



Address to the Legislative Assembly.

I shall say nothing save this, that the policy of Government is and has throughout been one of scrupulous non-intervention, and it is our earnest hope that there may be an early restoration of peace and order throughout the length and breadth of that country, and that India may again have on her north-western border a peaceful, strong and united country for her neighbour. During this critical time we in India could not but be proud of the gallant bearing of the British Legation, of the firm control of our tribes by the frontier administrations, and of the fine work accomplished by the Royal Air Force over the evacuation of women and children from Kabul.

In South Africa, our first Agent, Mr. Sastri, to-day relinquishes charge of his office and starts on his return voyage to India. By his services to his compatriots in South Africa and to the promotion of friendly relations between India and the Union, he has secured a high place for himself in the history of the two countries as a successful Ambassador of India and has laid India under a great debt of gratitude. He has left a high standard of statesmanship for his successor to maintain; but I am sure that Sir K. V. Reddi carries with him to his new duties the confidence and good wishes of this House, not less than those of the Government of India.

The House is aware that last year His Majesty's Government appointed a Commission to report on future policy in regard to Eastern Africa. The Report has just been published and will require mature consideration. My Government, however, is fully alive to the importance to Indian interests of the decisions which His Majesty's Government may eventually decide to take in this connection, and I am glad to be able to inform you that His Majesty's Government have agreed that, before any decision is taken, they will give the fullest consideration to the views of the Government of India on all matters affecting India. The Governor of Kenya moreover, for the purpose

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of discussion on the Report, has with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies offered to appoint temporarily to the public service in Kenya, with a seat on the Executive Council, an officer of the Indian Civil Service who will be nominated by myself. In order to ascertain the judgment of enlightened public opinion on these matters I have asked the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Habibullah to convene the Emigration Committee of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature at the earliest possible date this session, with the purpose of eliciting their views and practical suggestions. I do not doubt that my Government will derive great value from these discussions.

Since I last addressed the House, the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has been published, and, as Hon'ble Members know, a Conference of Provincial Representatives assembled in Simla last October to discuss the more important proposals contained in it. The deliberations of the Conference revealed a unanimous desire for progress, and, though time is doubtless required for action over so wide a field, the fact that public attention has been thus focussed upon this all-important branch of national activity will bring real encouragement to all who have the imagination to see what it means in the life of India.

The bulk of the work on the Commission's recommendations must, under the existing constitution, fall to the Provinces. But for some the responsibility rests primarily on the Government of India. Of these, the most important concerns the establishment of a central organisation for research purposes, and this proposal, after discussion with Provincial representatives, my Government have decided to adopt. The duties of the new Council of Agricultural Research will be to promote, guide and co-ordinate research throughout India ; to train research workers by means of scholarships ; and to collate and make available information on research, and on agricultural and veterinary matters

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generally. As to the structure of this body we propose to modify in some respects the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Our proposal is that its chief component parts should be, *firstly*, a Governing Body—the principal executive organ of the Council—presided over by the Member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of Agriculture, and comprising 17 other members, of whom two will be chosen from the Legislative Assembly and one from the Council of State, and nine will be nominated by the Governments of the nine major Provinces; and, *secondly*, an advisory council of 39 members, whose function will be to give expert advice to the Governing Body, and submit for its approval programmes of research enquiry. In addition to these two bodies, it is hoped that the major Provinces will establish committees to work in close co-operation with them.

As regards finance we propose to substitute, for a lump grant of Rs. 50 lakhs which the Commission favoured, a lump grant of Rs. 25 lakhs to be paid in instalments, supplemented by annual recurring grants of Rs. 7.25 lakhs. These sums will vest in the Governing Body who will consider all proposals for research, sanction expenditure, and allot funds to meet it.

It is my sincere hope that the organisation which I have outlined will receive whole-hearted support from this House and will before long start upon its labours which will surely be to the lasting benefit of India's agricultural millions.

The House will be glad to learn that a generous offer has been made by the four Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, to present to the Capital of India four stone pillars, on the model of the famous Asoka columns. My Government have gratefully accepted this gift, which will fittingly symbolise the common loyalty of the Empire to the Person and Throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor.



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The past year has been marked by a series of labour troubles, which we have all witnessed with deep concern. The tale of loss and suffering involved by them need not be retold here, and we are more immediately concerned to devise means by which such profitless disputes may be avoided.

I have on more than one recent occasion appealed to labour to follow wiser counsels for the future, and to employers to prove their determination to leave their employés no justifiable ground for complaint. If both parties can combine to establish closer relations with each other and to develop the organisation for settlement of points of difference before they reach the stage of conflict, we may face the future with confidence, and Government is anxious to do everything in their power to encourage and assist such efforts. In the Trade Disputes Bill, which is now before the Legislature, we have provided for the establishment of Courts of Enquiry and Boards of Conciliation which may be called into play if disputes get beyond the stage of mutual arrangement. The proposals of Government in this connection, and in the other parts of the Bill which aim at the protection of the public in certain circumstances from the consequences of labour disputes, will shortly come before you and I trust that wisdom will guide your decisions in regard to them.

But these proposals will not in themselves reach the root of the matter. I have long felt that the best way to secure the advantage both of employers and employed is for Government to undertake a review of the conditions under which labour works, and to lend such help as it can in the removal of legitimate grievances. This question has for some time been under the earnest consideration of Government, and I am now able to say that His Majesty has approved the appointment of a Royal Commission during the course of the present year to undertake such an enquiry. Our intention is that the scope of the enquiry



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should be wide and that it should, with due regard to the economic position of industry in this country, explore all aspects of the problem affecting the conditions under which industrial labourers work. The *personnel* of the Commission has not yet been settled, but we shall use every endeavour to ensure that it is representative. I am pleased however to be able to say that we have secured the services as Chairman of Mr. Whitley, lately Speaker of the House of Commons, who has been in intimate touch with labour problems in England, and is widely known for his association with the establishment of the Councils which bear his name.

The announcement which I have just made will, I am confident, be generally welcomed. The conclusions of such a Commission will be of the greatest interest not only to India but to the whole industrial world. We may hope that they will provide us with a basis for future legislation, materially affecting India's industrial future, and it is essential therefore that the enquiry should be as thorough and the *personnel* as strong as it is possible for us to make it.

But there is a yet more serious side of these industrial troubles on which I feel it my duty to touch. While every allowance must be made for the genuine grievances which the labouring classes feel, there can be no doubt that the unrest of the past year has been due in no small measure to the activities of certain persons, whose end is rather to promote anti-social purposes than to secure betterment of the workman's lot. The disquieting spread of the methods of communism has for some time been causing my Government anxiety. Not only have communist agents from abroad promoted a series of strikes in the industrial world, but the programme which they have openly set before themselves include undisguised attacks on the whole economic structure of society. All

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classes alike are threatened by the spread of these doctrines, and no Government can afford to ignore this insidious danger. Last session my Government placed before you a measure aimed at the agents from outside India who have been engaged in this mischievous work, but by a narrow margin the measure was rejected. The anticipations on which my Government then acted have been justified. The object of spreading communist ideas has been steadily pursued, and communist methods have been regularly employed. We have watched in the great city of Bombay the industrial labouring population brought into a state of great unsettlement, excited, prone to violence and often deaf to reason, while in Calcutta we have seen a strike, which appears to have no clearly reasoned basis, indefinitely prolonged. These facts are only symptomatic of a more general movement, of which many here have direct experience, and accordingly my Government have decided to place before you once more the proposals for dealing with communist agents from abroad, which were under discussion last session, and further to include in the measure power to forfeit or control remittances of money from communist sources abroad, which are not without a very appreciable influence on the activities of the communists in this country and their ability to promote and prolong for their own ends these industrial troubles.

I must now address myself, Gentlemen, to some of the broader features of the political situation. I am not concerned to-day to discuss the question whether, as some Hon'ble Members think, His Majesty's Government were ill-advised in deciding to recommend to His Majesty the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission, or whether, as I think and have more than once said, those were ill-advised who have chosen to adopt a policy of boycott. Although those who followed this course have thus, as I believe, deprived themselves of an opportunity, of which



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others have availed themselves, to influence the evolution of India's political future, each of these questions has now become a historical fact, which the historian will weigh with fuller knowledge and it may be with more impartial judgment than we can bring to bear upon them. But, whatever may be our attitude on these matters of acute and violent controversy, it would be both unwise and unfortunate to allow them to blur the glasses through which we must try to see the future.

We meet not long after the conclusion of many important meetings held at the close of last year, and this is not the occasion for me to attempt finally to appraise action taken and words used in the heat of controversy or under the stress of a critical occasion. It would seem evident however that what all people must desire is a solution reached by mutual agreement between Great Britain and India and that, in present circumstances, the friendly collaboration of Great Britain and India is a requisite and indispensable condition to obtain it. On the one side it is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgment on the problem, as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India. And it is at this stage, while we can still have no means of knowing how these matters may emerge from the Parliamentary discussions, that it is proposed to destroy all hope of peaceful and orderly progress towards agreement, unless, by a fixed date in time, Parliament should have accorded its approval to a particular solution, the result no doubt of earnest effort to grapple with an exceedingly complex problem, and as such entitled to serious consideration, but one which important sections of opinion in India have not accepted, and which was reached through deliberations in which Parliament had no part or voice. Such procedure savours rather of intolerance and impatience than of the methods of responsible statesmanship, and

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would reduce Parliament to being a mere registrar of the decisions of other persons. That position of course is one that in justice to its own obligations Parliament could never accept.

I cannot predict, any more than any Hon'ble Member here, when or in what form the report from those whom Parliament has charged with the duty of enquiry may be drawn, or whether further enquiry into specific subjects may thereafter be found necessary. In any case we may assume that His Majesty's Government will, as indeed has always been contemplated, desire to subject any proposals that it may then be disposed to make to full discussion with, and the criticism of, those persons whether official or unofficial who may be best qualified to contribute to the ultimate solution.

In a situation therefore that must call essentially for qualities of confidence on both sides, and for free exchange of opinion on terms honourable to all, I see very clearly that nothing but harm can flow from a threat that, unless a particular condition is fulfilled, which I believe to be mechanically impossible of fulfilment from the outset, an attempt will be made to plunge the country into all the possible chaos of civil disobedience. It is quite certain that no discussions of any kind can promise the least hope of success, when either party to them approaches the task in the spirit of hostility and suspicion from which such an ultimatum springs.

I recognise that although many leaders and schools of political opinion in India will refuse to walk along the dangerous paths of non-co-operation, many of them openly profess distrust of the attitude of Great Britain towards this country. They say, and would have others believe, that hitherto Great Britain has given no sufficient proof of her intention to fulfil the pledge that Mr. Montagu gave on behalf of His Majesty's Government



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in 1917, and that Great Britain is seeking to forget or deny the high policy there enshrined.

In conditions more favourable to cool judgment, I suppose that most persons would admit that British India as we find it to-day is a British creation, and that it is the British power which has during the last century held together its constituent parts. If this centripetal influence is immediately or too suddenly withdrawn, is it wholly unreasonable to fear that some at any rate of the parts might fly asunder, and the dream of a strong united India, a nation among the nations of the world as we may speak of the British or American nation, would vanish and be destroyed? Anxious as I am to see the realisation of this dream, I can hardly hope that any words of mine may suffice to disperse the black cloud of unwarranted mistrust that has enshrouded so much of Indian political thought. But I tell this Assembly again, and through them India, that the declaration of 1917 stands, and will stand for all time, as the solemn pledge of the British people to do all that can be done by one people to assist another to attain full national political stature, and that the pledge so given will never be dishonoured. And, as actions are commonly held more powerful than words, I will add that I should not be standing before you here to-day as Governor-General, if I believed that the British people had withdrawn their hand from that solemn covenant.

Those, therefore, who preach that a new generation has arisen in England which seeks to explain away the significance of the 1917 declaration, are, consciously or unconsciously, but not the less really, misrepresenting the purpose of Great Britain, and poisoning the wells by which the common life of India and Great Britain is supported and sustained. If there are Indians who are thus tempted to mistrust Great Britain, there are no doubt many in Great Britain, resentful of what they well know to be an unfounded and ungenerous accusation, who may mistrust some of

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those who speak for India. But if we are thus tempted in the 20th Century, I know that both India and Great Britain will be judged in the 21st by the degree to which they have refused to lose faith in one another. Gentlemen of the Assembly, though we may differ on all other issues, let us not readily or lightly impugn the good faith of one another, for that is to destroy the very foundation of all hope of better things.

I would add one or two observations of more personal kind. Whoever holds the position of Viceroy and Governor-General of India is bound through his Office and conscience by a double duty. He is under the plain obligation of seeing that the King's Government in India is carried on, with due respect for the law, and in this sphere he may at any time be confronted with issues that are more far-reaching than ordinary political controversy, and that are indeed fundamental to all society. Respect for law is an attribute of civilisation painfully and hardly won, and a society which lacks it carries within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Those therefore who can guide public opinion in this country are doing no service to India if they accustom her to think lightly of disobedience to constituted authority, whatever the title by which such disobedience may be described.

But in another and not less important capacity the Viceroy and Governor-General stands as intermediary between India and Great Britain, and as such will constantly endeavour to interpret as faithfully as he may the hopes, the feelings, the desires of the Indian people to those who may from time to time compose His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, and, if I may quote words which are used in connection with another office in the British Constitution, "to beg His Majesty's Government ever to place the most favourable construction upon all their proceedings".

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That duty I have striven, and shall strive, to fulfil to the best of my ability ; and it is, Gentlemen, because the smooth adjustment of these different functions imposed on a single individual does not lie with me alone that I have tried to draw frankly the broad outlines of the present situation as I see them. I have desired so far as I could to employ no language which might needlessly offend the feelings of those who take a different view. For I long, as for nothing else, to see the political life of India move down orderly channels to its full term of natural development. And to achieve that end we all have our own work to do. On each one of us, in our several spheres, in this Assembly and outside, the time and the subject lay very heavy responsibilities, and it is my most earnest prayer, for you and for myself, that under God's guidance we may be permitted during the time that lies before us to help one another in their discharge.

OPENING OF THE DELHI FLYING CLUB.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the 28th January
Viceroy at the opening of the Delhi Flying Club on the after- 1929.
noon of the 28th January :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It was a great pleasure to me to be able to accept the invitation of the members of the Delhi Flying Club to perform this opening ceremony—a ceremony which within the life-time of many of us here may well become historic. For from these small beginnings great developments, which to-day it is difficult to foresee, must assuredly emerge.

The Light Aeroplane Club movement is still in its infancy, but it is a fast-growing child in all quarters of the world and it is interesting even now to recall its origin. The movement sprang out of the development of the two-seater light aeroplane, for which our present Air



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Officer Commanding in India, Sir Geoffrey Salmond, in his days at the Air Ministry was largely responsible. As soon as this new type of machine had been evolved and established, the British Government decided to subsidise six Light Aeroplane Clubs to popularise and develop civil flying and there are now I believe more than 20 such Clubs in existence in Great Britain. Other parts of the Empire have not been slow to follow. Australia, Canada and South Africa each possess several Clubs, and the keenness and enthusiasm of the general public for this new form of employment and recreation show that the movement is advancing by leaps and bounds and that no limit can at present be seen to its extension.

In India a beginning is now being made, thanks largely to the enthusiasm of Sir Victor Sassoon who has given without stint of his time and money in assisting the formation of Flying Clubs. The movement too owes much to Colonel Shelmerdine who, since assuming the post of Director of Civil Aviation in April 1927, has worked out a scheme, approved by the Assembly last year, by which Clubs at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi are to be operated for two years with Government assistance. The scheme for a Delhi Club is now bearing fruit, and a special acknowledgment is due to Mr. R. E. Grant Govan and the authorities of the Roshanara Club for the keenness with which they have from the outset supported the idea.

In declaring the Club open, I confidently wish it a long life and a great future. In your late President—Mr. Stow—you had an enthusiastic supporter, and I feel sure that Sir John Thompson and all future Presidents will be only too ready to give you their valuable assistance.

There can be no doubt that such a Club as this has a really useful purpose to serve. The world is now beginning to think aerially, and the aeroplane is taking its

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place among our domesticated machines. It used to be a distinct stage in a boy's education when he first learnt to ride a bicycle; I think the day is probably not far off when our sons or our sons' sons will not consider they have properly come to man's estate till they can safely pilot their own aeroplane. It seems certain at any rate that the world is coming to accustom itself more and more to the idea of flying as an everyday occupation, and no race can afford to fall behind-hand in cultivating that air-sense which I presume must as in all other spheres be the necessary condition of complete confidence.

I heartily welcome, therefore, the formation of this Flying Club in Delhi. As you, Mr. President, have said, it is fitting that the Capital of India should take a leading part in this new venture, and thus add a new chapter to a very old book. The history of Delhi is written on the ground, in the stones of seven cities and in the newly-risen walls of an eighth. Its newest city of all is now to be founded in the clouds.

I call upon Lady Irwin now formally to name your first two aeroplanes.

STATE BANQUET AT ALWAR.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the 5th February
Viceroy at the State Banquet at Alwar on the 5th of February :— 1929.

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In rising to speak at a banquet in an Indian State given in honour of His Majesty the King-Emperor's representative, it is natural that following Your Highness, I should open with a reference to the subject which for many weeks now has lain closest to our hearts. For in no part of India is the affectionate loyalty and devotion of the Indian peoples to the person and throne of the King-Emperor more securely founded than in the Indian States, and the depth of these

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sentiments has been increasingly evident through these weeks of anxiety as we watched the progress of His Majesty's illness. With profound relief we now see it taking a more favourable course and it is the prayer of all India, of all Princes and of all peoples that we shall before long witness a complete restoration to health.

I must thank Your Highness sincerely for the kind way in which you have welcomed me to your State, for the kind things you have said about me to-night and for all the hospitality you have shown to me and to fellow guests during our visit to Alwar. It was a matter of great regret to me that I was prevented by other public duties from accepting Your Highness' kind invitation to be present at your recent Jubilee celebrations and to have the privilege of witnessing ceremonies of unique interest, including that which marked so strikingly the position Your Highness holds in the field of Hindu philosophic thought. It is also a great disappointment to us that we could only spare two days for our visit, in spite of Your Highness' pressing invitation, but at this season of the year a Viceroy can rarely call his time his own and many influences conspire to defeat hopes that he may sometimes cherish of extended tours in pleasant places.

I shall not attempt an appreciation of all that has been achieved in the quarter of a century which has passed since Lord Curzon invested Your Highness with ruling powers, but the Survey published of Your Highness' administration contains some points which justify brief mention this evening. It shows that in the early years of your rule Your Highness realised that the most important duty of a ruler is to gain a first hand acquaintance with his State and the people over whose destinies he is called upon to preside. With energy and enthusiasm you set yourself to study the needs of your State and the economic condition of your people. To the solution of



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those problems Your Highness brought the searchlight of a vigorous and original mind and that pride in an enthusiasm for the development of your State, without which nothing of lasting moment can be achieved. The results of Your Highness' administrative energy are now apparent. Your State possesses numerous important irrigation works which, as was wisely remarked in the report, constitute the best and safest investment for an agricultural State. Further a network of roads now connects the most distant parts of the State with the capital. Though I have spent but a very brief time in your State I can bear personal testimony to their excellence. Road connections are an educative and civilising influence and are daily becoming of increasing importance with the rapid development of motor traffic. I look forward to the day when Rajputana will be connected with northern and southern India by arterial communications in which Your Highness' roads will be not unimportant links. Another point which impressed me in the report to which I have alluded was the loyal and eminent services rendered by Your Highness in the course of the Great War. I need not enumerate them in detail but I noted with deep satisfaction that, in addition to providing a valuable body of troops, the recruiting record of the Alwar State excelled that of any State in Rajputana, if not indeed in India. I trust that the quality of Your Highness' troops will not be allowed in any way to fall below the standard which Alwar has set in the past. The administrative and social measure which the report enumerates will be equally remembered, and I shall watch with interest the development of the village panchayats, which, I understand, Your Highness has recently established in the interests of your subjects with a view to settling disputes without recourse to expensive and costly litigation. I listened with pleasure to Your Highness' appreciative remarks about the loyal assistance which your officials have always been ready to give to Your

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Highness in your schemes for the improvement of the State. Your Highness' genius for organisation, I observe, has not neglected even the wild animals of your State, for the tigers which have been so skilfully brought up to us in your delightful jungles seem to me to have been singularly well trained to follow Your Highness' instructions.

Your Highness, my visit to your State, though necessarily short, has been of the greatest interest. My peculiar responsibility to the Indian States as representative of the Crown is ever present to my thoughts, and the Viceroy's responsibility in this regard cannot be fulfilled unless he can personally place himself in direct contact with Ruling Princes and of their States. I have been fortunate in already having had many opportunities of discussing questions of mutual interest with Your Highness, for Your Highness is so prominent a figure in the Councils of your Order that in the Nature of things I have been brought into close contact with you since assuming the office of Viceroy. In that time I have been able to estimate Your Highness' value as a strong supporter of the Narendra Mandal and a clear and subtle thinker on all the problems coming before it, and also to admire on many occasions the measured eloquence of which we have had an example to-night. The present is a time when clear thinking and a just appreciation of values and policies are more than ever likely to be useful both to the Princes and their people. The report of the Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler may shortly be expected and will give, I hope, an answer to the various important questions which have from time to time been asked as to the legal position of the Indian States towards the Government of India and the Crown. We are all indebted to those who have given so much time and labour to the examination of these problems, which so urgently demanded a well-



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devised and generally acceptable solution if the future course of events in India is to develop, as we pray it may, on lines of mutual confidence and co-operation. I feel sure that in these and all kindred matters we may rely on wise advice and assistance on the part of Your Highness.

In conclusion, allow me, Your Highness, on behalf of Her Excellency, myself and those whom you have so kindly invited to accompany me, to express our warmest thanks for the generous hospitality which you have extended to us. I have seen more within this short visit than I deemed possible, and I shall carry away with me the most happy recollections of the people and palaces of Alwar and of the most enjoyable time which we have spent.

My visit has strengthened my desire to echo the many and warm good wishes that Your Highness received a short time ago on your recent Jubilee, and, when we drink your health, as I now invite this company to do, it will be the hope of all your guests that these good wishes may win fulfilment.

OPENING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided over the Eighth Session 11th February
of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the 11th February and 1929.
opened the Proceedings with the following Address :—

Your Highnesses,—It is with great pleasure that I welcome Your Highnesses to-day to the eighth meeting of the Chamber of Princes. Last year, the first session, when the new building came into use, was the occasion of some very interesting discussions and a considerable amount of useful business was transacted. I hope that the present session will be no less profitable. When I reflect upon the importance and complexity of the

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questions which to-day face the States of India, I am impressed by the great potential value to your Order of being able in this way to take counsel together, and I trust and believe that the Narendra Mandal will constantly show itself worthy to point the path of wisdom to its constituent members.

Before proceeding to review the events and work of the past year, I would inform Your Highnesses of a telegram which, on behalf of Your Chamber, the Standing Committee at its first session last January requested me to send to England for communication to His Majesty. It was in the following words :—

“ The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, and those Princes whom it represents, express their deep concern over the continued illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor, their genuine sympathy with Her Majesty and other Members of the Royal Family in their anxiety, which is shared by Princes and their subjects, and their fervent prayers for His Majesty’s speedy recovery.”

Her Majesty the Queen-Empress sent the following reply :—

“ I wish to convey grateful thanks to the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes for their kind messages of concern and sympathy in regard to the continued illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and prayers offered for His Majesty’s speedy recovery.”

His Majesty’s dangerous and protracted illness has given cause throughout the Empire for the keenest and gravest anxiety for many weeks past, and the thoughts and sympathy of all have turned to Her Majesty and the Members of the Royal Family. By God’s mercy the most critical stage of the illness now seems to be passed, and, while convalescence must be slow, Your Highnesses will join with me in the hope and prayer that His Majesty may soon be restored to his full health and vigour.



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Since the last session of the Chamber in February 1928 there have happily been but few changes among the Ruling Princes of India. We have, however, sustained by death the loss of His Highness the Raja of Pudukkottai. Succeeding to the *gadi* of his ancestors in 1886 His Late Highness was invested with powers eight years later. His health since 1922 had not been robust, and largely for this reason he resided in Europe where, as also in other parts of the world, he was a well-known and a popular figure. He attended the inaugural session of this Chamber in 1921 and his loss is one which has been felt acutely by his friends. I am sure that Your Highnesses will join with me in wishing all happiness and prosperity to the young Raja who in course of time will succeed to his responsibilities, and in hoping that when he comes of age he will take a genuine and continuing interest in the affairs of the Narendra Mandal.

Within the last few weeks another Member of the Chamber has passed away in the person of His Highness the Maharawat of Partabgarh. His Highness, a venerable personality in Rajputana, full of years and honour, had presided over the destinies of his State since 1890. Age and infirmities had prevented his attending the Chamber since its inauguration. Your Highnesses will join with me in condolence with his bereaved family and in the hope that his successor will live long to rule wisely over his State and take his due place in the Councils of his Order.

The outstanding event of the year, so far as the Princes of India are concerned, has been provided by the deliberations of the Indian States Committee. After spending last cold weather in India and touring extensively in several of the States, the Committee have continued their activities in England. A number of Your Highnesses have attended their sessions and expressed considered views on questions of import engaging Your Highnesses'

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attention no less than that of His Majesty's Government. Though it is too early as yet to forecast the result of the Committee's enquiry, I have no doubt that it will prove a material contribution to the elucidation of the difficult problems with which it has been concerned. It is a great satisfaction to me that the appointment and *personnel* of the Committee should have met with Your Highnesses' warm approval, and that you should have taken so active an interest in their proceedings both in this country and in England. I understand that considerable material has been laid before the Committee, and whatever may be their conclusions they will at least not be based upon scanty or insufficient data. Examination of the report both here and in England will inevitably take time, and I am aware of the desire of Your Highnesses both that you may be consulted before any final action is taken upon it and that no undue delay should occur in reviewing the position in the light of what the Committee may have to say. I can assure Your Highnesses that in both these respects your desires will receive careful consideration and I realise fully that, if many weighty topics of interest to Your Highnesses have not come before the Chamber this year, it is because they are still in a sense *sub-judice* before that Committee. It is obvious that the ground must first be cleared before the lines of future action can profitably come under discussion.

At the last session of the Chamber I referred to the Special Committee appointed to enquire into the opium problem. The Committee have personally visited all the States concerned and have achieved a commendable degree of progress. Many of the Durbars most closely interested have expressed their readiness to co-operate with the Government of India in effecting a solution of the difficult questions involved. The Committee's report is now under consideration and I hope that a conclusion will be reached which will prove beyond doubt that India is doing all



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she can to fulfil her international obligations. When considering measures to this end the Government will always be anxious to secure that the minimum amount of dislocation and the minimum degree of financial loss shall be occasioned to the States concerned.

I mentioned also at our last meeting the enquiries that were being made regarding the development of the road system of this country. Here again I am glad to say that considerable progress has been effected, and I trust that it will soon be possible to extend to many of the States a share in the benefit of improved communications. I understand that at a recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes the Report of the Road Committee was shown to those Members of the Committee who desired to see it. As the Report has not yet been officially adopted, it would be premature for me to say much about it, but I may mention briefly the primary objects sought by the Road Committee's enquiries. The introduction of motor transport in large degree into this country has made it necessary that as high a standard as possible of through communications should be maintained. It is with this object that it is sought to apportion a share of the benefits to the States concerned. At the same time I have no doubt Your Highnesses will recognise the necessity of providing some guarantee to ensure that the roads in question are satisfactorily maintained. It may be that in some cases Durbars would prefer to make arrangements by which responsibility for maintenance of these routes might be transferred to Government. Where this is the case Government would be ready to consider any proposals the Durbars may put forward.

During the past year it has again been my privilege to visit various portions of what I may be permitted to term Indian India. These visits have been of particular value and interest to me as affording an opportunity of



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meeting Princes who do not always find it convenient to visit Delhi. It is encouraging to observe that on the part of every foresighted Ruler there has been evinced a clear tendency to improve the administrative machinery and to place increased facilities of all kinds at the disposal of his people. Last year's session of this Chamber was memorable for the passing of a resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in which the duties of a Prince in relation to his people were brought prominently to notice. This was an action which afforded genuine pleasure to all who had the interest of Your Highnesses at heart, and it would be matter for very great regret if this resolution failed to meet the full response which it deserved. I would call to mind the remark made by His Highness the Chancellor that the outside world is apt to form its judgment of your Order with reference to the weakest rather than the strongest aspect which it presents. To those among Your Highnesses who are continually striving to effect improvement this tendency may appear to be unfair and unjustified, but I am afraid it is what must be expected from a censorious world. If there are still rulers who do not fully recognise their responsibilities, I would hope that more and more there may grow up, and express itself through this Chamber, a solid and progressive public opinion of Princes and Chiefs, which will be powerful enough to secure that the welfare and good repute of Your Highnesses' Order be not allowed to suffer in public estimation.

There is one matter in particular in which I would ask the Rulers of Indian States to be on their guard. Industrial advancement is now the order of the day and British India is endeavouring to come into line with the rest of the world in ameliorating the general conditions of labour. I am told that there is a distinct tendency on the part of certain capitalists to endeavour to evade the factory regulations of British India by establishing mills



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or factories in the territories of Indian States, where the number of hours during which operatives may be employed is sometimes longer than in British India, and where the provision of suitable accommodation for factory hands is not made obligatory. The experience in Europe and in India on these two important aspects of industrialism is one from which warning might profitably be taken. To grant too ready a permission to labour employers to adopt unprogressive methods in the treatment of labour for their own benefit is a shortsighted policy which is bound to beget serious trouble. Most countries have realised, and generally too late, the difficulties involved by such a state of affairs, and the Indian States will indeed be fortunate, if they are willing, while industrial development within them is yet in its infancy, to benefit by the experience that has been so dearly bought elsewhere.

When I addressed Your Highnesses last year I referred to the important problem of the future of the Chiefs' Colleges. My Government hope shortly to be in possession of the views of the Governing Bodies of the Colleges and of the local authorities on the draft scheme prepared by the Government of India, when the question will be ready for comprehensive consideration. Your Highnesses will, no doubt, realise that some delay must inevitably take place before a decision can be announced, particularly as the replies received disclose a wide divergence of opinion.

As Your Highnesses are no doubt aware His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur represented India last year at the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva. He will present to the Chamber a statement of his work there, and I will not therefore do more now than foreshadow the offer to His Highness of congratulations of the Chamber on the manner in which he performed the important rôle he was good enough to undertake. From what I have heard His Highness won golden

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opinions from all with whom he came in contact and has, like his predecessors in this capacity, added lustre to the name of your Order before the world.

The Standing Committee of your Chamber has had but one meeting since its last session, when a number of important points were discussed and ventilated. Certain of the summaries which have received very careful examination from time to time are now ready for presentation to the Chamber.

One regarding the construction of Tramways in Indian States has been the subject of animated controversy in the Standing Committee between those who consider that in certain circumstances railways should be protected, by compensation, against competition by new tramways, and those who hold that tramways should never be required to compensate railways. The Summary, as now presented to Your Highnesses, represents a compromise by which—to state it briefly—the existing rules are to apply to all railways and tramways already constructed while the principle that in no circumstance will a tramway constructed wholly within one State pay compensation to a railway will govern the cases of all railways and tramways to be constructed hereafter.

Another matter that I would wish to mention relates to the employment of British subjects and aliens in the Indian States. The subject has been long under discussion, dating back almost to the earliest sessions of the Standing Committee, and a Summary approved by the Standing Committee was accepted by Your Highnesses in your session of February 1928. It has subsequently been modified in two points of substance. The first requires the approval of the India Office to the engagement in Europe of British subjects on less than a certain scale of pay ; since it has been found in practice that such persons, owing to their ignorance of India, are not always competent judges of their own interests. The second



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point extends to Your Highnesses the right of employing pensioners from the British Indian Services, who are your own State subjects, without obtaining the prior consent of the Government of India, who should however be informed of your action in each case. These modifications have been discussed with the Standing Committee and have received their concurrence. I trust therefore that this question after a long and stormy voyage has reached the harbour of final settlement.

The question of giving publicity to the proceedings in this Chamber was referred by Your Highnesses to the Standing Committee three years ago and I see that it has now to be placed before you with a recommendation that it be adopted in future. This is a proposal of great and far-reaching importance and I look forward to hearing Your Highnesses' views upon it. I am assured that after the further consideration suggested to the Chamber by Lord Reading Your Highnesses will not reach a decision without realising and weighing the full implications of the new procedure.

Among other interesting Resolutions on your Agenda is a proposal made by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal to fix the meetings of the Chamber and of the Standing Committee for certain definite dates each year. I have no doubt that to have fixed dates for these meetings would be of considerable advantage to us all. Difficulty has been experienced in the past by reason of the fact that the Members of this Chamber could never foretell definitely whether the dates to be fixed would not clash with other arrangements. The proposal therefore for fixed dates has much to recommend it, though, having regard to other regular engagements by which some of us are already bound, a good deal will necessarily turn on the actual dates selected.

Further interesting resolutions on the Agenda are two in the name of His Highness the Chancellor—one

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relating to the election of a Pro-Chancellor, and the other designed to prevent voting for Members who do not desire to serve either as Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor or on the Standing Committee. I deprecate alterations in the Constitution and Rules of Business except when necessity has been clearly shown, but these are designed to obtain a truer expression than at present of Your Highnesses' wishes in selecting your representatives and as such may perhaps be welcomed. A further resolution from the same high source regarding the retention by the Chancellor of his office while absent from India on duties connected with the Chamber contemplates conditions which are likely in the future to be rare. I am content to leave it to Your Highnesses' suffrages, remarking only that obviously someone must continue to carry on the functions of Chancellor in India, and the division of duties between the two may present practical difficulties.

Another, in the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, desires the appointment of a Committee to re-examine after 12 years' experience the findings of the Committee appointed in 1916 to report on the best system of educating minor Princes. The debate in this Chamber last year on a resolution of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar on the cognate subject of the date of granting powers of administration was evidence of the keen interest taken by Your Highnesses in this most important subject, and I would be the last to object to its being considered and ventilated further. I would only suggest that 12 years is a short period in which to judge the success or failure of any system, especially when it cannot in the nature of things be universally and rigidly applied. To dig up the seeds to find out whether they are germinating is not a method recommended by the best horticulturists; and education is a subject where practical results are perhaps a better guide than *a priori* theories.



Unveiling of statue of Mahadji Maharaj at Gwalior.

I would like before concluding my address to express to Your Highnesses my appreciation of the work done by His Highness the Chancellor and by the Members and substitute Members of the Standing Committee during the past year, as also by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, who acted as Chancellor during the absence in Europe of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to attend the meetings of the Indian States Committee. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to allude to the smoothness with which the actions and deliberations of the Standing Committee have been conducted, and I am grateful for the advice and assistance which I have invariably been able to count upon from them, and also for the friendly and courteous manner with which negotiations have been carried on with my Secretariat. Your Highnesses will proceed in due course to elect a new Chancellor and Standing Committee for the coming year and before doing so you also will doubtless wish to express your appreciation of, and to acknowledge the devoted labours of, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and of the Members of the Standing Committee.

Let me assure Your Highnesses that I shall follow your deliberations with pleasure and interest, and I would only now record my earnest desire that they will enure to the benefit both of Your Highnesses' States and Order and of that greater India of which we all form part.

UNVEILING OF STATUE OF MAHADJI MAHARAJ AT
GWALIOR.

6th March
1920.

In unveiling the statue of Alijah Bahadur Mahadji Scindia at Gwalior on the 6th March His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

Maharaja Sahib, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I was asked by the Council of Administration to take advantage of my visit to unveil the statue of Alijah Bahadur Mahadji Scindia, I accepted the invitation

*Unveiling of statue of Mahadji Maharaj at Gwalior.*

with genuine pleasure, for it is a privilege to do honour to the memory of illustrious dead.

Indian history is full of heroic figures and in the stirring times of the latter half of the 18th century few names were better known, respected and feared than that of the warrior-statesman, who is now being commemorated in sight of the Palace of his successors. You have shown, Mr. President, the lustre that still dwells round the name of Patel Bua in Gwalior for his great qualities and high achievements. Wisdom and strength, loyalty and breadth of vision, were among those qualities, associated with a high conception of the sanctity of the spoken and written word. On such foundations he built the character that posterity reveres. For his achievements, you have the State of Gwalior as witness. A fugitive from the stricken field of Panipat, which must have seemed to many the death-knell of Maratha power, he rose a few years later to be the most powerful individual force of his day in India, and from the changes and chances of those troubled times he welded together under the house of Scindia the many diverse elements which go to make up the State of Gwalior. He rose to wear proud titles, to be virtual arbiter in Poona and Delhi, and to dictate to Peshwas and Emperors.

By the British nation Mahadji Scindia's memory will always be honoured, as that of a gallant soldier who triumphed over disaster, a stout-hearted foe and later a staunch ally, and a far-seeing statesman who founded a great state.

He left a tradition—in which Gwalior is fortunate—a tradition of loyalty and toleration, which has been maintained for many years by his successors, and which has contributed more than aught else to the honourable position which the House of Scindia now holds.

By the lamented and untimely death of his late Highness, the mantle has now fallen upon your shoulders,



Banquet at Kotah.

Maharaja Sahib, and I feel sure that in time they will prove broad and strong enough to bear the heavy responsibilities, which your father and his predecessors discharged so well. It is one of my great regrets that I had not myself the privilege of knowing His late Highness, but I have learnt from his many friends the affection and admiration he inspired in all who came in contact with him. I feel that I cannot let this day pass without a brief reference to one to whom Gwalior owes so much. In the administration of his State and in the counsels of his Order he showed untiring energy and resource. His thoughts were constantly for his people, and the progressive ideas on which he framed his policy during his rule were ever directed towards the amelioration of his subjects, and the well-being of his State. His loyalty to the Crown and the Empire found expression during a long administration and in particular during the Great War in services which will not soon be forgotten. Your Highness, as your father was before you, so may you live long to be remembered as the servant of your people, and a loyal ally of the King-Emperor.

I will now perform the pleasant duty of unveiling this statue. May it stand to remind Alijah Mahadji's successors of the principles he followed and the tradition he has left behind, and may they possess and value those qualities of intelligence, energy and courage, which all men have learnt to associate with those who bear Scindia's name.

BANQUET AT KOTAH.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Banquet at Kotah on the 17th March :—

17th March
1929.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty this evening must be to express my deep regret for the great inconvenience caused to Your Highness by the

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sudden change in the date of my visit to Kotah. I need not assure Your Highness how reluctant I was to take a step which I knew must put Your Highness to considerable trouble and anxiety, but a Viceroy is not always master of his own time and the demands of public business are liable to dislocate his plans however carefully they may be made.

Your Highness however has not allowed this sudden alteration in the date to impair in any way the excellent arrangements made for our reception, and nothing could have exceeded the cordiality of the welcome which Your Highness and your people have accorded to Lady Irwin and myself on our first visit to Kotah. We have felt the keenest pleasure in visiting a State which traces its individual history back 300 years to the firman of the Emperor Jehangir, and for the last 40 years has been happy to find in Your Highness a ruler whose first thoughts have been always for his people and whose last thought is for himself. I have had the privilege of visiting many States in India and of observing the diverse features which they present. Wherever I have been, I have been impressed by the respect and friendship with which Rulers and people of the Indian States alike always receive the Viceroy as the King-Emperor's representative. But I think nowhere more than in Kotah State have I felt myself to be surrounded by a prevailing atmosphere of general kindness.

I do not think the reason is far to seek. The personality of a ruler imprints itself upon, and is reflected in, his subjects, and it seems to me that His Highness's kindly and sympathetic nature has struck a responsive chord in the hearts of his people. They know that he is ever ready to listen to their troubles, and to seek and find a remedy for them. He has known how to adopt



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modern ideas and modern science to their needs, while retaining a scrupulous regard for the maintenance of those old customs and traditions, which lend to Rajputs and Rajputana their peculiar charm and interest. If any proof were needed, it surely lay in the spontaneous outburst of popular affection and concern which showed itself when just two years ago Your Highness lay dangerously ill with pneumonia. I congratulate Your Highness on your complete recovery and on the rich harvest of affection and devotion on the part of your people which, as was then shown, Your Highness has reaped as the fruits of a wise and benevolent rule. It has been a great privilege therefore to renew our acquaintance with Your Highness among your own people, and in your own picturesque capital.

Outside your State, whether in the Chamber of Princes, where your wise advice is always at the service of your Order, or among the large circle of friends whose respect and affection Your Highness has won, the Maharao of Kotah's is a widely honoured name. But on the banks of the Chambal it stands for something even more. In my all too short visit I have had the opportunity of seeing many of the excellent public institutions which owe their inception to His Highness's administrative energy and care for the moral and material welfare of his people. Completed as funds became available, each of them marks a milestone on the road of progress which has been steadily continued during the long period of His Highness's rule. I was particularly interested in the Bhim Cadet Corps which I visited yesterday morning. This institution, at the outset in the nature of an experiment, has vindicated the sagacity of its creator, and I congratulate Your Highness most heartily on the success already achieved and on the

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good spirit and the keen interest in their work which the cadets display. I have also read, in the recent reports on Education in your State, the pre-eminence which Kotah has attained among the schools of Rajputana in vernacular and other examinations. The visit which I was happily able to pay to the Herbert College yesterday confirmed all that I had previously heard of the excellence of Your Highness's educational institutions. In this field, Your Highness has shown that you are fully alive to the vital part that Education has to play in modern life.

Another project which, as Your Highness has just told us, owed its inception and completion to your own enthusiasm is the new water supply completed a little more than a year ago. The boon of an abundant supply of pure water has now been added to the many benefactions which Your Highness has conferred on the people of Kotah, and I am sure I shall be acting in accordance with Your Highness's wishes when I congratulate Mr. Devon on the successful completion of this project. Mr. Devon is identified with many of the buildings in your State, and is fortunately possessed of the ability and industry to carry Your Highness's beneficent and altruistic ideas into execution.

I have learnt with deep regret of the widespread damage to the spring crop which was caused by the frost at the beginning of February not only in Kotah but throughout Rajputana and many other parts of India. In a calamity of this magnitude, where nature brings sudden devastation to her own handiwork, our hearts go out to the poor cultivator who sees all his rosy prospects blighted, and in one night fields turned black and ruined which a few hours before were green and full of promise. I feel sure that, in common with



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Your Highness, all Darbars in Rajputana which have been affected will do their utmost to afford prompt and generous relief to those who have so suffered.

Of Your Highness's loyalty to the Crown and the Empire there is little I can say that is not already known to all. I would take this opportunity to join Your Highness in echoing the heartfelt gratitude which all India and the Empire have felt in the steady progress which His Majesty is now making towards recovery from the illness, which has caused us such grave anxiety during these recent months. The services which Your Highness and Your Highness's State, in common with so many of your race and of your Order, rendered to the British Empire during the Great War are not likely to fade from our memories, and, at their recent meeting, the Chamber of Princes reaffirmed with no uncertain voice their unshakeable loyalty to the King-Emperor. It is, I doubt not, in conformity with the traditions of loyalty, which has ever distinguished your house, that Your Highness has decided to join the State Forces scheme, and I venture to congratulate Your Highness on that decision.

Finally it only remains for me to thank Your Highness most warmly for your generous hospitality during our visit to your State and for all the trouble you and your Staff have taken to make it so full of comfort and enjoyment. I thank you too for all the kind things you have said about Lady Irwin and myself to-night. The deep interest which any Viceroy must take in the Indian States is perhaps all the greater in my case for the hereditary associations you referred to this evening, and I highly appreciate the generous terms in which Your Highness has given expression to the recognition of this fact this evening. As Your Highness has said, large

*Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.*

questions are now upon the anvil, in British India and in Indian States. The Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler has formed its conclusions on the terms of reference submitted to them, both as regards the constitutional position of the States and in regard to any action they may consider desirable for the more satisfactory adjustment of financial and economic relations between the States and British India. Their report will receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration at all our hands, and I can assure Your Highness that, in the search for a fair solution to these and kindred problems, the Princes of India may count on the goodwill and friendship of the Government of India in no less measure than Government themselves know that they can rely on the loyal support of Your Highness's distinguished Order.

PRIZE DISTRIBUTION AT ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE,
DELHI.

19th March
1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, on the 19th March 1929 :—

Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I always think that an occasion of this kind is really very much in the nature of a family party, to which those who belong to the family are extremely kind to invite outsiders. And the outsiders that you do invite find themselves introduced into an atmosphere where past, present, and future all meet under the common shadow, as it were, and inspiration of a single loyalty to the same place; and for the moment those outsiders who are fortunate enough to be so introduced find themselves transplanted into another society which is very attractive, and they



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therefore feel very much flattered by your kindness in inviting them here. That is certainly my feeling and, apart from the pleasure that it always gives me to give away prizes, because nobody I think when I was in school ever gave me one, if it in fact be true, from what appeared in the Principal's Report, that I should be the first Viceroy to attend a similar function at St. Stephen's College, I am the more fortunate. But Delhi is now, as it were, the Viceroy's home-town, and therefore it is perhaps permissible—not only permissible but right—for the Viceroy to be more closely interested in Delhi, and in the welfare of Delhi, than was perhaps possible when his headquarters were elsewhere.

I should like, before I say anything else, to add my word of congratulation to all those who have been responsible for producing the state of affairs disclosed in the Principal's Report. It seemed to me distinctly that, on the purely academic side—the educational side—as well as on the social side and on the athletic side—not forgetting the success of the M. As. in winning a cup for the first time!—(laughter), in all those directions the College was maintaining very worthily the traditions and fulfilling the purposes for which it had been founded, and on all that I congratulate it most warmly and, in congratulating it, I am sure that those congratulations are due very greatly to the Principal and the staff by which he is helped, who give of their best to the work that goes on here, and to the students, for it is obvious that no institution can be good or efficient without good students. And therefore the general achievement of staff and students in maintaining the College where it to-day stands is a matter for great happiness to all those who wish the College well.

*Prize Distribution at St. Stephen's College, Delhi.*

You, Sir, mentioned the Delhi University Report, and you said, very wisely, that you could not predict the final form in which the decisions of the Government of India would be cast; nor can I (*laughter*)—and, if this were possible for me, I should be more discreet than to say anything here! But I can say this, that I thoroughly well appreciate what you have said and what must be the feeling of everyone who is closely identified with a College such as this, namely, that, whatever may be the future, it would be a profound calamity if the individuality and the peculiar traditions of a place like this were to be lost or to be submerged and disappear. (*Cheers*). What all these things—traditions, character and individuality of a place—depend on are of course matters on which we can all form our own opinion; but I am fortified in my conviction that it is not, and ought not to be, impossible to find the right adjustment between the claims of a strong and vigorous college life with the claims of a comprehensive strong University life too. By my own recollection (such as is the recollection of many here) of the relation that was held by the Colleges that we knew—at Oxford or at Cambridge—towards the life of the whole University, there was no question at any time of any weakening of the College life. But at the same time the whole College knew and felt that by making its own life strong—or, perhaps I may put it, with the object of making its own life strong—it would enable the College the better to make its contribution to the life of the whole University; and that, I would hope, would be the line which anybody who deals with the University Report for Delhi would seek to follow. Because, after all, that kind of relationship, of the member to the body, is indubitably true of the whole relations of all our human life. I am not going to develop that, but I am going to suggest it to you, if



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you will, to think about it. And I suggest it in these terms : whatever the unit of life you think fit to take, whether you take the single individual, or the family, or the class, or the caste, or the community, or the village, or the town, whatever it be—trade-union, anything you like—, the life of that unit will always be sterile, will always be circumscribed and fail in its full development and purpose, unless it is always reaching up to try and serve something bigger than itself ; and what is true of these units is just as true of nations and of races and of all big divisions of society into which the world ever falls. That, I am convinced, is true, and I would beg you—indeed I would beg you all, young and old and middle-aged—constantly to bury this philosophy at the root of your plan of life. And I suggest that it is that kind of thing that is the best consolation and guidance to you all when you are sometimes—as the youngest of you perhaps one day will be—very much disposed to be disappointed, and irritated, and annoyed at the difficulty you have in getting through as you would like with the great business of life.

Now I see human life more or less, I think, in terms of a great mosaic—a great jig-saw puzzle—set out on a huge floor on to which I am put in one corner and you are put in another corner, and somebody says to us all : now you get to work and get as much of that jig-saw puzzle straight in twenty or forty years or whatever your term of life may be. And you feel what a despairing matter it is, what differences of race and other differences there are that matter, and you have to muddle about with these infinite differences and occasionally to fit in another little bit, and hope that somebody else does not come along and undo it ; that is one way in which I think I see human life, much as, I think, the late Lord

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Salisbury told some students of foreign policy that all geographies should be studied with large-scale maps. So I beg those who study human nature to study it also, if they will, on a big scale. Don't let our attention be too much distracted with tiresome small matters; let us look at the big features of human nature and in the right way.

Well, that perhaps seems rather remote from the Delhi College; but it is not really, because I believe those men from Cambridge who founded this place fifty years ago were really seeing big enough to appreciate what it was in the power of the East and West to do if they would help one another. And that is what I mean by trying to see the thing on a large scale. (*Cheers*).

One word more and I finish. I believe that, more than anything else, the secret of whether we shall achieve anything of what we desire to achieve in our respective spheres or not will depend upon whether or not we succeed in maintaining what I may call the right scale of values. May I give you a hint of what seems to me in one or two directions the right scale of values. I suppose all of us must put very high a real love of truth. In its effect upon our learning and upon the whole conduct of life, from truth, as I see it, springs disregard of criticism that one knows to be unfair: it passes him by, leaves him unmoved: it is from truth that courage springs, and the faculty of distinguishing—so vital in these days of democracy when public opinion is the ultimate court of appeal—what is counterfeit and what is true both in character and in opinion and in judgment. Therefore let us try and pursue truth. And next, a very wide and generous view of our fellow-men. From this



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of course springs understanding, toleration, patience, the character that refuses to admit disappointment. And next, self-respect—because if you lose your self-respect you lose everything. And clean living. Those are some of the things I think that go to make the character of a man ; and, however valuable educational and intellectual qualities may be, let us never make the mistake of supposing that they alone will win a man salvation. Character, combined with learning, that is the right test. If I had to choose between the two, let me frankly say that I should prefer character, but if we get both the more happy are we. (*Cheers*).

Well, Mr. Principal, anybody who is in a place like this and who emerges from it with those kind of qualities will not I think lack opportunity, or find it impossible, to employ those qualities ; and it was with profound satisfaction that I heard that some of your students under the leadership of Mr. Capron have set their hand to taking a direct interest in some of the social problems that are all round us in this city of Old Delhi. This they will not regret, and I am sure others who join them will never regret but also nail their banner to the same mast. And it is because I believe a place like this, with its background of religion, with its corporate life, with its common ideals, in which all communities are able to join and to share, has so much in it of power to send people out into this world for the service of this Delhi, of this India, that it is a greater privilege to me to have been able to come here to-day and have some small opportunity of testifying to the value of the work that I believe this College, with its staff, its students, its past, is to-day doing. I thank you. (*Loud applause*).



ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE AT DELHI.

12th April
1929.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed both Houses of the Indian Legislature on the morning of the 12th April as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I have exercised my privilege of requiring the attendance of the members of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature this morning for two purposes. The first is that I might have the opportunity of associating myself, by what is at once the most personal and the most formal means open to me, with what I know will have been their immediate and universal feeling of resentment at the outrage which four days ago was perpetrated in this building.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the actual events which took place before the eyes of many here. We must thank the merciful protection of an over-ruling Providence that the designs of wicked men should have been, as it seems, so unaccountably and miraculously frustrated, while to Sir Bomanji Dalal we tender our sincere sympathy, mingled as it may happily be with gratitude that he and others were spared even graver injury. With the acts committed the law can be left to deal, but there are certain general reflections that may perhaps rightly find expression at such a time as this. Throughout history, men have been tempted to seek the promotion of political purposes by resort to crime. Though they may result in the destruction of a few individual lives, such efforts are foredoomed to failure because there is a fundamental and instinctive reason, which leads ordinary men everywhere to revolt against such attempted terrorism. For they realise that society itself depends upon the quality of protection that it can guarantee to the humblest of its constituent members, and that, if this guarantee were to be lightly violated



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and trodden under foot, society would rapidly revert to the order of the jungle, where strength and stealth are the only abiding sources of security.

And if this be true of attempts to challenge the sanctity of individual life, of how much more grave import is not an attempt, such as that which is in all our minds, directed against a body which, with its sister Chamber, is not only a collection of individuals but stands in a collective capacity for something more significant and comprehensive than even the sum of all the interests represented in it? Here we come face to face with a naked conflict of two contradictory philosophies. This Assembly exists as an outward symbol of that supremacy of reason, argument and persuasion which man through the ages has been, and is still, concerned to establish over the elemental passions of his kind. The bomb stands as a cruel and hideous expression of the gospel of physical violence which, repudiating reason, would recoil from no atrocity in the achievement of its sinister designs. It is indeed partly because, through the corporate person of this Assembly, a direct threat has thus been levelled at the whole constitutional life of India, and everything which that life includes, that I have thought fit to summon the two Houses together here to-day.

On more than one occasion it has been the duty of Government to call public attention to the subversive and revolutionary schemes of which India is in certain quarters the professed objective. I have never concealed my view of the gravity of the danger which, if vigilance were for a moment relaxed, would menace Indian society, and I would urge Hon'ble Members to ponder long and seriously upon what lies behind the recent incident. Deeds of violence, such as that of which this Chamber has recently been the scene, can never be completely disentangled from the setting in which the idea behind

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them has been nurtured. In such matters some men have thought and spoken before other men resort to the extremity of action. And dangerous words, written or spoken by one man, are only too frequently the poisonous seed falling upon the soil of another man's perverted imagination. From such root in due course springs the impulse which drives human beings to ruthless and shameless crime, and invests it with the false halo of self-sacrifice. And so, to go no further back than the last few months, India is disgraced by the murder in Lahore of that young and most promising Police Officer, Mr. Saunders, and the gallant head constable, Chanan Singh, still more recently of a highly respected Indian Police Officer in Barisal, and lastly by the outrage here which many Hon'ble Members were compelled to witness.

I do not doubt that all right-thinking persons, with such an object-lesson fresh in their memory, will be of one mind and speak with one voice in reprobation of such conduct. But if there be reprobation, let it be unqualified. To condemn a crime in one breath, and in the next to seek excuse for it by laying blame on those against whom it is directed is no true condemnation.

Speaking here as head of the Government of India it behoves me to make it abundantly plain that my Government will not be deterred by any such futile and insensate acts from the discharge of its evident duty to take whatever measures may seem to it right and necessary for the protection of law-abiding citizens. In one respect, and it is vital, the task of Government and of the Legislature is the same. That task is to secure the conditions under which alone the things that make for India's welfare and happiness may grow. Apart from all other considerations such an event as that of last Monday cannot possibly accelerate, any more than it



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should be allowed to retard, the development of Indian institutions and the orderly pursuit of Indian aspirations, which the true friends of India desire.

It is not by resort to force or by belief in force that the future can be assured, and those who inspire and take part in such outrages are indeed the greatest enemies of India's progress. For let no man stand aside and delude himself with the belief that the State's security is not the affair of the individual citizen. Once the gospel of force is admitted as a suitable means for the attempted coercion of Government, there is no conflict of interest, religious, racial, or economic, which it may not be sought to resolve by appeal to the same tribunal.

The second reason for which I have required your attendance this morning was to acquaint Hon'ble Members with the decisions reached by my Government in view of the situation created by the ruling given yesterday by the President of the Legislative Assembly. The result of that ruling, which it is not my purpose here to discuss, is twofold. In the first place it propounds an interpretation of the rules, which I am satisfied is not in conformity with their original intention.

In the second place, the practical effect of the President's ruling as it stands is to debar Government from asking the Legislature to give it the additional powers of which it conceives itself to stand in need, and to make it impossible for either Chamber of the Legislature to record any decision upon Government's proposals, or to form its own judgment upon the question whether or not it could usefully conduct its debates on these proposals within the rules of order.

I desire to state clearly the position of myself and my Government on both these issues. Entertaining as it does no doubt as to the intention of the rules in question, my Government is none the less constrained to

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recognise that the only appropriate person to interpret within either House of the Legislature the rules under which it works is the President of the House himself. If therefore the interpretation of the rules by the President of either House gives rise as now to a situation in which Government for grave reasons is unable to acquiesce, the only effective remedy is that early measures should be taken to secure by due authority such amendment of the rules, as may be necessary to prevent any recurrence in future of a similar interruption in the normal legislative procedure. That course we propose to follow without delay, and, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, I will add that the broad purpose of the amendment in the rules which we propose to seek will be to secure that the progress of legislation, which it is within the power of the Indian Legislature to pass, shall not be prevented by the President of either House, except in virtue of express powers to do so conferred upon him by the Rules and Standing Orders.

Meanwhile, and pending the possibility of further action in the Legislature, the primary responsibility for protecting the foundations of the ordered State rests and must rest upon the Executive Government, of which I am head. Neither I nor my Government can neglect that responsibility even though the technical difficulty created by the ruling to which I have already referred has made it impossible to share it with the Legislature. We cannot ignore the fact that the men behind the revolutionary movements, against which the Bill is directed, will not stay their hands because the enactment by the Indian Legislature of preventive legislation is postponed. With this danger in view, and speaking with a full knowledge of much that can necessarily not now be publicly disclosed, I conceive that it has become imperative for Government to obtain the powers proposed in the Public Safety Bill without further delay.

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I have accordingly decided after careful review of all the facts to avail myself of the authority conferred upon the Governor-General under Section 72 of the Government of India Act, in order to issue an Ordinance giving to the Governor-General in Council the powers in question. The purpose of those powers as the Legislature is aware is preventive ; they will affect none who are content to employ their liberty in this country for legitimate ends by legitimate means, and the conditions under which they will be exercised have been the subject of very full and careful consideration.

I am fully conscious of the serious character of the personal decision which I have thought it right to take, but, though the responsibility in this particular matter rests upon the Governor-General alone, I have no fear that my action will not command the approval of that vast majority of India's people, who have faith in India's future, and whose first desire is to see their country prosperous, contented and secure.

CHELMSFORD CLUB DINNER.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at 20th June
the Chelmsford Club Dinner at Simla on the 20th June :— 1929.

Mr. President, Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
My first duty must be warmly to thank the Club for having again invited Lady Irwin and myself to be your guests. The first time you did us a similar honour was when I had only recently come to India. That was nearly three years ago, and now I find myself your guest a second time more than half way through my period of office. The recollection of your kindness on that occasion is my excuse for taking advantage of it to-night to say something about a few of the matters which we have all had lately in our minds.

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At the outset let me congratulate the Club upon two appointments made from among its members to important posts of public service.

We are all glad to know, Mr. President, that those talents of ability, shrewdness, character and tact, which have carried you to the highest point of a distinguished official career, are not to be buried in a napkin when you cease to be a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, but are to find scope in the Chair of the Banking Enquiry Committee. Sir George Schuster could not have found anyone, not directly identified with any branch of business, who is better fitted to conduct an investigation into this complicated topic, and I count it very fortunate that he should further have succeeded in inducing a business-man of the calibre and technical knowledge of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas to be your principal colleague in this work. It is with deep regret that we have just learnt of the untimely death of Mr. B. F. Madon who had been willing to serve on the Committee and who would have brought to its aid specialist experience of no ordinary kind.

The Club may rightly also be proud of furnishing one of its members to be the first Indian to lead the League of Nations Delegation. I am personally very pleased that we should be sending a Delegation to Geneva under Indian Leadership. Sir Muhammad Habibullah, if he will allow me to say so, has already deserved well of his country both by the way in which, with the invaluable assistance of Mr. Sastri, he has handled delicate questions abroad in South and East Africa, and at home has steadily pressed forward to the establishment of an Agricultural Council of Research, which I hope will be formally inaugurated to-morrow to the lasting benefit of India's premier industry. In the discharge of these fresh responsibilities he will, I



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do not doubt, bring new credit to himself and India. And for three months he will be in the pleasant position of a detached critic of the doings or misdoings of the Government of which he is a Member, and thus approach the wholesome state of being able to see himself and his colleagues as others see them. I can fancy that many of us might wish that we could ourselves occupy for a time a similarly detached position, since it must be admitted that for Viceroys, Members of Government, as for all public persons, the times are difficult, and we might all benefit by a quiet opportunity for introspection. In human affairs merit and reward seldom go hand-in-hand, for in the world's auction the successful salesman generally depends rather upon brass-throated advocacy of his wares than upon their intrinsic quality. The merits of Governments are no doubt unequal ; but, while the Government of India is certainly not the least meritorious of its kind, I suppose there is no Government in any country which, whether through modesty or by reason of the conditions under which it works, is less prone to vocal self-advertisement. And its virtues are therefore apt to go unrecognised.

There are none the less important features of policy, for which on any dispassionate consideration I think my Government are entitled to greater credit than we always receive. The policy of strict neutrality that we have adopted towards the development of affairs in Afghanistan has been recognised on all hands to be well conceived and to have been consistently pursued. It has naturally not been without great sympathy and concern that we have watched the unhappy progress of these events across our frontier, but the task of restoring equilibrium, union and peace is one which must be, and can be, accomplished only by Afghanistan herself. Meanwhile we in India must be content to wait and hope that before long we may see

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a stable Government re-established throughout Afghanistan upon the consent of the whole Afghan people, with which we may resume our old relations of neighbourly friendship and mutual respect. Here, at any rate, is a sphere in which the policy of Government has been generally, I might perhaps say universally, approved.

In other directions we have been less fortunate. I not infrequently read of attacks made on Government at the present time for what is termed its reactionary, repressive and ruthless policy. Let us examine on what such charges rest. I take what I assume to be the three principal indictments in the count, the Public Safety Bill and Ordinance ; the Trade Disputes Act ; and certain arrests and prosecutions during the last few months.

The case for the Public Safety Bill and for the Ordinance which replaced it has been frequently stated, and I do not desire to traverse that ground again except to make two points plain. Some have said that, unless and until action is in fact taken under the Ordinance or under the Public Safety Bill, if and when it becomes law, it will be evident that the ordinary law will have proved sufficient to deal with the situation and that I and my Government shall stand convicted of having asked for panic powers. Such an argument rests upon a complete misconception of the facts. The principal importance that we attach to the Public Safety Ordinance is that of the deterrent effect which we anticipate that it will exercise. It has been more than once very frankly proclaimed by Communist sympathisers in England that it was their purpose to reinforce those who were preaching these doctrines here. The Public Safety Ordinance will be a clear danger signal to them that, if they do succeed in finding their way to India, they cannot count upon a free run of an indefinite period for the dissemination of their



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mischievous creed, while Government under the ordinary law would be accumulating sufficient evidence for their prosecution. I know of no reason by which the Government of any ordered State should be held bound to sit still with folded hands and watch the security of the interests committed to its charge thus stealthily undermined. In no case will the Ordinance operate against any Indian ; nor will it touch any non-Indian who desires to pursue a lawful avocation or to lead the life of an honest citizen. It will operate only, whether as deterrent from entry into India or by expulsion, against those non-Indians who believe that the social evils of India or of any other country are to be cured by the destruction of the very foundations on which all society has been erected.

In other quarters the action of Government has been criticised for the order of procedure adopted in relation to the Public Safety Bill and the arrests of the men now undergoing trial. Why, it is said, could not Government have stayed its hand over the arrests until the Public Safety Bill was safely through ? It was no doubt open to us to act in the sense suggested by our critics. Such a course might no doubt have obviated some of the difficulties that have arisen. But I was satisfied in my own mind that had we so proceeded we should have laid ourselves open to a charge of treating the Assembly with lack of candour. What was the position ? We have all along maintained that the ordinary law offered only a partial remedy, in that one of the necessary conditions of its successful operation was a delay which in our view was dangerous. We had accordingly introduced the Public Safety Bill, of which the purpose had been generally assumed to be that of procuring the deportation of particular individuals. In the meantime, while the Bill was still awaiting discussion in the Assembly, we decided on the

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evidence available to us to arrest and prosecute these persons among others under the ordinary law. If we had suppressed the very relevant fact of this decision in order to facilitate the passage of the Bill, would it not have been said, and not without justification, that we had been guilty of something like bad faith towards Members, by inviting the Legislature to take a decision upon what we knew, but what they would not have known, to be an incomplete statement of the facts? The matter seemed to me scarcely to admit of argument, and I therefore deliberately reached the conclusion with my colleagues that such a course would be wrong, and nothing that has occurred has given me cause to reconsider my opinion.

Support for the theory of a repressive and ruthless Government is further sought in the Trades Disputes Act, the passage of which will always be associated with the name and with the parliamentary gifts of Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. I own myself at a loss to understand how, with any regard for the meaning of words, this Act can be called in aid of the indictment it is sought to frame. The bulk of the Act is directed to the promotion of conciliation in Trade disputes and, as such, must surely command the sympathy of all who desire to see such questions resolved by pacific means. But, if organised bodies of labour and employers are to share the advantage of enlisting public opinion in favour of conciliation as they will do under this Act, it is not unreasonable that they should each be invited to recognise that in disputes affecting important public utility services the general public has a direct interest of which it is right to take account. The other clauses of the Act, prohibiting lightning strikes or lock-outs in specified services and penalising in certain circumstances the fomentation of general strikes or lock-outs of the nature to which I have referred, assert this third party interest. Where society is organised it is not possible



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in these cases for Government merely to keep the ring and watch the battle waged, for during the process millions of innocent persons are necessarily exposed at least to grave dislocation of their ordinary life and at the worst to misery and acute privation. If a duty lies upon society to have regard to the welfare of its industrial population, it is not less incumbent upon those who win their livelihood from industry to pay consideration to the welfare of the whole community of which they are part. It has been contended that these provisions are designed to interfere with the just liberty of labour by imposing restrictions on the assumed right of the workman to strike, using that word in its broadest sense. But analogous legislation, imposing in some cases even greater restrictions on this right to strike, is in contemplation or actually finds place upon the statute books of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland and France. Are those countries, where, if anywhere, democracy understands liberty but also knows that liberty is not license, are they all the victims of ruthless and repressive Governments? I scarcely think indeed that the Government of India, if it had been unsympathetic to the real interests of labour, would have invited the appointment of a Royal Commission to explore so widely the labour situation. Such appointment is evidence of the importance that my Government attaches to these questions, and I am glad to see that its membership has been generally and rightly taken as a guarantee that they will be brought under thorough and sympathetic examination.

It is finally alleged that evidence of a repressive policy is to be found in the fact that Government has thought it necessary to prosecute certain individuals for offences against the State. On what does such an allegation rest? If Government is right, as all sane persons would admit, to prosecute men who resort to overt action in violation of the law, by what reasoning can it be judged wrong to

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take steps against those who make speeches or enter into conspiracies to inspire other and perhaps less prudent men to such violation? The assertion of the law is the clear duty of any Government, and what my Government has done is to bring to trial in the ordinary courts of the land persons who in its judgment have committed offences against the State or against the public tranquillity. Let no one deceive himself; the effect of a transgression of the law is more far-reaching than the actual breach committed, and any society that forgets that the reign of law is a condition of its own existence will soon find itself helplessly drifting towards the cataracts of anarchy.

Mr. President, I do not claim that the Government of India is perfect—few human institutions are—but I do claim that it enjoys no monopoly of human wickedness and that its opponents enjoy no monopoly of human wisdom. I find it hard to believe that those who attack Government on these lines are concerned so much to examine the merits or demerits of a particular policy, as to use any argument, good, bad or indifferent which may in the eyes of some bring discredit upon the Government. It has been said that it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose, and in India the temptation to allow prejudice rather than reason to be the motive power of opposition is perhaps greater than elsewhere by reason of the fact that here critics commonly regard themselves as exempt from any direct responsibility, and that the line drawn between Government and Opposition can be readily misrepresented as coterminous with the division between officials and non-officials, and with a further and more dangerous division based on racial difference.

It is not for me now to discuss in what direction we may be likely to witness modification of India's existing constitutional machinery, or what effect any such change



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may produce upon the relations between Government and Opposition. I permit myself one general observation only. It has been publicly suggested that it might be possible to devise means by which the free growth of India's political institutions should be secured without the necessity of recurring enquiries such as that of which India has recently been the subject. Though I do not attempt to pronounce upon the feasibility of this suggestion, I cannot doubt that, if such means could in fact be found, it would be greatly for India's good. For after all the true philosophy should be that a constitution is something that grows as a living organism, drawing strength and character from the environment, science and practice of daily life. There is much truth in what was said by a modern biographer of Alexander Hamilton, than whom few persons had more to do with the creation of what we now call the United States, that the ideal constitution should be analogous not to the school boy's coat which the man outgrows, but to the bark of a tree which expands with the natural growth of years.

In this business of constitution-building—may I underline what I have said before?—there is room for all to take their share, and, if it is to be wisely handled, it must be by the best brains of Britain and India mutually helping one another in the task. During the last 12 months we have seemed to watch the prospects of co-operation in the measure which all well-wishers of India would desire receding from view, under the pressure of resentment in some quarters at the choice which Parliament had made as to the instrument to conduct an enquiry on its behalf. I have never either underrated the strength of the opposition to Sir John Simon's Commission or impugned the motives of those who felt it their duty to pursue that line of conduct. But none the less I think that the opposition to the Statutory Commission has rested, to some degree

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at all events, upon a misconception of their functions. It has been assumed by many that they were the Law-givers on the Mount, who would from that lofty eminence impart a new dispensation to India. Such a conception of the work of the Commission has never, so far as I know, found currency in England. Nor indeed, conscious as they must have been of the importance of the task placed upon their shoulders, has this ever been the view taken by the Commission of their own responsibilities?

I would remind you of what Sir John Simon said in a speech during his tour in India. "No one", he said, "should regard the Statutory Commission or its colleagues as though we were settling and deciding the constitution of British India. Our task is very important, but it is not that. Our task is that of making a fair, honest sympathetic report to the Imperial Parliament. When we have made our report, then it would be India's opportunity to make her full contribution, which is right and necessary, to her future constitution, which would be framed by Great Britain and India together." That is I believe an exact statement of the Commission's responsibility which it is desirable to bear in mind.

Meanwhile, it is evident that two of the problems on which public attention more and more tends to fasten are those of minority communities and of the Indian States, and I would say a word in regard to each.

It was concerning the first, or rather concerning the unhappy consequences of communal discords, that I ventured to address the Club nearly three years ago. There will be general satisfaction that, with the deplorable exception of Bombay, the last three years have seen a steady diminution of communal rioting and outrage. I believe it is many years since the *Bakr-Id* festival passed



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off with so little actual trouble and disturbance. But I am afraid we should delude ourselves were we to think that this improvement in the outward manifestation of communal feeling implied that communal feeling had ceased to be. It is much if the adherents of either side can recognise that their differences are rather subjects for argument and debate than of blind outbreaks of mob violence. But we know very well that, as a political question, the communal problem is still unsolved. As in the international problem of disarmament the first requisite of progress is to exorcise and allay the spirit of suspicion and fear that forbids mutual confidence and drives men to seek security in the strength of their own defences, so it is with the communal problem in India. Could the leaders of majority communities once convince minorities that their interests were in no danger at their hands, the backbone of the problem would have been broken. This the leaders of majority communities alone can achieve, and they would be the first to recognise that they have not yet succeeded in it. So long as this is so, it must remain the purpose of all patriotic men to bend their energies to the task of bringing into concord the different component parts of India's common life and, in the meantime, to avoid anything that may make that task more obstinate.

The other large problem of India's future is the Indian States, and here we have to deal with three strands of fact and policy. There is first of all the desire to wide statesmanship to see a canvas set on which a picture of All-India may ultimately be drawn. Then there are the Treaty Rights of the Princes, inherited from the East India Company, and hallowed and confirmed by successive declarations of the Crown ; and, lastly, there are the feelings of States subjects, of which all wise and liberal-minded Rulers will take account.

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I do not believe that this or any problem is beyond the power of wise men to solve, if only they approach it with cool heads and steady hands ; but, just as the knot of a boot lace becomes intractable if roughly and brusquely handled, so it is with such questions as are implicit in the position of the Indian States. The appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee was designed to elucidate facts and give to all concerned such material as they could, the better to see the problem whole. But I make no concealment of my view that, in any proposals that may be made, it is essential on every ground of policy and equity to carry the free assent of the Ruling Chiefs of India, and that any suggestion that Treaty Rights, which the Princes are accustomed and entitled to regard as sacrosanct, can be lightly set aside is only calculated to postpone the solution that we seek.

The British Elections have just been held, and His Majesty's Government has now been entrusted to other hands. But whatever the differences between British parties, I know that all desire to find a path wide enough for Great Britain and India to walk along together. I know too that, behind the noise and din of much political controversy in India, there is, even among many whose position compels them to be protagonists in political battles, a great volume of strong and sane opinion that desires nothing so much as to reach in partnership with Great Britain an honourable settlement of India's constitution. When I go to England I shall seek opportunity of discussion with His Majesty's Government on these grave matters. It will be my duty, as I have said elsewhere, to represent to His Majesty's Government the different standpoints of those who can speak for Indian political opinion. This I shall strive to do as faithfully as I may, in the spirit



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and to the end outlined in what are for me the two governing pronouncements of British hope and purpose :— the familiar Declaration of 1917 and the Instrument of Instructions which every Governor-General receives from the King-Emperor when he assumes office, wherein His Majesty affirms that “ Above all things it is Our will and pleasure that the plans laid by Our Parliament for the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India as an integral part of Our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions ”. I earnestly pray that, as the future unfolds itself, we may see the sure realisation of this hope.

It is good for all of us, who are involved in the pressure of day-to-day work, occasionally to stand back and try to correct our sometimes too narrow perspective by the light of vision and faith. So doing, I seem to see through the dust one thing standing out in unassailable relief. The work of those—whether Indian or British—who are concerned with India is that of an experiment unique in history. That experiment is nothing less than the building firm of a political fabric in which India may realise her destiny and where East and West alike may freely offer their peculiar gifts for the common service of mankind. The difficulties are immense ; the pursuit of such a quest must constantly place an almost intolerable strain upon the resolve even of those to whom it stands as perhaps the most impelling purpose to which human effort can be directed. Nevertheless, feeling as I do that upon the success of this endeavour issues more profound than either Indian or British depend, I believe that Providence which ultimately controls the affairs of men will not permit the great design to be frustrated.



INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COUNCIL.

21st June
1929.

The following speech was delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the Inaugural Meeting of the Agricultural Research Council held at Simla on the 21st June :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have another opportunity of welcoming to Simla representatives of the Provinces and of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, and I think we may consider it of good omen that our proceedings should have been accompanied by rain, which is always welcome. I much regret that the Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture from Burma has, after all, been unable to be with us to-day, but I am very glad that that Province is not unrepresented, especially as it was not represented at the Conference convened by my Government in October 1928 to consider the steps to be taken to carry into effect the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. To the other Hon'ble Ministers and representatives from Provinces, our gratitude is also due for coming so far at a season of the year when travelling must, I fear, be a source of no small discomfort.

We are now meeting, gentlemen, to inaugurate the Council of Agricultural Research which, as I had occasion to state to last year's Conference, was perhaps the most original and the most far-reaching of the suggestions contained in the Commission's Report. It is not necessary for me to-day to repeat what I said when opening the earlier Conference about the value of research in promoting the development of a country so predominantly agricultural as India. But I may be allowed once more to emphasise that research offers a fruitful field for co-operation between the Government of India and the Provinces and a sure means of stimulating and widening the agricultural development of this country. Thanks to the work which the Conference of Hon'ble Ministers of Agriculture and other Provincial



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representatives accomplished in the Conference which assembled last autumn and to the constructive and sympathetic aid given by the leaders of parties in the Legislative Assembly, we have evolved for the Council an organisation which, while founded on the basic principles suggested by Lord Linlithgow and his colleagues, has been modified in certain ways which we felt made it more suited to the present-day requirements of India. These changes are fully explained in the Resolution constituting the Council, copies of which have, I understand, been communicated to all of you. They are designed to ensure for the Council the maximum of efficiency in operation by providing separate organisations for administration and for scientific scrutiny and advice ; the greatest measure of freedom from Governmental control compatible with the obligation of Government to see that public funds are properly spent ; close and cordial relationship with the Provinces ; and competent and representative membership. The presence of the Hon'ble Ministers of Agriculture on the Governing Body cannot fail to be a source of strength to that important organ of the Council. Indeed, no better means can be devised of linking the activities of the Council with those of the Provincial Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. Experience alone can show how far the Council will be able to achieve the results we hope for, but the attendance at this meeting is itself a gratifying proof of the determination on all sides to make it a success. May the career on which it starts be worthy of its beginning and fraught with ever-increasing prosperity to India's agricultural millions.

The only formal business before you to-day is the discussion of the draft Memorandum of Association and the Rules and Regulations which have to be filed with the nearest Registrar of Joint Stock Companies before your Council can begin its work. These have been drawn up in

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accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission as modified by my Government and with the object of ensuring the establishment of an organisation to which the Government of India and the Provinces should stand in the same relation consistently with the fact that the Government of India, who are providing the whole of the requisite funds, have a responsibility to the tax-payer. The discussion of Rules and Regulations is, I fear, dull work, but you will realise how important it is that the foundations of the new organisation should be well and truly laid, and I have no doubt that you will carefully scrutinise the complete draft which has been placed before you and in the preparation of which we have had the expert aid of Sir Frank Noyce. You will notice that, subject to a very small limitation, your Council is being given an entirely free hand in the expenditure of that portion of the grants made by the Government of India which is to be devoted to the promotion of research including the dissemination of information. As regards that portion of the grants which is to be devoted to the cost of staff, establishment and general purposes, some of you may think that the control of Government threatens to be too detailed and too strict. I can assure you, however, that the arrangements proposed are intended only to enable my Government to fulfil their function of acting as guardians of the public interests in regard to the expenditure of Imperial revenues.

There is one point to which I am glad to have this opportunity of referring. I understand that some members of the Imperial and Provincial Departments of Agriculture see in the Report of the Royal Commission an imperfect appreciation of the achievements of these Departments. I do not myself think that this view is warranted by anything contained in the Royal Commission's Report. In stressing what could be accomplished by co-operation and co-



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ordination, the Commission had no intention to belittle the great achievements of the all too small band of research workers in this country. Their enquiries brought home to them what must be evident to every careful observer, that, as science extends its boundaries, it is only by providing adequate opportunity for co-operation that full value can be given to the patient and persistent endeavour of the true scientific worker. It was to avoid waste of effort and to increase efficiency that the Commission proposed this new organisation.

The Royal Commission held, I think, rightly that the success of the Council of Agricultural Research would depend to a degree which could hardly be exaggerated on the personality of its Chairman, who under the scheme as modified by my Government will be the Vice-Chairman of the Council. I am glad to be able to announce to you that we have secured for this important post Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya. Sir Vijayaraghavacharya's varied experience as administrator and powers of organisation of which he gave proof as India's Exhibition Commissioner at Wembley, are a guarantee that his services to the Council will be valuable. From the Government of Bihar and Orissa we hope to secure the services of their Director of Agriculture, Mr. B. C. Burt, for appointment as your whole-time expert adviser in Agriculture. Mr. Burt's work as Secretary of the Indian Central Cotton Committee is well known to many of you and I have no doubt that he will bring to his new duties the energy and enthusiasm which contributed so materially to the successful working of that Committee from its inception. The recommendations made by the Royal Commission in their Chapter on Animal Husbandry have, I understand, not met with so general a measure of acceptance as those in other parts of their Report. In view of their controversial character, we have thought it advisable to obtain from out-