builds and works railroads, where it controls the sale of opium and salt, where it maintains gigantic factories, where it is engaged in undertaking the manufacture of its own cartridges and rifles and guns and where it is the largest em-

ployer of labour in the country, and most absurd of all is it at a time when the whole air is alive with movement of rivalry and competition, and when we desire to push our products, our manufactures and our industries upon the world. I believe India to be merely at the beginning of its commercial expansion and if I could revive in this Council Chamber 50 years hence, I believe I should find the Commercial Member of that day delivering an oration that would be reported throughout the East. There is only one word of appeal in which I would ask leave to indulge. I entreat my Indian friends not to regard the creation of a Department of Commerce as an agency for the promotion of British commerce alone. They could not make a greater mistake. Indian commerce, industry and enterprise are as vital to this country as British, nay I think more so. They have a future as bright before them. When we have to deal with great pioneers of Indian industry such as the Tata family, they will tell you that they receive the warmest encouragement at our hands, and, for my own part, I should feel far happier if for every present Indian merchant-king there were a thousand, and for every lakh of Indian rupees invested in mercantile undertakings a crore. Our new Department and its Hon'ble Member know no distinction of race; they are concerned only with the development of the country.

RAILWAYS AND PUBLIC WORKS.

It is a part of the same policy that has induced us in the past year to create the new Railway Board which is is now entering upon its duties. The idea is no new one. We make no pretence to be original. It has been advocated for years by all those who wanted great-

er elasticity and less officialism in our system, and from the day that I surrendered temporary charge of the Public Works Department in 1899, having become conversant for a while with its working, I meant to get the reform sooner or later. It has taken six years to carry it out. Not that the old Public Works Department stands therefore condemned; that would be a most unjust and unfair assumption. It produced a series of brilliant and famous engineers; it overspread India with a network of railways; it eventually converted annual deficits into assured surpluses that has reached this year the magnificent figure of £2¼ millions; and it has handed over to the Railway Board a splendid property which it will rest with the latter to develop in the future. I have sometimes seen the present administration accused of centralising tendencies. I have not the time to argue that contention this afternoon. But if it be true, it is at least remarkable that it has been associated with the two greatest measures of decentralisation that have been achieved during the last fifty years, viz., the permanent Financial Settlements with the Provincial Governments and the institution of the Railway Board.

POLICE REFORMS.

There is entered in the Budget the sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for Police Reform. That is only an instalment and a beginning. We accept with slight modifications the full recommendations of the Commission and we intend to carry out their programme. The author of the report is seated at my right hand and I should like to take this opportunity of publicly thanking him and his colleagues for their labours. No more fearless or useful report has ever been placed before the Government of India. I would gladly have taken action

upon it sooner. But a long time has been required to consult the Local Governments and to satisfy the Secretary of State. And now what is it that we view? I think that my feelings are those of every Member of the Government. We want a Police Force which is free from the temptation to corruption and iniquity and which must, therefore be reasonably well paid, which must be intelligent and orderly and efficient and which will make its motto "Protection" instead of "Opposition." I confess that my heart breaks within me when I see long diatribes upon how many natives are to get employment under the new system and how many Europeans. For my own part, I have never paused to count them up. The Police Force in India must be an overwhelmingly Native Force and I would make it representative of the best elements in Native character and Native life. Equally must it have a European supervising element and let this also be of the best, but do not let us proceed to reckon one against the other and contend as to who loses and who gains. The sole object of all of us ought to be the good of the country and the protection of the people. It is three years since, in one of these debates, I announced the appointment of the Police Commission and since Sir John Woodburn, who sat in that chair, said that it would be the most important and far-reaching of any that I had appointed in my time. I am glad that I appointed it and am proud of its work and when the reforms come into full operation, I am hopeful that they will have effect under every roof in this country.

INDIANS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY.

At this stage I may perhaps interpolate a few remarks in reply to the concluding portions of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's speech. He seems to think that in my speech of last year

and in the Resolution that followed it were laid down new principles as regards the admission of Natives of India to the Public Service. He referred to the Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. I am familiar with both those documents, and I also remember, which those who quote them sometimes forget, that the late Queen's word contained a qualification, not indeed modifying their generosity, but limiting their application by the necessary tests firstly of practical expediency and secondly personal fitness. These were the words :—" It is Our will that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." There is not one sentence in that memorable paragraph from which any Government of India or any Governor-General has ever either desired or attempted to recede. But the Hon'ble Mr, Gokhale's historical references stopped short at 1858. He altogether forgot to mention the findings of the Public Service Commission of 1887, which deliberately laid down that the Service in India should in future be divided into two branches, firstly, an Imperial Service called the Civil Service to be recruited by open competition in England only and secondly a Provincial Service recruited in India and consisting almost entirely of natives of this country. Our pronouncement of last year was more a reaffirmation of the findings of that Commission. Even the phrase *corps delite* which the Hon'ble Member seems to think originated with me, is taken from paragraph 73 of their Report. Let me further ask him, more particularly, to peruse paragraphs 74 and 91 of that document. He will find that nothing was said last year either by the Government of India or by myself which has not been laid down with even

greater authority by our predecessors and for the inference as to a change of policy which Mr. Gokhale has drawn in his speech to-day, there is, I can assure him, no foundation. I am myself particularly immune from the suspicions to which the Hon'ble Member refers. I frequently see attributed to me personally the appointments of this or that European or Eurasian to some post or other in some part of India. The responsibility of the head of the Government of India is great I have never minimised it. But it is beyond human power that he should know every detail of the administration of 300,000,000 of people and beyond reason every subordinate act of the administration should be attributed to him alone. And really when I read of all the things that are explained by my personal intervention, while I appreciate, the compliment, I am compelled to say that in quite nineteen cases out of twenty, I have never even heard of them at all. If the Hon'ble Member were to go into the Departments of the Government of India, he would find that I am there known as a strong partisan, not in European, but of Native appointments wherever these can be made with sufficient regard to the test of personal fitness for the post. But after all is it not rather a vain exercise to dispute as to the exact number of places that are not given to this or to that class in an administration? The Hon'ble Member will never find any reluctance on the part of the Government to recognise and to forward the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen, but he must not be surprised if these generous tendencies are sometimes chilled when almost every step that we take and every appointment that is made is liable to criticism that presumes the existence of a racial bias where none exists. He has cited the Despatch of the Court of Directors with which the Act of 1833 was

sent out India. Let me quote to him another paragraph from that Despatch, if I were to utter it as my own I am afraid that I should be accused of illiberal sentiments but with the distinguished imprimator of the authors of the Act of 1833 it may carry some weight with the Hon'ble Member:—"We must guard against the supposition that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjected to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Governmeut and perhaps least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and in the unfetterred exercise of their faculties that Governments best minister to the public wealth and happiness; in effect the free access to office is chiefly valuable where it is a part of general freedom." With these words which seem to me entirely wise I will pass from the subject.

INDIAN COOLIES IN S. AFRICA.

There is one duty that falls upon the Government of India to which I think I have rarely if ever alluded in this Council and that is the guardianship of Indian interests where they are liable to be impugned by external policy or influence. We resisted the best of our ability the heavy charge of more than £$\frac{3}{4}$ million that was imposed upon Indian revenues by the increase of pay in the British Army a measure about which we were not consulted and

with which we did not agree. We protested more successfully against the placing upon the Indian revenues of the charge for the entertainment of the Indian guests at the Coronation in London. We were also successful in resisting the suggestion that India should pay £ 400,000 per annum for a call upon a portion of the British Garrison in South Africa. We have now finally established the principle disputed till a few years ago, that when we lend troops from India to fight campaigns for the Imperial Government in different parts of Asia and Africa, every rupee of the charge from embarkation to return shall be defrayed by the Imperial Government. During the past few years we have been waging a similar battle in defence of the Indian emigrant in South Africa. For many years a system has prevailed under which unskilled Indian labourers have been encouraged to emigrate to the Colony of Natal for employment, chiefly in agriculture, though a few of them are engaged in coal mines. The number proceeding yearly on five years' contracts is from 5,000 to 6,000, and there are now some 30,000 indentured Indians in the Colony. Their wages are good and those of them who returned to India in 1903 brought back savings to the amount of over Rs. 5 lakhs, while Indians of all classes settled in Natal remit to their friends in India some Rs. 13 lakhs annually. The indentured Indian is well treated, and so far as this class is concerned, the system of emigration to Natal is advantageous to India as well as to the Colony. But there is now in Natal a considerable population of British Indians estimated at about 50,000, who are not working under indenture and are, therefore, known as free Indians. Some of them are men who have worked out their time, but have decided to settle in the country or the descendants of such men; others are persons who have

all owned and worked by natives, those in Bengal are all owned and worked by Europeans.

You speak in your address of the latent mineral resources of this country, and I assume, therefore, that you are alive to their great possibilities and to the call for their exploitation. I have accordingly examined the statistics of coal mines; and while I find that six-sevenths of the mines now worked in India are in this province, yet it appears that out of the 50 principal mines, 19 only, and those the smaller and less important, are owned and managed by natives.

Finally, I revert to the question of scientific and technical education, and to your recommendation that a sufficient number of technical institutions should be established to meet the needs of the people. I concur with you as to the supreme importance of this aspect of education in India; but I would point out that for its successful prosecution is required, not merely the consent of Government to found the desired institutions, but also the willingness of pupils to enter the courses when founded. I have alluded to the great development of mining in Bengal and the opportunities thereby afforded for technical acquirements are already great, and are constantly increasing. Nevertheless I regret to find that the mining scholarships in the Sibpur Engineering College are not popular and that only one student has elected to undergo a mining course since the scholarships were established; although ample encouragement might be derived by other competitors from the fact that this solitary aspirant obtained employment on the East Indian Railway as soon as the period of his training had expired. An even richer field of employment has, I believe, been opened by the increasing application of electricity to so many of the

voluntarily proceeded to the Colony with the object of making a living there. Unfortunately the colonists entertain a rooted objection to this class of settlers, and have taken strong measures to discourage any increase in their numbers. Some of these measures seemed to the Government of India to be unduly severe and inconsistent with the reasonable claims of the people of India as subjects of the British Empire, and we have lost no opportunity of urging that the restrictions imposed on free Indians should be relaxed, more especially two years ago when the Government of Natal sent delegates to us to discuss an arrangement under which Indian labourers should be compelled to return to India on the expiry of the term for which they were engaged. We required as an essential condition that they should make certain concessions in favour of the free Indians who were then settled or who might desire to settle in the Colony. We stipulated for the eventual abolition of a tax of £ 3 a head which had been imposed on such persons for leave to reside, for the amendment of an Act placing traders of however old a standing under the power of the local Corporations, who had absolute authority to refuse licenses to trade for the removal of Indians from another Act under which they were classed with barbarous races, and for the provision of a summary remedy for free Indians who might be wrongfully arrested on the ground that they were coolies under indenture or prohibited immigrants. In reply we were given to understand that there was no prospect of obtaining the consent of the local Legislature to these conditions, and the negotiations were therefore broken. The only concession that has been obtained as regards free Indians in Natal is the exemption of those who have been resident in the Colony for three consecutive years from the restrictions imposed on

prohibited immigrants under the Immigration Restriction Act. That Act still requires immigrants (except those under indenture) to be able to write in some European languages and our endeavours to get ability to write in an Indian language accepted as a sufficient test of the literacy have been unsuccessful. We have informed the Natal Government that we reserve to ourselves the fullest liberty to take at any time such measures in regard to emigration to that conntry as we may think necessary in order to secure proper treatment for our Indian settlers, and we have recently again declined to take any step towards facilitating the emigration of labourers under indenture unless the Natal authorities substantially modify their attitude. In no other South African Colony is there in force any system of immigration of Indian labour under indenture, and the number of British Indians at present resident in the Colonies other than Natal is comparatively small. Those Colonies, however, evidenced a similar spirit of opposition to the immigration of free Indians and we have had a considerable amount of correspondence on the subject, especially as regards the Transvaal. Soon after that country came under British administration we addressed the Secretary of State for India that the opportunity should be taken to remove the restrictions and disabilities imposed by the Boer Government on British Indian subjects. In the course of the correspondence that ensued we were asked to agree to a scheme for the employment of 10,000 Indian labourers on the construction of Government Railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies and recognising that the need for Indian labour thus displayed might provide a powerful lever in our hands in securing better treatment for Indians generally in South Africa, we expressed our readiness to

consider the proposal if it was likely to lead to substantial concessions in favour of Indians not under indenture. We said that the least that we could accept would be :—(1) that Indian languages should be included in the literary test applied to new immigrants, (2) that residence in location should be compulsory only upon those Indians in whose case the restriction is desirable for sanitary reasons, (3) that Indian traders who established themselves under the former Government should be granted licenses permitting them to retain their present places of business, (*4*) that all Indians of superior class including all respectable traders and shopkeepers, should be exempted from the Press, Law and the Curfew system and from the other restrictions imposed on the non-white population. The Transvaal authorities declined to concede these demands in full, and we have therefore refused to establish a system of emigration of indentured labourers to that Colony. The outcome of the negotiation so far will be found in the Despatch sent on the 25th July 1904 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Government of the Transvaal which was presented to Parliament in August last. In it the British Government supported all our main demands except the claim that future immigrants should not be required to be able to write in a European language. We have not yet heard what action has been taken on these instructions by the Transvaal Government. I do not say that this is a pleasurable record. The problem is one for which it is exceedingly difficult to find a solution. Colonies possessing or likely before long to possess rights of self-government cannot be dictated to in such matters, and the feeling that exists among them is undoubtedly very strong. It has seemed to us to be our duty to do nothing to inflame that feeling but to lose no opportunity of pleading the cause

of these whose natural protectors we are, and to make no concession whatever until we obtain a full *quid proque* in return. I am confident that in this attitude we shall have the support of the entire Indian community.

THE FISCAL QUESTION.

I may name one more respect in which the Government of India have, I think, faithfully championed the interests of the general community. I allude to their attitude on the fiscal question. I observe that the Hon'ble Mr. Cable, speaking to-day on behalf of the commercial community, has most strongly endorsed the correctness of the position that we took up in our Despatch of the 22nd October, 1903. A little while ago it was stated with some authority in England that that Despatch had been drawn up by a hurry and that we were believed to have modified our views. There is no foundation for any such statement. We composed that Despatch with full deliberation. It represented our matured opinions. We have not departed from them in any particular, and if the Government of India were invited to enter a Conference those I am confident would be the instructions with which our delegates from this end would proceed. Our claim is not mere that India should have a voice in the settlement of the question that none will dispute, but that in any Imperial scheme there should not be imposed upon us a system detrimental to our interests or repugnant to our strongly entertained and unanimous views.

THE MILITARY QUESTION.

Before I conclude, I may perhaps be expected to say a word about the Military estimates of the year. We have had the familiar attaks upon them in this debate. One Hon'ble Member spoke of the expenditure as inordinate and alarming.

It is inordinate in the sense that it is beyond the ordinary: for now that we have ample means we are utilising some of them which in ordinary years we might not have been able to do, not merely to relieve the burdens of the people but to secure them from the possible further horrors of war. There is nothing to alarm us in the increase. The situation would be much more alarming if with a rival Power building railways towards the Afghan frontier we were to sit still and do nothing. It was not by so regarding Military expenditure and equipment that our Allies in the Far East have won those great victories that have extorted the admiration of the world. They saw the danger impending, and they set themselves steadily to prepare for it with what result we all know. The lesson of the Russo-Japanese War is surely the most supreme vindication of preparation for war as contrasted with unreflecting confidence that modern times have ever seen. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has presented us with a scheme which is the ripe production not only of his own great experience but of years of discussion and anticipation in India itself, and whose sole object is so to organise our forces in peace as to place the largest possible body of men with the least dislocation in the field in time of war. Until universal peace reigns, which will not be in our day, the best custodian of his own house will still be the strong man armed and the Government of India, assured that they have the means and reposing confidence in the ability of their Military advisers, have accepted the scheme submitted to them not without careful scrutiny of its features and details,

but i n the conviction that the heavy charge entailed will be rep aid in the increased security that will be enjoyed by the country.

As regards the view which has been expressed in this debate that the expenditure should be provided for by a loan, I join my Financial colleague in dissenting from that opinion. Reference has been made to English practice. No one would have denounced such a proposal under existing conditions more strongly than Mr. Gladstone. I do not say that a military loan is everywhere unjustifiable. Were we on the brink of war or were it the case that a large Military expenditure could only be met by incurring a deficit or by imposing additional taxation which it was considered essential to avoid, then there might be a good case for a Military loan, but with a full exchange and with a simultaneous reduction of taxation, I feel sure that every financier of repute would pronounce such a proposal to be without excuse. Moreover it should be remembered that in England the National Debt is being steadily diminished by processes which are not adopted here, and, that a military loan is there obliged to run the gauntlet of Parliament. The Government of India is sometimes taunted with its irresponsibility. Might it not be a serious thing if you encouraged that Government to shift on to future generations a burden which it was capable of bearing in its own time? Might you not aggravate the very irresponsibility which is sometimes deplored?

A PERSONAL APOLOGIA.

I have now concluded my picture of some at any rate of the activities upon which we all have lately been engaged. I ask myself—Is this in truth an unsympathetic and reactionary *regime*? Is it likely that the individual who has allowed himself no rest or respite in his labours, be they successful or mistaken, for the Indian people would endeavour to injure them or thrust them back? Is there a single class in the community who has been so injured? I will go further and say: Is there a single individual? If there had been, should we not have heard of him to-day? Would a man who has devoted his whole life to preaching the lessons of the East, its history and traditions, who has been railed by his own countrymen often for his enthusiasm, for the religions and monuments and literature of the East, and who has while in India given such abundant proof of his reverence for faiths and feelings that are not his own, turn round and assail what he had hitherto revered? These questions I must leave others to answer. As for reaction I console myself with the wise saying of Macaulay, "ever since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress and hearing of nothing but reaction and decay." For my own part as the last year of my work in India opens, I look back upon the past not with any self-complacency, because while much has been done, much also remains undone, but with gratitude, that the opportunity has been vouchsafed to my colleagues and myself of giving so definite an impulse to all that makes for the growth and prosperity of a people and the safety of an Empire and with

the sanguine conviction that none can so was diligently and whole-heartedly. The harvest is springing up; indeed, the green shoots are already high above the ground that will ten-thousand times repay the exertion and obliterate every scar.

AT THE BYCULLA CLUB, BOMBAY.

[On the eve of the departure from India of His Excellency Lord Curzon, the Byculla Club, Bombay, gave him a farewell Banquet on the 16th November 1905. Responding to the toast of his health, His Excellency delivered the following speech which was his last in India]:—

THREE times have the Byculla Club honoured me with an invitation to a dinner. The first occasion was when I was leaving India at the end of my first term of office in April, 1904. The second was when I returned to India for my second term in December, 1905, and this is the third when I am finally departing. I have esteemed this triple compliment most highly. For, ordinarily, Bombay does not see or know much of the Viceroy, except what it reads in the newspapers, which is not perhaps uniformly favourable, and, with a Governor of your own, you cannot be expected to take as much interest in the head of the Supreme Government as other communities or places with which he is brought into more frequent contact. In respect of Bombay, however, I have been unusually fortunate in my time, for, apart from the four occasions of arrival or departure, I have been here once in Lord Sandhurst's and once in Lord Northcote's time, and again a week ago, so that this is my seventh visit in seven years. Here I made my first speech on Indian shores, and here it is not unfitting that I should make my last. Calcutta did me the honour of inviting me to a parting banquet, and so did the Civil Service of Bengal, and I was greatly touched by those compliments. But I felt that, having accepted your invitation, I owed a duty to you, and that I should only become a nuisance if I allowed myself either the luxury or the regret of too many farewells.

A TRIBUTE TO BOMBAY.

Gentlemen, it is no exaggeration to say that my several visits to this city have given me an unusual interest in its fortunes. I have seen it in prosperity, and I have seen it in suffering, and I have always been greatly stuck by the spirit and patriotism of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds. Bombay possesses an exceptional number of public-spirited citizens and the sense of civic duty is as highly developed as in any great city that I know. If there is a big movement afoot, you bend yourselves to it with a powerful and concentrated will, and a united Bombay is not a force to be gainsaid. Let me give as an illustration the magnificent success of your reception and entertainment of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Moreover, you have the advantage of one of the best conducted and ablest newspapers in Asia. My recollections of Bombay are also those of uniform kindness towards myself—a kindness which has found active expression on each occasion that I have visited the city and that has culminated tonight in this splendid entertainment and in the reception that you have just accorded to my health.

As to the speech of the Chairman to which we listened just now, I hardly know what I ought to say. He seemed to me to be so familiar with all the details of my administration that I felt that if I ever wanted a biographer it is to Bombay and to the Byculla Club that I must come to find him. But his account of what I have done, or perhaps I should rather say endeavoured to do, was characterised by so generous an insistence on the best that I almost felt that a rival orator should be engaged to get up and paint the opposite side of

purposes of industry and labour. And yet in spite of attempts to induce students who have taken the B. E. degree to undergo a special training in Electricity, only one pupil in the same college selected this course, and he did not continue his instruction. Mechanical proficiency of any kind is sure, in these days of applied science, of its immediate rewards; and I should like to see the youth of India not merely turning to the lore of books, but gratifying themselves, for the strenuous crafts and professions of industrial life.

Gentlemen, I have not made these observations to you in any spirit of criticism, much less of reproach. Such an attitude on my part would have been at once ungenerous and unbecoming. But the opportunities of speech that are presented to a Viceroy on occasions such as this, are but ill-utilised by him if, while they are taken advantage of by bodies or persons who are addressing him to state what are their aspirations or desires, he does not with equal frankness submit such reflections in reply as may be present in his own mind. I gave utterance to them on the present occasion, because I feel on the one hand that the future development of Bengal largely hinges upon the turn that is given to the professional studies of its rising population and because in your Chamber of Commerce which has so frequently and with so much advantage been consulted by the Government, I recognise an agency possessing the power, if it has also the will, to communicate the requisite impulse, and to assist the Government in its supreme task of developing at once the resources of the country and the welfare of its inhabitants.

the picture. I know of several who would have been prepared, without a gratuity, to undertake the congenial task ; only in that case I should not perhaps have enjoyed the hospitality of this gathering. I must, therefore, leave things as they are and content myself with thanking the Chairman for his great and undeserved kindness in his treatment of the subject of his toast.

A KINDLY MESSAGE OF FAREWELL.

Gentlemen, I have thus endeavoured to express acknowledgments of your kindness, and I must include in these acknowledgments those of Lady Curzon. Your gracious reference to her presence greatly touched my heart.

Gentlemen, I have expressed my acknowledgment of your kindness. May I also take this opportunity, through you, of thanking all those communities and persons who from all parts of India have during the past three months showered upon me expressions of esteem and regret? I think I am justified in assuming both from the quarters from which they have emanated and also from the language employed that these have not been merely conventional expressions to a departing Viceroy, from whom no one in India has anything more to ask or to expect. His sun is setting, and another orb is rising above the horizon. If in these circumstances he receives, unexpected and unsought, from representative bodies and Associations, from the leaders of races and communities, from Princes and from unknown humble men such messages couched in such unaffected language as have crowded in upon me, while he cannot but feel very grateful for all this kindness, there may also steal into his mind the comforting reflection that he has not altogether laboured in vain, but has perhaps left some footprints that will not be washed out by the incoming tide.

A SEVEN YEARS' RETROSPECT.

Gentlemen, it is almost seven years ago that I stood upon the neighbouring quay on the morning that I landed to take up my new office. Well do I remember the occasion and the scene, the Bunder, gay with bunting and brilliant with colour, the background of the acclaiming streets with their tens of thousands and the setting of the stateliest panorama in Asia. I do not deny that to me it was a very solemn moment. For I was coming here to take up the dream of my life and to translate into fact my highest aspirations. In that spirit I endeavoured to respond to the Address of the Corporation, and were I landing again to-morrow I would use the same language again. Oceans seem now to roll between that day and this—oceans of incident and experience, of zest and achievement, of anxiety and suffering, of pleasure and pain. But as I stood then that morning and the vista spread out before me, I said that I came to India to hold the scales even; and as I stand here to-night, seven years later, I dare to say in all humility that I have done it. I have held the scales even between all classes and all creeds, sometimes to my detriment, often at a cost that none but myself can tell, but with such truth and fidelity as in me lay. I further said that the time for judgment was not when a man puts on his armour, but when he takes it off. Even now I am fast unbuckling mine. In a few hours the last piece will have been laid aside. But, gentlemen, the test, can I survive my own test? The answer to that I must leave to you among many others, and by your verdict I am willing to abide.

WHAT IS THE VICEROY OF INDIA?

Gentlemen, when I came here seven years ago I had some idea, but not perhaps a very complete idea, of what

the post of Viceroy of India is. Now that I am in a position to give a more matured opinion to the subject I may proceed to throw a little light upon it. There are, I believe, many people at Home who cherish the idea that the Viceroy in India is the representative of the Sovereign in much the same way as Viceroys or Governors-General in other parts of the British Empire, except that India, being in the East, it is considered wise to surround him with peculiar State and ceremonial, while in a country which is not a constitutional Colony but a Dependency, it is, of course, necessary to invest him with certain administrative powers. No conception of the Viceroy's position and duties could well be wider of the mark. Certainly the proudest and most honorable of his functions is to act as representative of the Sovereign, and this act is invested with universal solemnity and importance in a society organised like that of India upon the aristocratic basis, where the Throne is enveloped in an awe that is the offspring of centuries and is supported by princely dynasties, in many cases as old as itself. The consciousness of this responsibility should, I think, always act both as a stimulus and as a check to the Viceroy—a stimulus to him to act in a manner worthy of the exalted station in which for a short time he is placed, and a check to keep him from inconsiderate or unworthy deeds. But that is, of course, only the beginning of the matter. The Viceroy very soon finds out that the purely Viceregal aspect of his duties is the very least portion of them, and the Court life in which he is commonly depicted by ignorant people as revelling occupies only the place of a compulsory background in his every-day existence. He soon discovers that he is the responsible head of what is by far the most perfected and considerable of highly organised Governments in the world. For the Government of China,

which is supposed to rule over a larger number of human beings, can certainly not be accused of a high level of either organisation or perfection, So much is the Viceroy the head of that Government that almost every act of his subordinates is attributed to him by public opinion, and if he is of an active and enterprising nature a sparrow can scarcely twitter its tail at Peshawar without a response being detected to masterful orders from Simla or Calcutta. This aspect of the Viceroy's position makes him the target of public criticism to a degree in excess, I think, of that known in any foreign country, except perhaps America. I think that in India this is sometimes carried too far. When the Viceroy speaks he is supposed to remember only that he is the representative of the Sovereign. But when he is spoken or written about, it is commonly only as head of the administration, and then nothing is sometimes too bad for him.

A VICEROY'S MANY DUTIES.

I only make these remarks because this seems to me rather an one-sided arrangement, and because I think anything to be deprecated that might deter your Viceroys from taking the supreme aud active part in administration which it seems to me, to be their duty to do. You do not want them to be faineants or figureheads. You want them to pull the stroke oar in the boat. You want English Ministers to send you their very best men, and then you want to get out of them not the correct performance of ceremonial duties, but the very best work of which their energies or experiences or abilities may render them capable. Anything, therefore, that may deter them from such a conception of their duties or confine them to the sterile pursuit of routine is, in my view, greatly to be deplored.

However, I am only yet at the beginning of my enumeration of the Viceroy's tale of bricks. He is the head not merely of the whole Government, but also of the most arduous Department of Government, *viz.*, the Foreign Office. There he is in the exact position of an ordinary Member of Council, with the difference that the work of the Foreign Department is unusually responsible, and that it embraces three spheres of action so entirely different and requiring such an opposite equipment of principles and knowledge as the conduct of relations with the whole of the Native States of India, the management of the Frontier Provinces and the handling of the Frontier tribes and the offering of advice to His Majesty's Government on practically the entire foreign policy of Asia, which mainly or wholly concerns Great Britain in its relation to India. But the Viceroy, though he is directly responsible for this one Department, is scarcely less responsible for the remainder. He exercises over them a control which is in my judgment the secret of efficient administration. It is the counterpart of what used to exist in England but has died out since the days of Sir Robert Peel, with consequences which cannot be too greatly deplored. I earnestly hope that the Viceroy in India may never cease to be head of the Government in the fullest sense of the term. It is not one-man rule, which may or may not. be a good thing. That depends on the man. But it is one-man supervision which is the very best form of Government, presuming the man to be competent. The alternative in India is a Bureaucracy which is the most mechanical and lifeless of all forms of administration. To continue, the Viceroy is also the president of the Legislative Council, where he has to defend the policy of Government in speeches which are apt to be

denounced as empty if they indulge in platitudes, and as undignified if they do not. He must have a financial policy, an agricultural policy, a famine policy, a plague policy, a railway policy, an educational policy, an industrial policy and a military policy. Everybody in the country who has a fad or a grievance—and how many are there without either? —hunts him out. Every Public Servant who wants an increase of pay, allowances or pension—a not inconsiderable band —appeals to him as the eye of justice. Every one who thinks he deserves recognition, appeals to him as the fountain of honour. When he goes on tour he has to try to know nearly as much about local needs as the people who have lived there all their lives, and he has to refuse vain requests in a manner to make the people who asked them feel happier than they were before. When he meets the merchants he must know all about tea, sugar, indigo, jute, cotton, salt and oil. He is not thought much of unless he can throw in some knowledge of shipping and customs; and in some places electricity, steel and iron and coal are required, For telegraphs he is supposed to have a special partiality, and he is liable to be attacked about the metric system. He must be equally prepared to discourse about labour in South Africa or labour in Assam. The connecting link between him and Municipalities is supplied by water and drains. He must be prepared to speak about everything and often about nothing. He is expected to preserve temples, to keep the currency steady, to satisfy third-class passengers, to patronise race meetings, to make Bombay and Calcutta each think that it is the Capital City of India, and to purify the Police. He corresponds with all his Lieutenants in every Province, and it is his duty to keep in touch with every local Administration. If he does not reform everything that is wrong he is told that he is doing too little; and if he reforms anything at all, that he is doing too much.

"THE PUPPET OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT".

I am sure that I could occupy quite another five minutes of your time in depicting the duties which you require of the Viceroy in India, and to which I might have added the agreeable finale of being entertained at complimentary banquets. But I have said enough, perhaps to show that it is no light burden that I am now laying down, and that it is not perhaps surprising if seven years of it should prove enough for any average constitution. And yet I desire to say on this parting occasion that I regard the office of Viceroy of India, inconceivably laborious as it is, as the noblest office in the gift of the British Crown. I think the man who does not thrill upon receiving it with a sense, not of foolish pride, but of grave responsibility, is not fit to be an Englishman. I believe that the man who holds it with devotion and knows how to wield the power wisely and well, as so many great men in India have done, can for a few years exercise a greater influence upon the destinies of a large number of his fellow-creatures than any head of all Administration in the universe. I hold that England ought to send out to India to fill this great post the pick of her Statesmen and that it should be regarded as one of the supreme prizes of an Englishman's career. I deprecate any attempt, should it ever be made, to attenuate its influence, to diminish its privileges or to lower its prestige. Should the day ever come when the Viceroy of India is treated as the mere puppet or mouthpiece of the Home Government, who is required only to carry out whatever orders it may be thought desirable to transmit, I think that the justifications for the post would have ceased to exist. But I cannot believe that the administrative wisdom of my countrymen, which is very great, would ever tolerate so great a blunder.

THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF HIS RULE.

And now, gentlemen, after this little sketch of the duties of a Viceroy you may expect to hear something of the manner of fulfilling them. I have been told that on the present occasion I am expected to give a sort of synopsis of the last seven years of my administration. I am sure you will be intensely relieved to learn that I intend to disappoint those expectations. Lists of laws or administrative acts or executive policies may properly figure in a Budget speech; they may be recorded in an official minute; they may be grouped and weighed by the historian. But they are hardly the material for an after-dinner oration. Besides which I have been spared the necessity of any such review by the generous ability with which it has already been performed for me by the Press. Inasmuch however, as all policy that is deserving of the name must rest upon certain principles, you will permint me to point out what are the main principles that have underlain everything to which I have set my hand in India. They are four in number.

THE NEED FOR DEFINITE POLICY.

The first may sound very elementary, but it is in reality cardinal. It is the recognition that for every Department of the State and for every branch of the Administration there must be a policy instead of no policy, *i.e.*, a method of treating the subject in question which is based upon accepted premises either of reasoning or experience and is laid down in clear language, understsod by the officers who have to apply it and intelligible to the people to whom it is to be applied. It is in fact the negation of a policy of drift. Years ago I remember coming to India and commencing my studies of the Frontier question. I enquired of every one I met what was the Frontier policy of the Government of India. I even

mounted as high as Members of Council, No one could tell me. I found one view at Calcutta, another at Lahore, another at Peshawar, and another at Quetta, and scores of intervening shades between. That is only an illustration, but that absence of a policy cost India thousands of lives and crores of rupees. Of course, in our attempt to fashion or to formulate policies, my colleagues and I may not always have been successful. Our policy need not have been uniformly right. We make no such claim. All that we say is that the policy is now there, not hidden away or enshrouded in hieroglyphics but emphatically laid down, in most cases already given to the world, and in every case available for immediate use. There is not a single branch of the Administration, internal or external, of which, I believe, that this cannot truthfully be said. I will give you a few illustrations drawn from spheres as widely separated as possible. Take Foreign affairs, The Government of India can hardly be described as having a foreign policy of their own, because our foreign relations must necessarily be co-ordinated with those of the Empire. But we can have our views and can state them for what they are worth, and there are certain countries in the close neighbourhood of our Frontiers where the conduct of affairs is necessarily in our hands. Thus in respect of Tibet, the Government of India have throughout had a most definite policy which has not perhaps been fully stated in published correspondence, but which I have not the slightest doubt will vindicate itself and that before long. Similarly, with regard to Afghanistan our policy throughout my term of office has been directed to clearing up all the doubts or misunderstandings that have arisen out of our different agreements with the late Amir, and to a renewal of those agreements, freed from such ambiguity, with his successor,

It was to clear up these doubts that the Mission was sent to Kabul, as the Amir found himself unable to carry out his first intention to come down to India; and for all the widespread tales that the Mission had been sent to press roads or railroads or telegraphs and all sorts of unacceptable conditions upon the Amir, from which the Government of India or myself were alleged to have been only with difficulty restrained by a cautious Home Government, there was never one shred of foundation. Perhaps in Persia, a subject which is perhaps, better appreciated and is certainly better written about in Bombay than in any other City of the Empire, we have been able to do most in respect of a positive and intelligible policy. Resting upon Lord Lansdowne's statesmanlike and invaluable dictum as to the Persian Gulf, from which I trust that no British Government will ever be so foolish as to recede, we have been able to pursue a definite course of action in defence of British interests at Muscat, Bahrein, Koweit and throughout the Persian Gulf. The same applies to Mekran and Seistan, and I believe that I leave British interests in those quarters better safeguarded than they have ever before been.

I will not trouble you further about Foreign affairs tonight, though I might take you round the confines of the Indian Empire and show you an Aden boundary determined largely owing to the ability of the Officers serving under my noble friend (Lord Lamington), our relations with Sikkim and Bhutan greatly strengthened, and the final settlement of the China-Burmese boundary practically achieved. Neither will I detain you about the tribal Frontier of India, although the fact that I can dismiss this almost in a sentence is perhaps more eloquent than any speech could be. The point is

that the Government of India, the local officers and the tribesmen now know exactly what we are aiming at, namely, in so far as we are obliged to maintain order to keep up communications or to exert influence in the tribal area to do it, not with British troops but through the tribes themselves. The other day I saw the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province and asked him if he could sum up the position of the Frontier. "Yes," he replied," I can in a single word, and that is confidence"—confidence at Hunza, confidence at Chitral—which when I came out to India I was told by the Pandits at Home that I should have to evacuate in 2 years, but which is now as tranquil as the compound of the Byculla Club—confidence in the Khyber and the Kurram, confidence all down the Frontier of Baluchistan. Gentlemen, that is no mean boast. I observe that all the persons, who have for years depicted me as a somewhat dangerous person and who were kind enough to warn India seven years ago of the terrible Frontier convulsions that she was in for under my rule, have found it a little difficult to account for the seven years of peace that has settled down on the land. Two explanations have, however, lately been forthcoming. The first is that the tribes were so severely handled by my predecessor that they have not had a kick in them left for me. The second is that having concentrated all my unholy propensities in the direction of Tibet, where, however for some unexplained reason I did not begin until I had been in India for four years, I had nothing left for the tribes. I do not think that I need be disturbed by either of these criticisms. I can hand over the Frontier to my successor with the happy assurance not only that matters are quiet but that the principles determining our action, whether as regards tribal Militia or Border Military Police or Frontier roads and

railways, or tribal control, are all clearly laid down and are understood. If these principles are departed from, if the Government of India were to go in for a policy of cupidity or adventure, then the confidence of which I have spoken would not last a month. Otherwise I do not see why it should not be enduring.

HIS MILITARY POLICY.

We have also for seven years pursued a very consistent military policy, not differing therein in the least from the distinguished men who preceded us, but using the much larger opportunities that have been presented to us by recurring surpluses, to carry out measures of which they often dreamed but which they had not the funds to realise. I am not one of those who think that the Indian Army is a bad one. I believe it to be by far the best portion of the Forces of the British Crown, and certainly such work as it has been my duty to ask it to undertake, whether in South Africa or China or Somaliland or Tibet, has been as good as any in the history of the Empire. We have done a good deal to render the Army, I will not say more efficient, but more effective. We have entirely re-armed every section of it; we have reorganised the Horse and Field Artillery from top to bottom; we have created a new Transport organisation; we are now making our own gunpowder, rifles, gun carriages and guns; we have added 500 British Officers and are proposing to add 350 more; we are doubling the Native Army Reserves, and all these measures are independent of the schemes of reorganisation and redistribution of which you heard so much. If due attention continues to be paid to the idiosyncrasies of the Native Army, and if it is treated sympathetically, I believe that we shall continue to receive from it the splendid level of service which is its tradition and its glory.

HIS INTERNAL POLICY.

In the sphere of internal politics we have adopted a slightly different method, though with the same end; for there we have, as a rule, not framed our policy without a most exhaustive preliminary examination of the data upon which it ought to rest, conducted by the most expert authorities whose services we could command. Thus we did not proceed to draw up a plague policy until the Plague Commission had reported. Our new Famine Codes and manuals, the methods by which the Government of India will grapple with the next famine when it comes, and the preventive methods which we have been bringing into operation, one by one, are the result of the Commission over which Sir Antony Macdonnell presided. The great programme of Irrigation schemes for the whole of India to which we have committed ourselves, at a cost of £30 millions in twenty years, was similarly not arrived at until Sir Colin Moncrieff's Commission had spent two winters in India. I did not undertake University Reform until I had carefully sifted the facts of the case by a Commission upon which the highest authorities had seats. Nor did we charge ourselves with the reform of the Police until we had conducted a most searching enquiry into the facts of existing administration in every Province by Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission. Finally, we did not propose to create a Railway Board or to revolutionise our Railway management until we had obtained the advice of an expert from Home. Thus where possible, we have proceeded upon the same plan; firstly, the ascertainment from the information at our diposal, from the representations of the public and from the known facts, that there was a case for reform; secondly the appointment of an influential and representative body to go round the country

and take evidence; thirdly, the critical examination of their Report, accompanied by consultation of Local Governments and of public opinion; fourthly, the accomplished reform. I remember very well—I daresay you do also, gentlemen—when the present Administration was ridiculed as one of Commissions that were always sitting but whose eggs never hatched out, I held my peace; but I sat all the harder. Time was all I wanted, and now I can say that not a single Commission has sat and reported in my time without its results having been embodied with the least possible delay in administrative measures, or in legislative Acts. If you want to know the educational policy of Government you can find it in the published Resolution of March, 1904. I recapitulated it in a recent farewell speech at Simla. If you want to know our Land Revenue policy it is similarly enunciated in two published Resolutions dealing with the principles of assessment and collection, which will presently be followed by two others dealing with subsidiary branches of the question. There will then be a corpus or Code of Land Revenue Law and policy snch as has never previously existed in India, and which will constitute a charter for the cultivating classes. If you want to know our Fiscal Policy it is contained in the published Despatch of October, 1903. Thus, wherever you turn, I think you will find my claim justified, the case examined, the principles elucidated, the policy laid down, action taken and already bearing fruit.

"THE REAL PEOPLE OF INDIA."

The second principle that I have held in view has been this: amid the numerous races and creeds of whom India is composed, while I have sought to understand the needs and to espouse the interest of each, to win the confidence of the

Princes, to encourage and strengthen the territorial aristocracy, to provide for the better education and thus increase the opportunities of the educated classes, to stimulate the energies of Hindu, Mahomedan, Buddhist and Sikh and to befriend those classes, like the Eurasians, who are not so powerful as to have many friends of their own, my eye has always rested upon a larger canvas crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people. "But Thy poor endure and are with us yet; be Thy name a sure refuge for Thy poor whom men's eyes forget." It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent, who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget, to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, not even in the squalor of great cities. He reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all. He has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country; by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income; he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard. It is for him in the main that we have twice reduced the salt-tax, that we remitted the land revenue in two years amounting to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, for him that we are assessing the land revenue at a progressively lower pitch and making its collection elastic. It is to improve his credit that we have created Co-operative Credit Societies so that he may acquire capital at easy rates and be saved from the usury of the money-lender. He is the man whom we desire to lift in

the world, to whose children we want to give education, to rescue whom from the tyranny and oppression we have reformed the Indian Police and from whose cabin we want to ward off penury and famine. Above all let us keep him on the soil and rescue him from bondage or expropriation. When I am vituperated by those who claim to speak for the Indian people I feel no resentment and no pain. For I search my conscience and I ask myself who and what are the real Indian people and, I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to do something to alleviate theirs and that I leave them better than I found them.

THE ATTITUDE OF EDUCATED INDIA.

As for the educated classes I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions, more places on Councils and so on, I have in any way incurred their hostility, for I certainly in no wise return it. And when I remember how impartially it is bestowed on every Viceroy, in the latter part of his term of office, I conclude that there must be something wrong about all of us which brings us under a common ban. I also remember that in a multitude of ways, even as regards places and appointments, I have consistently befriended and championed their cause. That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so, and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty, I have no apology to advance. And yet in one respect I venture to think that the classes of whom I am speaking have found in me their best friend, for I have endeavoured to pursue with them the third principle of action to which I before alluded, *viz.*, to be frank and outspoken; to take them into open confidence as to the views and intentions of the Government, to profit by public opinion instead of ignoring

it, not to flatter or cozen, but never to mystify or deceive. I have always held that Governors are the servants of the public and that policies are not such high and holy things as not to admit of clear exposition and candid argument for all who care to hear. I cannot say that I have everywhere been rewarded for this confidence, but I have pursued it as part of a definite policy, for there has not been an act or an aim of Government whose sincerity I have not been prepared to vindicate, and to me there is something manlier in treating your critics with respect than in pretending that you are unaware even of their existence.

LOOKING AHEAD.

And my last principle, Gentlemen, has been everywhere to look ahead, to scrutinise, not merely the passing requirements of the hour but the abiding needs of the country, and to build, not for the present, but for the future. I should say that the one great fault of Englishmen in India is that we do not sufficiently look ahead. We are so much absorbed in the toil of the day that we leave the morrow to take care of itself. But it is not to-morrow only but 20 years hence and 100 years hence. That is the thought that has never left my mind. I have had no ambition to cut Gordian knots or to win ephemeral triumphs. I am content that all my work should go that is not fitted to last. Some of it will go of course. But I hope that a solid residuum may remain and take its place as a part of the organic growth of Indian politics and Indian society. To leave India permanently stronger and more prosperous, to have added to the elements of stability in the national existence, to have cut out some sources of impurity or corruption, to have made dispositions that will raise the level of administration, not for a year or two

but continuously, to have lifted the people a few grades in the scale of well-being, to have enabled the country or the Government better to confront the dangers or the vicissitudes of the future, that is the Statesman's ambition. Whether he has attained it or not will perhaps not be known until long after he has disappeared.

RESIGNATION FOR GREAT PRINCIPLES.

I need say but few words about my resignation or the causes that led to it. I desire only to mention one cause that did not. It seems to have been thought in some quarters at Home that this was a personal quarrel and that I resigned on personal grounds. No one who has the least acquaintance with the facts of the case and, I would fain hope, no one who has any acquaintance with myself could commit this error. The post of Viceroy of India is not one which any man fit to hold it would resign for any but the strongest reasons. When you remember that to me it was the dream of my childhood, the fulfilled ambition of my manhood, and my highest conception of duty to the State, when further you remember that I was filling it for the second time, a distinction which I value much less for the compliment than for the opportunity afforded to me of completing the work to which I had given all the best of my life, you may judge whether I should be likely heedlessly or impulsively to lay it down. Now, Sir, there is not a man in this room who does not know that I resigned for a great principle or rather for two great principles, firstly the hitherto unconfested, the essential and, in the long run, the indestructible, subordination of Military to Civil authority in the administration of all well-conducted States, and, secondly, the payment of due and becoming regard to Indian authority in determining India's need.

I am making no vain boast when I say that in defending these principles, as I have sought to do, and in sacrificing my position sooner than sacrifice them, I have behind me the whole of the Civil Services in India, the unanimous weight of non-official English opinion in this country, an overpowering preponderance of Indian opinion, and I will add, which is more significant still, the support of the greater part of the Indian Army. I have not one word to say in derogation of those who may hold opposite views, but, speaking for the last time as Viceroy of India, I am entitled to say, why in a few hours I shall cease to be Viceroy of India, and I am also entitled to point out that in speaking for the last time as Viceroy of the country which I have administered for nearly seven years, I am speaking, as I believe that no single one of my predecessors has ever been able to do to a similar extent, with the whole of that country behind me, and, Gentlemen, you may depend upon it, the principles have not vanished though they have momentarily disappeared. They will reappear and that before very long.

THE NEW VICEROY.

It is a much pleasanter subject to turn from myself to the nobleman whose ship is hourly drawing nearer to these shores and who, the day after to-morrow, will take over the task that I lay down. It is a pleasure to me to be succeeded by a lifelong friend ; but it is a much greater pleasure to know that India will gain a Viceroy of ripe experience, of a strong sense of duty, of sound judgment and of great personal charm. I hope that the rough seas through which I have sometimes ridden may leave smooth waters in which his keel may glide, and from the depth of my heart I wish him a tranquil and triumphant Viceroyalty.

HIS LOVE FOR INDIA.

And now as the moment comes for me to utter the parting words, I am a little at a loss to know what they should be. A week ago a man said to me "Do you really love India?" I could not imagine if he was jesting. "Love India," I replied; "why otherwise should I have set myself adrift from my own country for the best seven years of my life? Why should I have given to this country the best of my poor health and strength? Why should I have come back in the awful circumstances of a year ago? Why should I have resigned my office sooner, than see injury done to her now?" "Good," he said, "I was merely trying you—I knew it as well as every one else." Gentlemen, you all know it. There is not a man in this room, there is not an impartial man in India, there is not a Bengali patriot who now denounces me for giving him the boon for which he will one day bless my name, who does not know that no Englishmen ever have left it more resolved, to the best of his humble abilities and strength, to continue to do justice in England to India—India who after 200 years still stands like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known. She stands in need as much as ever—perhaps more than ever—when such strange experiments are made by many whose knowledge of her does not extend beyond the fringe of her garment, of being championed and spoken for and saved from insult or defamation. Perhaps my voice for India may not always be identical with that of all her sons, for some of them, as I have seen, speak very differently from me. But it will be a voice raised on behalf, not of a section or a faction, but, so far as the claim may be made, of all India, and, in any case,

it will be of an India whose development must continue to be a British duty, whose fair treatment is a test of British character and whose destinies are bound up with those of the British race. So far as in me lies, it will be a voice raised in the cause of Imperial justice and fair dealing, and, most of all, of seeing that Indian interests are not bartered away, or sacrificed, or selfishly pawned in the financial or economic adjustments of the Empire.

A LOFTY IDEAL.

A hundred times in India have I said to myself, "Oh that to every Englishman in this country as he ends his work might be truthfully applied the phrase 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity.'" No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps, there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right to abhor the imperfect, the unjust or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery, or applause, or odium, or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice, or happiness, or prosperity, a

sense of manliness, or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment or a stirring of duty where it did not before exist, that is enough—that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, and for his epitaph when he is gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge.