



*Banquet at Bahawalpur.*

Your Highness has been good enough to hope that Lady Irwin and I shall have an opportunity at some later date of visiting your State again. If we are fortunate enough to do so, I hope that I shall find my expectations fulfilled, that in place of Cholistan we shall find a Gulistan, and that Bahawalpur will by then be firmly established on the road to prosperity.

During the next day or two we look forward to making a personal acquaintance with those outlying parts of your State which, as you say, no Viceroy has ever yet visited, and I can assure Your Highness that you are right in thinking that my chief object in doing so is to get a better understanding of the administrative problems which face your Government and, if possible, to give a little encouragement to those who are entrusted with carrying out your policy.

I have heard with pleasure Your Highness' tribute to the loyalty and efficiency of your Ministers and officers, and to the happy relations which exist between Your Highness and the Agent to the Governor-General, Colonel St. John. Earlier in your speech Your Highness referred to the friendship which has for so long existed between your State and the British Government. I feel confident that those traditions of loyalty to the Crown which Your Highness has inherited from your ancestors will be maintained by you with the same scrupulous regard that I, as representative of the King-Emperor, shall always hope to have for the old engagements which have happily guided our mutual relations.

In conclusion, I am glad to have the opportunity of asking this company to drink to the long life, health and prosperity of our host His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur.





## SIXTH SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

22nd Novem-  
ber 1926.

H. E. the Viceroy presided over the Sixth Session of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi on the morning of the 22nd November and opened the Proceedings with the following Address :—

*Your Highnesses*,—I have great pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses to the Sixth Session of your Chamber. It is the first Session over which I have had the honour to preside, and I am very pleased that what I believe is a record number of Princes should have been able to attend.

I much regret that there are some whose faces I had hoped to see in this Chamber, but who are no longer with us. Since the Chamber last met, three of your number have been removed by death. His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar was one who by his character had won the esteem of all who knew him. Death came to him early, but in the courage with which he awaited its approach, as in the whole spirit of his life, he has left behind him an example that many an older man might envy.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh too was a figure well known to Your Highnesses, though latterly ill-health had debarred him from being present at these meetings. He too was a good ruler and a man of many friends.

The most recent loss is that of the Nawab of Loharu. A wise ruler of his State, he had taken a close interest in the affairs of this Chamber and during the past few sessions had taken considerable part in its debates.

Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to join with me in recording an expression of our deep sympathy with all who have been thus bereaved, and in wishing prosperity and happiness to those who have succeeded to their responsibilities.

Besides these three losses through death, there have been two other changes in your membership. The *ex-*





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Maharaja Holkar of Indore, by vacating his *gadi*, in circumstances with which Your Highnesses are familiar, has thereby ceased to be a member of the Chamber. I take this opportunity of publicly expressing my hope and belief that his son, who has succeeded him, will prove worthy of his high position.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal is one who has deserved well of her State and of India, and who for nearly 25 years has devoted herself unsparingly to the discharge of her duties. She felt that in her son she had a successor capable of carrying on her great work, and it was in the full confidence that she was taking no rash step which she might afterwards regret, that she resolved to vacate the *masnad* in his favour. In her a great figure has passed from the stage of active life, and we all wish her many years of happy retirement. She has much to give her happiness—in the memories both of her own long service and of her unswerving loyalty to the Crown; but I think she is likely to find her most enduring satisfaction in the wise government of the State by her successor, whom we welcome here to-day.

As this is the first occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing Your Highnesses as a body, I should like to give you some indication of the feelings which I entertain towards the Princes of India and their States, and of the principles by which I consider our mutual relations should be guided. I can claim indeed something in the nature of a hereditary interest in the Indian States, as one of the best-remembered actions of my grandfather, as Secretary of State for India, was his approval of Lord Canning's proposals for the grant of the adoption *sanads* to the Rulers of the principal States. But there are other grounds on which the Indian States have always made to me a powerful and particular appeal. No one who has read history, and has anything of the historical sense in



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his composition, can fail to be attracted by the setting of tradition and romance in which the picture of your families and States is framed.

Moreover, if by political creed I am a Conservative, it is because I am convinced that none of us can hope to make any contribution of value to the cause of progress, if we seek to disregard the long evolution of history which has made us what we are. That process has been slow, often it has been painful, and often those whose work we can now review are seen to have wandered from the path they sought to follow. But the process has been single and continuous. And if the life of the different ages of man is thus indissolubly linked together into an organic whole, those surely are right who seek to blend just reverence for the past with their loftiest aspirations for the future. Here, again, in such a philosophy the States seem to stand astride the centuries, and to hold a place of interest peculiarly their own.

And lastly, they appeal to me, holding firmly as I do the conviction that we are all of us concerned with the building of a future, better and greater than the past or present, through which it will be brought to birth. In that sphere of this world task which lies in India, British India and the States over which Your Highnesses rule are partners, and it is for you, on your side, as for British India on hers, to see that the structure we are building is sound at heart, that there are no loose stones, no internal flaw, which, though hidden from the outside world, may secretly be tending towards the weakness and ultimate destruction of the whole.

I have said enough to show you some of the general considerations by which my mind is influenced in regard to the work which we hope to do together. As regards our official relations, I need hardly assure Your Highnesses that I realise to the full the sanctity and binding nature





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of the treaties and sanads, and that I shall do all in my power to observe them. But, as Your Highnesses and I are aware, there is another aspect of our relations, and I do not think that in practice we shall find ourselves in disagreement as to the proper limits of intervention. The general policy of Government remains, as it has been in the past, a policy of non-interference in affairs that are internal to the States. It is only in extreme cases that the Paramount Power will intervene, and I can assure Your Highnesses that any such action which it is ever thought necessary to take will be taken only after the most deliberate and sympathetic consideration, and with the greatest reluctance. Its sole purpose will be the furtherance of the interest, present and future, of the Indian States, and of the general Order of the Princes themselves. I offer you my confidence, and I know that I may count on yours; for indeed our mutual confidence is more than ever necessary at this juncture of Indian political development.

One matter of common interest, to which Your Highnesses attach considerable weight, has recently been receiving the earnest attention of my Government. I refer to the claim which has been put forward by the States to a share in the customs revenues of the Government of India. An exhaustive examination of the claims put forward has failed to reveal grounds on which relief can be claimed as a matter of right, either from the point of view of treaty obligations or past practice. I am nevertheless conscious that the situation has changed of late years and that the States generally, as also the Provincial Governments of British India, often find difficulty in meeting the demands for additional expenditure, which are becoming increasingly insistent as out of date methods of administration are discarded and efforts made to keep abreast of modern developments. But while fully sympathising with Your Highnesses' desire for a speedy settlement of this



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important question I feel very strongly that it is but one aspect of the many-sided problem of the political evolution of India and of the future relations, especially of the future financial relations, between the Government of India and the Indian States. I am only too conscious of the difficulties which must be surmounted before that problem can be solved and they are engaging my anxious consideration. But it would manifestly be premature for me or my Government to commit ourselves in regard to this question of the customs revenues to any definite line of action which might seem to prejudge the larger problem to which I have referred. In regard to that larger problem I would say only this, that I am confident that on one fundamental point there will be no difference of opinion. The solution to be aimed at must be one which will tend to unity and not to dissidence among the various elements which go to make up the Indian Empire.

It is becoming every day more clear that the future relations of the States with the Government of India are a matter of the greatest moment, and I am anxious that this question should be examined with the greatest possible care from every point of view. I do not suggest that any action is immediately necessary. But frank discussion can do nothing but good and I therefore propose, for the consideration of Your Highnesses, that the Chamber should authorise the Standing Committee to hold informal talks with me and my advisers, whenever I think this might most advantageously be done. I lay emphasis on the fact that such conversations would be entirely informal. They would be merely exploratory in character and would pledge none of those taking part in them to any conclusions. Their object would be simply to clear our minds on a subject of great complexity and great importance, and I know that they would be useful both to the States and to the Government of India. I, therefore, ask Your Highness to consider my proposal with care and sympathy.





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I now wish to say a few words on the position of the Indian States in relation to International Conventions. As Lord Reading pointed out, some of the Conventions by their very nature call for action by the Imperial Government alone, but there are others that relate to matters of purely domestic concern. In regard to this latter class of Convention we can, I know, rely upon Your Highnesses' co-operation wherever possible, but I need hardly repeat his assurance that we have no intention, if I may recall his phrase, of "ignoring or compromising the rights which are vested in the Rulers of Indian States".

But although in practice we anticipate that Your Highnesses will readily co-operate so far as it may be in your power to do so, it is manifestly desirable that there should be no possibility of any misunderstanding of the position on the part of other nations. In some cases this result can be obtained by means of reservations at the time of the signing of a convention. In others this course may not be practicable, and we are at present in consultation with His Majesty's Government with a view to finding a solution for this second class of cases.

I now wish to make an appeal to Your Highnesses on a matter which is of profound importance both to the internal administration of India and to her good name among the other nations of the world.

Your Highnesses are aware that by her ratification of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912, India, like the other ratifying Powers, pledged herself to the ultimate suppression of opium-smoking, and undertook certain obligations by way of the limitation and control of opium export.

As a result of the Geneva Conferences in 1924 and 1925 further agreements were made. Within five years effective steps are to be taken to prevent the illicit traffic



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in raw opium from constituting a serious obstacle to the ultimate suppression of opium-smoking. A Commission of the League of Nations will visit the producing countries at the end of that time to decide whether this obligation has been fulfilled. When it is considered that illicit traffic in exports of raw opium has been effectively suppressed, the signatories have covenanted to reduce, and within 15 years to prohibit, the use in their own territories of opium for smoking.

Although opium-smoking is luckily rare in India, we are greatly concerned to assist the countries of the Far East to rid themselves of this social scourge. In pursuance of this policy, we have recently decided to reduce our exports of opium to the Far East, except what is required for medicinal use, to a vanishing point in ten years time. This decision, when in full effect, will cost us two crores a year, and may rightly rank, as an example of unselfish idealism, beside the great self-denying Ordinance of 1913, whereby India sacrificed an annual revenue of £4 million sterling in the China trade. Abolition of export must of course be gradual. We cannot disregard the interests of the cultivators and too rapid a diminution of exports from regulated sources of supply might only result in making things worse by stimulating the illicit traffic.

Our external policy then is the gradual extinction of exports, our internal policy the total suppression of opium-smoking and the reduction of opium-eating to reasonable limits.

It is to carry this policy into effect that your help for which I am now asking is essential. There are in particular two features in certain of the States which are causing us concern, the very high rate of consumption and the enormous stocks of old opium. In Central India, the consumption is eight times and in Rajputana 16 times the





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standard rate laid down by the League of Nations, while it is calculated that it must take 30 years to bring existing stocks into legitimate consumption. Consumption of old stocks is retarded by extensive cultivation, and you yourselves are aware that these conditions and the low price of opium in the States of Central India and Rajputana furnish an inevitable incentive to extensive smuggling into other parts of India and abroad. Unless we can effect a radical improvement in these conditions, I do not see how we can face with equanimity the League of Nations Commission which will visit India in a few years time. What answer shall we be able to give when they charge us with failing to fulfil our international obligations? We are pledged to stop smuggling to foreign countries, but preventive measures are of little value so long as we have in our midst this large reservoir of old opium, and additional stocks coming into being year by year owing to the absence of an all-India policy of production. It will be clear to Your Highnesses, as it is to myself, that you and the Government of India must work together in this matter. I have no ready-made scheme to place before this Chamber but the ultimate decision, whatever it may be, must be the product of the combined wisdom and the voluntary co-operation of the Government and the Durbars. The problem is world-wide, it cries out for solution and I accordingly propose to invite the Durbars concerned to nominate delegates to an early Conference in regard to it. I am certain that in appealing to Your Highnesses for your help in this matter, I shall not appeal in vain. You will not wish to be backward in associating yourselves with the Government of India in this new Crusade. The Treaty of Versailles by which the League of Nations was created, was signed by a Member of your own Order, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. None of you can remain indifferent to any abuse of opium that may occur in your own territories and to the reproach that is thereby cast



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on India in the eyes of the world. The Rulers of India took their place beside us in the Great World War. I appeal to them to come forward and take their place beside us in another Great War—the war against drugs, which inflict damage so baneful and insidious upon the character and physique of the human race. In these last few days we have been reminded that the poppy of Flanders Field has become the emblem of remembrance of those who fell in the war and of hope of better things which they died to win for us. The poppy of India must not be allowed to stain the fair name of her sister-flower in Flanders.

There is one further matter on which I appeal for Your Highnesses' co-operation. As in British India so in Your Highnesses' territories, the welfare of the agricultural population is the true basis of national prosperity. The Royal Commission on Agriculture is now engaged in reviewing the difficulties which hinder advances in this field, and I venture to hope that the results of their enquiry may prove of value and assistance to Your Highnesses as well as to British India. It is clear that as the agricultural problems of British India and Indian States are essentially the same, close collaboration will be to the advantage of both. The problem which I have particularly in mind at this moment is the question of epidemic diseases of plants and cattle. We have to fight virulent plant pests and epidemics which from time to time ravage the cattle population of this country. The value of our efforts in struggling against these attacks will be enormously enhanced if we work hand in hand, Province with Province, British India with the Indian States. I hope and believe that Your Highnesses will be prepared, wherever you may, to join forces in this field with British India.

The programme before Your Highnesses at this Session is not a heavy one. This is in part due to the





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fact that, for reasons with which Your Highnesses are familiar, the last Session had to be postponed until February. The Standing Committee too found it impossible to convene a meeting before May, and although they have performed a great deal of useful work at their two meetings since the last Session, the important questions which they have discussed have naturally called for careful and detailed examination. Time has thus not permitted of the presentation of many of the subjects now under discussion, but I trust, when we meet again, that it will be possible to place before Your Highnesses a number of interesting and important subjects. The Standing Committee have suggested that they should in future meet three times a year instead of twice. The suggestion is a sound one and will, I believe, facilitate the speedy despatch of business.

I have already referred to some subjects connected with the League of Nations, and it is becoming an annual feature of your Sessions that we should listen to a report from a Member of Your Order selected to attend its annual Assembly. These reports, as my predecessor remarked last year, are unique both in interest and character and they mark in an emphatic manner the intimate association of Your Highnesses with all that concerns India as a nation and as a partner in the Empire. This year we had in His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala a representative, whose wide knowledge of Western Nations and of the life of Europe no less than his mastery of the French language gave him an equipment of particular value for his task, and we shall listen with special interest to his report. The recent Assembly has been noteworthy for the admission of Germany to the comity of nations and has thereby marked an important advance towards true peace, without which our hope of world recovery must be as illusory as the distant mirage.



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I regret very much that it was not possible this year to invite a Member of Your Order to represent India at the Imperial Conference. The circumstances of this year's Conference were however in some ways peculiar. The Secretary of State decided that he would himself lead the Delegation and he selected an English official of the Indian Civil Service to accompany him as economic expert, in view of the fact that the Agenda related so largely to commercial questions. This left one place only to be filled by someone who was not an official, and it was felt that in these circumstances the place should go rather to a representative drawn from British India than to one drawn from the States.

As Your Highnesses are aware, the principles of selection have not been reduced to rules, and no undertaking has been given either to the States or to British India in regard to the composition of the Delegations. But in the past the advantages of selecting a Ruling Prince as one of the representatives of India have been fully realised, and I can assure Your Highnesses that I hope, except when conditions similar or analogous to those of this year may prevail, that it will be possible for India to have the benefit of the personal co-operation of one of the Princes' Order.

The question of tours and visits abroad was recently discussed both in the Standing Committee and in the Chamber, and Your Highnesses will remember that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner informed you of the decision reached. His Highness mentioned that the officiating Political Secretary, Colonel Patterson, had placed it on record that there was no intention of imposing any restrictions on the movements of Ruling Princes, and added that it was on this distinct understanding that the Standing Committee had agreed to the insertion of a clause inviting Ruling Princes to give the Government of India information regarding their proposed tours. Colonel





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Patterson's assurance was a statement of the general principle, to which the Government of India intend to adhere. But I have little doubt that you will yourselves appreciate that the general principle is one which in particular cases might work prejudicially. Cases do arise—though happily not very often—in which frequent and prolonged absences may weaken administration and gravely affect finance. In such cases, Government would fail in its plain duty,—as I hope Your Highnesses will recognise—if it did not offer advice to a Ruler, who perhaps merely from the thoughtlessness of youth and the absence of single-minded counsellors was jeopardising the true interests both of himself and of his State.

Your Highnesses will recollect that at the Session held in November 1924 His late Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior moved a Resolution that the Government of India should accept the following principles in connection with Minority Administration : firstly, that no Ruler should be expected to decide one way or the other in regard to important matters on the assumption of powers, and, secondly, that no Ruler should ordinarily until seven years after the assumption of powers be called upon to commit himself irrevocably in regard to any important measures taken during his minority.

This Resolution was carried and my predecessor undertook that it should receive the careful consideration which it deserved. In accordance with this promise the terms of the Resolution have since been subjected to careful scrutiny. My predecessor and I have given full weight to the importance which Your Highnesses attach to the principles underlying it, but the conclusion at which Lord Reading arrived, and in which, subject to anything further that Your Highnesses might wish to urge, I concur, is that the matter is one which is hardly susceptible of regulation by literal rules. Your Highnesses may however, I think,



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safely trust the Government of India to make no unreasonable or improper use of any influence they may have over a young and inexperienced Ruler.

Your Highnesses were informed last year that, in pursuance of the policy of simplifying, as far as possible, the political relations between the Government of India and the States, although it was not practicable to abolish the post of the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, it might be possible to create a new Second Class Residency with its Headquarters at Bharatpur for the conduct of relations with the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jhalawar, Karauli and Kotah. The change was however to be conditional upon the wishes of the Princes concerned, and it has since been ascertained that the scheme, in the form in which the Government of India proposed to give effect to it, does not commend itself to all the Princes concerned. We have therefore decided that for the present, at any rate, the existing arrangement should continue.

I should like to mention one further matter to which I attach importance. My Government have for some time been examining the problem of the future of the Chiefs' Colleges. These Colleges, which owe so much to the liberality of Your Highnesses, have in the past played a part in the education of the Princes and their nobles the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate, and I should be reluctant to admit that the future is likely to see the sphere of their utility circumscribed. Like every institution however their popularity is liable to fluctuations, and in recent times there has been a falling off in attendance and some feeling of uneasiness as to what the years to come may hold in store. The causes of this must be sought, I think, not in any inherent defect in the system itself, but in certain administrative difficulties that have arisen. There is a very natural desire on the part of Your Highness to enjoy a larger share in the control of





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the Governing Bodies, and that the Governing Bodies themselves should exercise a larger measure of autonomy in the management of the Colleges and the appointment of the staff. There is also an apprehension that the Government grants, upon which the Colleges so largely depend, subject as they are to the vote of a popularly elected body, are not entirely secured. We are anxiously considering whether it is possible to devise means whereby these difficulties may be overcome and the Colleges placed on a firm footing. The problem was discussed last January by a Conference which some of Your Highnesses attended, and certain resolutions were passed. These are being further examined, and I hope that it will be possible before long to formulate definite proposals. Believing as I do in the paramount importance of the Colleges I feel I can safely count upon the support of Your Highnesses in any measures designed to preserve and improve them.

It will be Your Highnesses' duty to elect a Chancellor and Standing Committee for the next year. Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to acknowledge the ungrudging and conscientious manner in which His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has performed the responsible duties of Chancellor during the past ten months. I have myself had ample opportunity of observing with what care he attends to the Chamber's work and interests. Important engagements and absence from India have unfortunately rendered it impossible for some members of the Standing Committee to attend its meetings, but those who have done so have devoted themselves unsparingly to furthering the best interests of your Order, and have earned our gratitude for the valuable advice they have tendered.

It only remains for me to express to Your Highnesses the pleasure with which I look forward to the common deliberations which I, as representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and you, as Rulers of the great States





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of India, shall hold together during the years of my Viceroyalty. These years promise to be a critical period in the history of British India and will have their necessary re-action on the Indian States. I am glad to think that, in any question which may arise regarding the future of your States, I shall have the benefit of the counsel of this Chamber. I, for my part, shall always welcome any view, however different from my own, which is honestly held and candidly expressed. In return I offer you my whole-hearted assistance in settling, to our mutual satisfaction, any problems that may arise, and in promoting the real welfare of the Indian States, which occupy so important a place in the life of India.

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ADDRESS TO THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF  
COMMERCE OF INDIA AND CEYLON.

8th December  
1926.

H. E. the Viceroy opened the General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Cawnpore on the 6th December with the following Address :—

*Mr. Taylor and Gentlemen,*—I have to thank you all for the very kind welcome you have given me, and I am very pleased that this conference should have afforded me the opportunity of renewing an earlier acquaintance with Cawnpore. I need hardly say that I very highly value the privilege of meeting here representatives of Chambers of Commerce from every part of this great country. Your agenda paper contains important subjects, and you may rest assured that my Government, like that of my predecessors, will pay careful attention to the results of your deliberations. At your meeting last year Lord Reading brought all his great experience to a review of the course of trade and industry in India during the period of his Viceroyalty. Some day I may follow his example, but my task to-day is more restricted, and I propose to





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confine myself to saying something on a few of the subjects which claim our immediate interest.

I must so far conform to precedent as to refer briefly to the present state of Indian trade.

Last year trade was good, though it did not reach the record figures of 1924-25. But when all allowance has been made for increased prices it is satisfactory to know that our export trade has regained its pre-war volume. It is our import trade that lags behind. In the current year trade has so far not been favourable. Imports indeed are slightly up compared with last year, but exports are down in the first six months of this year by 36 crores compared with last year and by 19 crores compared with the year before. The main decrease has occurred in the value of exports of raw cotton and the cause must be sought in the disorganisation of prices attendant on the announcement of the huge cotton crop in the United States of America. This year moreover the cotton crop is later than usual. But the most recent Railway traffic returns indicate a beginning of the usual cold weather activity and by the end of the year I hope that we may have seen a recovery in our export trade.

Of particular industries, I must refer first to the great cotton mill industry of India. It is passing through a time of great difficulty, especially in Bombay. I do not here attempt to diagnose the causes of this depression, or in any way to anticipate the report of the Tariff Board which is now engaged on its investigation. The great American cotton crop, which I have already mentioned, must for a time of course add gravely to the anxieties of the industry. But we may hope that once prices of cotton and, therefore, of yarn and cloth have stabilised themselves, a steady





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period of rising prices will follow, which will restore the mills to a happier state.

The jute industry too has had its troubles in the past few months, but its position is so strong that in my view it can be no long time before the industry is again moving along the road of assured prosperity. Tea is doing well, and I am glad to note that the coal trade has made an advance in recent months which I hope will prove to be more than the temporary reaction of the prolonged coal stoppage in Great Britain.

In Imperial commerce, as in Imperial politics, India has a definite and important place to take. You no doubt read what the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan said in his opening speech at the recent Imperial Conference, that we are anxious to see a development of trade between India and every part of the Empire, because we believe that on every ground a development of mutual knowledge in the different parts of the Empire is vital, and that the best hope of this lies in the development of trade relations. I note therefore with some regret that the proportion of our import trade coming from England is on the decline, while the figures show that our trade with the Dominions is stationary. But many influences, private and public, are at work to remedy this state of affairs. The recent visits of the South African deputation to India, of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya to Canada, and our own representatives on the Empire Parliamentary Delegation to Australia are all helping in the right direction, and stimulating the closer Imperial intercourse that we desire. We ourselves have derived great benefit from the work of our Indian Trade Commissioner in London, and if any Dominion or Colony wishes at any time to send a Trade Agent to India, it may rest assured that we shall do all that lies in our power to assist and facilitate his work.





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It is natural at this point to ask what Government can do to strengthen commercial development in India. Much of course has already been done. I can, in the first place, hardly exaggerate the importance of the work which the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance has just completed. India owes a great debt of gratitude to that able and distinguished body of Commissioners for the thoroughness of their enquiry and for the lucidity with which this intricate subject has been presented in their Report. My Government is at present considering the legislation, necessary to give effect to their recommendations, which will be introduced in the Indian Legislature during the forthcoming session in Delhi.

The Report concerns most vitally the trade and commerce of this great country and the future development of credit and of banking facilities which are so essential to its prosperity. The recommendation of the Commission finally to stabilise the rupee at a point which is now fully justified by the experience of the last two years was designed to remove one of the most cogent causes of uncertainty and dislocation which are always inimical to sound commercial progress ; while the acceptance of a Gold Standard on the lines proposed will mean the attainment by India of the goal for which she has been striving for the last generation and the consolidation of her position amongst the great commercial nations of the world. The creation of a Reserve Bank endowed with most important functions will concentrate in the hands of one authority, in the closest touch with the agricultural, commercial and industrial interests of India, the management of both currency and credit which have hitherto been divorced. I am very confident that on such foundations will be rebuilt an enduring system of finance to the great advantage of India's prosperity, and I earnestly hope that the discus-





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sion of these problems will proceed in an atmosphere of wide judgment and calm reason.

During Lord Reading's Viceroyalty too India took the first step in the direction of a discriminating policy of protection. That raises a large question on which there would here probably be some division of opinion, and I am not here to raise more controversy than I can help. The policy has been formally adopted by the Government of India with the assent of the Indian Legislature, and I hope you will agree that it is being wisely and prudently applied. The Government I think can justly claim that by this policy it has saved the steel industry in India from extinction and that it has greatly benefited the paper industry. The Steel Bill which is to be submitted next session will give the Legislature and the public an opportunity for assessing the results of three years' experience of this policy. But I may make one point now. One of the main objections taken to the policy of protecting the steel industry in India was that it would reduce imports and therefore would in all probability diminish India's capacity to sell her products abroad. Results have falsified this prophecy. The consumption of steel is rapidly increasing. Apart from the large production in India, imports are now 14 per cent. above the pre-war figure, and we can safely say therefore that in this respect India is not groaning under the burden of protection. The reports moreover of the Tariff Board, whether they lead to action by Government or not, can hardly fail to be of great value to the industry concerned. This is perhaps the appropriate point at which to express the gratitude which Indian industry must feel to Sir Charles Innes. One of the great achievements of a remarkable term of office has been the success with which he has guided the demand for protection on reasonable and effective lines, and I regret deeply





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that I am soon to lose the benefit of his judgment and advice.

The Government of India still receive complaints about the adulteration and bad quality of certain Indian produce. The subject has frequently been discussed with Chambers of Commerce, and it has usually been claimed on the one hand that it is not the business of Government to interfere, and on the other that the trade concerned cannot, or will not, set its house in order. Rarely therefore is anything done. In the case of coal, Government stepped in and established a Coal Grading Board, but they did so because the need for action was urgent and on the understanding that as soon as possible the coal industry would organise itself and assume oversight of the Board. In another case, that of Indian wheat, importers in England insisted on definite standards of quality. But these two cases are exceptions and I suspect that the real remedy lies in efficient organisation by the trade itself—organisation aimed at maintaining quality and therefore also of value and price. I am convinced that India would benefit enormously by the higher prices which her goods would command if guarantees as to quality could be given by an authoritative body. This certainly applies to hides and skins, to hemp and tobacco. The Indian Tea Association has shown how a trade can benefit by organising itself, and it might be worth while for other trades to consider whether they should not adopt the same line of policy and develop some corporate body in India capable of negotiating on equal terms with foreign Associations of importers. Funds would, of course, be required. The Tea Association has provided itself with funds by means of the Indian tea cess—a very small cess imposed on tea exported from India. The cess is collected by the Customs Officers and the profits of it are handed over to the Indian Tea Association. Similar cases exist in the case of lac





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and cotton. The Government of course must be careful about multiplying cesses of this kind, and they have to see that an intolerable burden is not placed on their Customs Officers. It is also essential that the cess should be small and should not encroach in any way upon the Government's own field of taxation. But provided these two conditions are fulfilled, I see no reason why this system of small cesses might not be expanded with advantage, and I can safely promise that if any trade organises itself in the way I have suggested and then applies to Government to collect for it a small cess upon its own products when exported from the country, its proposals will meet with careful and sympathetic consideration from Government.

It has also been shown how Government can assist the commercial development of India's resources by the Forest Research work which it has carried on for some years. It is perhaps dangerous for a layman to suggest to commercial men the directions in which they might profitably extend their activities, but I have been much struck by the remarkable results obtained by the scientific and artificial seasoning of timber. If it is true that science in seven weeks can here accomplish what nature takes seven years to do, it would seem to offer a great field for commercial development.

I have left to the last what I regard as the Government's first and most important duty to its industry and commerce in this country. I mean the development of communications. And here I am happy to say that I believe that we are on the eve of great expansion. I need not refer at length to the Railways. You are all familiar with the progress that has been made in the last few years and with the programme of new construction which is





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now being worked out. For the moment of course Railways are suffering from that slump of trade to which I have already referred. But thanks to reform which was accepted by the Legislature in 1924, both the Railways and Sir Basil Blackett can face the future with comparative confidence.

I recently noticed a repetition in the Press of the old charge that Indian Railways are based on the ports as part of a conservative policy of exploiting India for the benefit of the foreigner. I do not think that I need take the charge too seriously in a meeting of this kind and in a place like Cawnpore. Indeed, Mr. Taylor in his speech sighed for the day when Cawnpore would be connected with direct railway communication with Karachi on the west coast and Vizagapatam on the other. The big trunk railways are inevitably based on ports, for they naturally followed the old trade routes down to the important trade centres of India. They were, in fact, correctly designed to bring the "mofussil", as Mr. Taylor called it, into contact with wider markets overseas, and to enrich the Indian cultivator, who after all is the backbone of all Indian commerce, by securing for him better and steadier prices for his produce by lowering the cost of his imported necessities. The Railway Board's policy now is to fill in the web by cross lines between the trunk railways, and to provide for the movements of internal trade, which is, of course, of far greater value to the railways than external trade. For I believe that for every acre of land in India which produces crops for export, ten produce crops for local consumption.

Though the subject is one of the first importance, I do not propose to say much on the question of the improvement of our Indian roads. There can be no doubt that the expansion and improvement of Indian roads will





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greatly assist development in various directions, and I shall await with interest the result of your discussions on the proposed Central Road Board.

In regard to harbour development in India, I should like to acknowledge the forward policy which has been pursued by the Commissioners of the chief ports of India. Great strides are being made, but an essential quality of ports is that they should be cheap, and the Government has, to this end, been paying attention to the development of the smaller ports with the object of keeping the scale of charges down. At Vizagapatam I am told that the new dredger ought to arrive very soon, and I hope that this new port will be open to traffic in three or four years' time. Concurrently with the construction of the port, we are building a railway from Raipur to Vizianagram which will open up valuable hinterland. We may expect Vizagapatam to become the manganese port of India and also the port of the Central Provinces. A new dredger has just begun work on the bar at Cochin, and here again with the assistance of the Cochin and Travancore Governments we hope before very long to develop a new and useful port on the west coast. Finally, the improvements in progress at the port of Chittagong should be of considerable benefit to the tea and jute trades.

As Lord Reading foreshadowed last year, it has now been decided to transfer all mercantile marine matters and the administration of the Shipping Acts from Local Governments to the direct control of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, which will be advised by an adequate technical staff. The first step will be the transfer of lighthouse administration. A Bill, on which the Chambers of Commerce have recently been consulted, is in course of preparation, and I hope that the Government will be able to introduce it in the Assembly during





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the next Session. Then will follow a Bill to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act so as to vest statutory power in the Governor-General instead of the Local Governments. There remains the question of the control of major ports. Major ports, as you are aware, are a central subject, and we have considered whether we should not bring them under the direct statutory control of the Central Government instead of leaving them to the agency control of Local Governments. This, however, is a more complicated matter. It will not be possible for the Central Government to exercise the detailed statutory control over distant ports which is now exercised by Local Governments. The considerable widening of the powers of Port Trusts which would be a necessary preliminary to centralisation, would require careful legislation, and we have decided to gain experience of the direct administration of shipping matters before taking further steps to centralise the supervision of the major ports.

Of equal importance to Indian shipping is the question of its *personnel*. There has for some time been a very natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. The Government has accordingly decided to establish a training ship at Karachi next year, and the Board of Trade have agreed to recognise the course, on the same footing as the Nautical Colleges in England, for the purposes of certificates of competency. It is however no use training Indians in this way unless they have a career open to them. I hope therefore that British Shipping Companies will co-operate to make the training ship a success by giving fair opportunity of employment to Indian cadets.

I ought perhaps to say something in regard to our project for the establishment of wireless communication between India and the United Kingdom. A license to establish and maintain Duplex Wireless communication





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between India and the United Kingdom on the "Beam System" was granted to the Indian Radio Telegraph Company in February 1925. There has been some delay in inaugurating this service. The apparatus and plant were held up by the general strike in England, and some reconstruction of the "Distribution" portion of the buildings was found to be necessary as a result of experience gained by the Company in working the system between Canada and the United Kingdom. But matters are well advanced and it is expected that this service will be established and opened to public traffic very early next year. Nor has internal wireless communication been overlooked. A license to establish two large wireless stations for broadcasting has been granted to an Indian Company—one station to be established in the vicinity of Bombay and the other near Calcutta, and by the end of next year, if all goes well, India should have its own broadcasting stations at work. It is not necessary for me to emphasise the possibilities for India that lie in the extension across her wide and scattered spaces of this mysterious mastery of Nature.

I have left to the end what is to me perhaps most interesting—the subject of aviation. My Government have recently authorised the publication of an important memorandum by the Indian Air Board on the subject of civil aviation in India. As the Board point out, the time has now arrived when this country must face the problem inherent in the introduction of a new means of transport. The Air Board have given weighty reasons in favour of a forward policy in this matter, but the Government of India have not yet reached final conclusions on all points raised in the report. The whole subject is now under correspondence with His Majesty's Government, who have been asked to depute an officer from the Air Ministry with recent experience of the development of aviation in Europe,





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to act as our adviser in the matter. The scheme is not however—if you will forgive the expression—simply “in the air”. The Air Ministry mean business and the programme which they have set for themselves is taking shape according to well-laid plans. An aeroplane service from Cairo to Karachi is to be opened in January, when Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for Air, will make the first trip, and it is hoped that by April next a regular service will be inaugurated. This is an achievement which even a few years ago would have seemed fantastic, and Sir Samuel Hoare will step from his aeroplane, a second Vasco da Gama, after a mere three days’ flight from Cairo. When the service is in running order, it will be possible to lunch in Cairo on Wednesday and have tea at Karachi on Saturday. Such a service must almost inevitably result in proposals for extension across India, as also for developments in other directions. Its influence on the lives of business men and others is obvious enough. In Australia, where there are three thousand miles of civil aviation routes, the air service has created trade between places where none existed before and has become an integral part of the lives of the inhabitants. As the air, in its new aspect as a means of communication, penetrates more and more into one’s familiar thought, the reactions upon every side of life are bound to be tremendous.

Politics, business, individual ideas and international relations will all feel the effect of a movement which further annihilates distance, and revises the geography on which so much of the world’s historical evolution has depended. India by her position is bound to be a main link in the air chain from Europe both to Australia and the Far East, and it behoves us therefore to be ready, in spite of inevitable obstacles, to take our fair share in the business of harnessing the air for civil purposes. The miracle of to-day is the commonplace of to-morrow, and





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before many years are gone, I hazard the prophecy that the air will have gone far to supplement, if not in some measure to supplant, the sea as a highway of Imperial communications.

I thank you again, gentlemen, for the manner in which you have received me here to-day. The Government of India will always welcome the advice of your Chamber and I am glad to be able to give you an assurance that, if he is willing to serve, the Association will again be represented in the Legislature by the nomination of your elected representative to a seat in the Assembly. I can only assure you in conclusion how greatly I have appreciated the occasion of meeting those who play a part so important in the commercial life of India.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CAWNPORE MUNI-  
CIPALITY AND CAWNPORE DISTRICT BOARD.

6th December 19.6. H. E. the Viceroy received a joint address from the Cawnpore Municipality and Cawnpore District Board at Cawnpore on the 6th December and replied as follows:—

*Gentlemen,*—I thank you much for the cordial welcome you have jointly extended to Lady Irwin and myself and for the caskets in which you have been good enough to enclose the addresses you have read. I am happy to avail myself of this early opportunity of becoming acquainted with your city, and with the district in which it lies. Cawnpore is one of the names in India, outside the Presidency towns, best known to the world in general, and though its historical associations are never likely to be forgotten, it is on its position as a centre of industrial enterprise that its fame now mainly rests. In this advance, the development of the surrounding countryside must have played an important part.

The members of the Municipal Board have been good enough to say at the opening of their address that this occa-





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sion is no mere formality. My pleasure in receiving it is no less genuine. And I should like to take this opportunity of thanking through you the general body of Cawnpore citizens who have done so much by decoration of streets and illumination of buildings to shew me your city to the best advantage. Despite the short time since my arrival in India, I have been fortunate enough to have received addresses from local bodies in many different parts of India. I greatly appreciate these occasions of meeting those serving on local bodies, for by this means I am brought close to the realities of every-day life in India, and may see for myself some of the difficulties you have to face, and the questions which you have to solve.

The Municipal address has given me a full picture of the members' activities. Charged with the oversight of an industrial town with a large and closely settled population, they are called upon to make special efforts, and they have much cause for satisfaction in what they have already been able to achieve. I understand that the water-works reorganisation scheme was undertaken from the Municipal Board's own resources, and I congratulate them on their energy and initiative. Good drainage is second only in importance to a pure water-supply, and this applies particularly to a city of this size and population. Members will not forget that in such matters they have a dual obligation, both to provide the necessary system and to educate the more backward of the population to take proper advantage of it, lest the misplaced conservatism of a few should imperil the good health of all.

Stress has been laid on the overcrowding in the town, and on the lack of housing accommodation. Elsewhere, I have pleaded for the ideal of providing every citizen, however humble, with a house that may be in a real sense a home. I believe that you are fully alive to the fundamental importance of Housing improvement, for I note





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that you are rightly disturbed at the high death rate which prevails in your city. The figure for infantile mortality, standing at 420 per thousand, is, I am told, the highest in the Province, and must be a source of perpetual anxiety both to those charged with the city's administration, and those whose need for labour in their industrial undertakings is responsible for this congestion of human habitation. It is startling to think that this figure is more than six times the infantile death rate in London, where the rate is now only 68 per 1,000 and will, it is believed, be in future even lower if the hopes of health reformers may be realised. The rapid growth of your population and the stringency consequent upon trade depression have made it difficult to do as much as might otherwise have been possible. I fully recognise too that as administrators we may not be able quickly or easily to transform existing conditions into such as the needs of health or our own ideas would dictate. At the same time we all need ever to be on our guard against tacit acquiescence in conditions which are not only hostile to, but incompatible with, the elementary necessities of decent human life.

Reformers have been wont to speak of the "divine discontent" which might rightly influence the minds of the less fortunate classes of our fellow-beings. It is perhaps more right to emphasise how greatly the approach to better things depends upon the divine discontent which the well-to-do should feel at the prevalence of conditions by which a constant reproach is silently laid at the door of their society and social system.

I know that the large manufacturing firms have initiated valuable work in the field of child welfare, of which Lady Irwin and I have been pleased to have the chance of seeing something to-day. Her Excellency also visited this morning the two welfare centres in the city.





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She tells me that she was much interested in all she saw, but says that she has little doubt that they could do still more useful work, if it was possible for them to be conducted in larger quarters. We both hope that this work will receive the constant support and sympathy of your Board. I would also hope that other large commercial interests here and elsewhere will follow the good example of the best employers in providing decent dwellings for their work-people. Public opinion will not to-day hold those who employ labour absolved from responsibility for the way in which that labour has to live.

In all business, labour is an important item in the cost of production, by which the profit or loss of any enterprise will be determined. But we can never afford to regard it merely in its impersonal character of a ledger entry. For men are human beings before they are labourers, and those who use their labour are morally bound to assist them to live as human beings.

I trust therefore that those who are confronted by this problem both from the side of administration and from that of industrial employment will continue to work together for the steady amelioration of matters with which they are alike concerned.

I may refer in this connexion to your request for a reconsideration of the proposal to include a part of the Cantonment area. That scheme was dropped not because the Government of India refused, as has been suggested, to approve the proposal, but because insufficient funds were forthcoming to meet the compensation necessary for the buildings and lands to be acquired from the Cantonment.

I note the expression of your desire to secure greater freedom from the control of Government in your local affairs, particularly on the financial side. I need hardly





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remind you, gentlemen, that Local Self-Government is now a transferred subject, and the department is conducted by a Minister, who is responsible to the Legislature. Through the mouth-piece of their Member in the Council, the people themselves can decide the degree of control which should be properly maintained over the local bodies. Their remedy, if they consider one is needed, lies in their own hands. Speaking from a Western experience, I see at present little cause for complaint. A student of English Local Self-Government will find that in England substantial control remains in the hands of the central authority, a control which recent events there have shown to be no formality. At the same time I concur in the opinion that in these matters it is speaking generally desirable for the people themselves to work out their destiny according to the experience they have gained and you can rely on me always to give a most sympathetic consideration to their expressed wishes should the occasion arise.

I am particularly glad to receive an address from the members of the Cawnpore District Board also on this occasion, if only that I have this chance to assure them that though I may spend most of my visit in Cawnpore itself, the interests of the rural population are always in my mind. From the brief experience gained in personal study of the village life of India, I am beginning to realise a little of the manifold demands on the resources of a District Board. Success in this field too does not mean any diminution of effort; rather the increased development of a district entails added responsibilities.

I see, from the short account of the various sides of the District Board work, that these responsibilities are being tackled manfully. It is easy enough to say what should be done, but it is a far harder task to provide the means to carry these beneficent schemes into action. All





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administration the world over is feeling every day the gulf between what they would do, and what their resources allow them to do. It is therefore refreshing to hear that the Board has decided that in order to gain added benefits they must ask their local tax-payers to provide them with more money. I congratulate the members on the sense of responsibility which they have displayed. Too often, I fear, local bodies shirk the odium they may incur in the minds of small men by calling upon their electors to open their purses. Crying needs thus go unheeded, and often result in a far larger outlay in the end.

You have touched upon several aspects of the Board's work, on some of which I should like to make a few observations.

I welcome in your address the expression of your desire to take steps to the end that medical aid should reach even the most distant village. The question of public health provision is vastly more difficult in scattered districts than in the centres of population—for, in addition to finance, you have to overcome the obstacles of finding suitable staff, and of organising and giving adequate supervision to their work. I am satisfied that there are few directions in which there is more useful work to be done, and I hope you will continue to give it an important place in your programme of development.

Conditions in India and the natural conservatism of the tiller of the soil have made the progress of education slow; yet I need not stress the fact that the chances of the success of any schemes for the improvement of agriculture in India will vary according to the standard of education among the agriculturists themselves. I note with pleasure the Board's record in this respect, and I do not doubt that the work of the industrial schools is facilitated by having





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an industrial centre in the district. I especially congratulate you upon your wisdom in attempting to associate education with the every-day life of those who attend your schools, and to balance the intellectual training you give by useful practical instruction.

On the side of animal husbandry, I was especially interested to hear of the experiment in distributing imported livestock to improve the local breed of cattle I shall not be surprised to find that recommendations for the improvement of India's livestock will be amongst those most strongly pressed by the Royal Commission on Agriculture when the report comes to be written. I trust the Board will be able to continue and strengthen this form of its activities.

I hope too that the necessity for good communications will not be overlooked. Roads are the arteries along which the life blood of a district flows, and the state of their roads is one of the outward evidences by which the efficiency of a District Board may be judged.

In conclusion I wish to say that I have noted with considerable pleasure the frequent tributes paid in both addresses to the help and co-operation of the Local Government. I am glad that such relations of mutual helpfulness should exist, and I have no doubt that those who direct the affairs of the Province will always be ready and anxious, as far as they can, to assist you in the performance of your duties.

I thank you once more for the kind reception you have given us, and I wish you all success in carrying on your important and many-sided work.





ADDRESSES OF WELCOME PRESENTED BY THE  
ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL BOARD AND ALLAHABAD  
DISTRICT BOARD.

In reply to the Addresses presented by the Allahabad Municipal Board and Allahabad District Board at Allahabad on the 8th December, His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

8th December  
19-6.

*Gentlemen,*—It has given me great pleasure to meet here to-day the representatives of the Allahabad Municipality and District Board, and to receive through them the cordial welcome of the people of this city and its neighbourhood, and I have to thank you for the permanent reminders of that welcome, which you have associated with your addresses. You have reminded me of my former visit to this holy city. My thoughts go back by way of contrast to that time when I came unheralded, more as one of your own pilgrims who throng here in their thousands, seeking the peace and contentment which Prayag brings to them. Even as they for ages past have found inspiration in the confluence of the two great waters, so may we to-day hope that from the blending of the two rivers of Eastern and Western civilisation a stream of mutual understanding may flow which will give new life and prosperity to India and her people.

The Municipal Board has prefaced its account of the work it is at present doing by a hint of excessive control by the Local Government. I said something on this point at Cawnpore a few days ago, and I do not propose now to add to those remarks except to say that the experience of countries which enjoy the greatest liberty goes to show that such liberty has not been thought to conflict with a certain degree of control by the central authority over local administration. Indeed I would go so far as to assert the doctrine that some such control is essential if the broad purposes and policies approved by the whole community, of which each locality forms part, are to be prosecuted and achieved.





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I have followed with interest your remarks on the problem of the Municipality's water-supply, as I watched with anxiety the dangers which threatened the city during the last rainy season, and with corresponding relief your successful efforts to overcome them. I can understand that the difficulties of reorganisation are to a large extent inherited, and that a new Rome takes more than a single day to build. But your words give me every reason to believe that the Board is now tackling the problem in real earnest, and I feel certain that at every step you will carry with you the practical sympathy of the Local Government and of your Governor, Sir William Marris, to whose able administration this Province owes so much. The grant of three lakhs of rupees and the further loan which Government have given in aid of the present scheme for the permanent improvement of the pumping system is a visible guarantee of their future co-operation.

You recognise, however, that the funds at the disposal of the Local Government are not inexhaustible. No public exchequer in these days can hope to meet all the claims which are made upon it, and if the maintenance of the local roads would seem to be a fair charge on the Municipal revenues, it may perhaps be possible for you to devise means of supplementing your own resources. Looking at the decline in the Municipal income receipts last year, I have wondered whether some reorganisation and improved system of control might not serve to place its finances in a more satisfactory position. Many of the difficulties too of the District Board might be solved, would it but harden its heart and increase its revenues by raising the local rates.

The Municipal Board is entitled to derive encouragement from the account which has been given of the progress made in education and medical relief, and is to be





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congratulated on the decrease in the death rate. The figures of infantile mortality are still high, and I trust you will spare no efforts to reduce them. Much here depends upon education, in the widest sense of the word, which may bring home to all your citizens the imperative need of taking all measures to raise the standard of civil achievement in these matters. I should like to see a healthy and vigorous competition between cities and Provinces for the pride of place in such social work. I am convinced that with no lavish expenditure of money, much could be done if you could mobilise for this purpose a great volume of public opinion that was determined to place their city or Province in the first rank of all India, as regards its health returns. The adoption by the District Board of the health scheme for the improvement of public health in the rural area is a promising sign, while the interest shown by the Municipality in child welfare and maternity work appeals particularly to Her Excellency, who is looking forward to her visit to the Baby Centre later in the day.

It is satisfactory to hear that the District Board intends to introduce compulsory education if funds permit. I hope however that you will not be satisfied simply with increasing the numbers of those brought within the range of education. If I can judge from figures, it appears to me that a great improvement is called for in the teaching both in primary and preparatory schools. For although  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of boys were reading in the infant classes last year, only some 36,000 passed through the full course of primary education.

In both addresses to which we have just listened, you have expressed certain apprehensions as to the future status of Allahabad as Capital of the Province and have complained that the Local Government no longer looks



*Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.*

upon this city as her favourite child. You no doubt recollect the assurances given last year by the Government of India regarding the transfer of the Capital, and it is difficult for me to say more than has already been said. But at the same time, gentlemen, I cannot but admire your persistence which shows a very healthy spirit of local patriotism. If I may offer you advice, it is, as I have just said, by translating this spirit into action that you can most securely maintain the position of Allahabad. You pride yourselves as citizens of no mean city. Let your works be worthy of that citizenship. Pile up solid arguments in the way of an ample water-supply, good roads, efficient drainage, wider education, and be able to point, as you will, to the results of these things measured in terms of human health and happiness. These combined with the natural advantages of Allahabad's position which you have detailed in your addresses will be the strongest of all arguments against the diminution in your status of which you are apprehensive. Your position will rest on the firm basis of self-evident realities rather than on the glories of the past. In this thought I am sure the Boards will find an incentive towards those ideals which should be in the minds of every worthy citizen, and in working for which they will assuredly find their best and most enduring reward.

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*OPENING OF THE SCHOOL OF MINES, DHANBAD.*

9th December 1926. In opening the Dhanbad School of Mines on the 9th December, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

*Sir Bhupendra Nath, Dr. Pascoe, Members of the Governing Body of the Indian School of Mines, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*I have to thank you on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the kind welcome which you have given us and I have to thank Dr. Pascoe for the felicitous





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expression of that welcome which he has conveyed on your behalf. Dr. Pascoe's address has told us that this School, whose inauguration we are celebrating to-day, is the result of many years' consideration of the best method of solving not one but several problems. It is an attempt to provide in the first place a School of Geology which will rank with similar institutions in Great Britain; it is to furnish a supply of trained men for the coal mining industry and for other mineral industries throughout India; it is to help to solve the problem of recruitment of young men of this country for the Geological Survey of India and the Indian Mines Department. The conception is framed on generous lines and cannot fail to appeal to the imagination. The inauguration of the school has, through circumstances beyond our control, been delayed for six years since the final adoption of the proposals by Government. This postponement, regrettable as it is, has at least given me the opportunity of being present at this opening ceremony—an opportunity of which I have availed myself with great pleasure.

Dr. Pascoe has explained to us very clearly the importance of this new foundation both from the point of view of practice and of theory. As an eminent Geologist he has, not unnaturally, explained that aspect of the School's work which appeals most strongly to him, the opportunity for scientific study of Geology. When he was dealing with this subject, I caught a note of almost lyrical fervour. And indeed it is not difficult to understand his enthusiasm. There are few branches of knowledge which can compete with geology in providing a scientific training of the mind, the habit of close observation and correct inference, and in opening up at the same time the way to practical careers of great utility, bringing within man's grasp and making subject to his control the immense resources of nature. To the geologist again, as to few others, is unveiled the



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immense panorama of history from far distant times. He thinks in ages, as we think in days and years. He finds sermons in stones, romance in granite blocks. In a fault in the hill-side he traces those unimaginable stresses and convulsions which have left the earth the shape we know it to-day. From all these points of view, scientific study, practical training, and imaginative interest, geology has few rivals. In India we have already no mean record. The Geological Survey of India has for many years been renowned for its high standard of achievement. Even before the days of Sir Thomas Holland and the late Sir Henry Hayden, it had secured world-wide recognition. Under their guidance it established itself even more firmly, and its reputation under Dr. Pascoe stands as high to-day. Not the least of the benefits which we hope for from this School is the continuance of that tradition and the increasing association of the picked youth of this country in the work of this fine Service.

On the other side of the School's activities, as a School of Mining Engineering and practical training in coal and metalliferous mining, we hope to see the results reflected in the development of Indian industries. This School will, we trust, be the training ground of many of those who are destined to take an active part in the development of the immense resources of this country. We hope that the students whom the School will turn out into the world of affairs will leave it not only with a grasp of scientific method but with a practical knowledge of the work which they will be called upon to do such as no other institution in India has hitherto been able to provide. It is with great pleasure that I have noticed the large number of applicants for admission to the School. I understand that in the past there has been some reluctance on the part of Indian boys to embark on technical studies, and it is a





*Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.*

hopeful sign that the opening of the School has elicited such a favourable response.

On the Governing Body we have representatives not only of the Local Governments of Bihar and Orissa and Bengal and of great educational institutions such as the Universities of Calcutta and Patna, but also of the most important associations interested in the Mining industry. Under their guidance we may be confident that the direction of the school will be on right lines, and that neither the scientific nor the practical side of education will be neglected. It is a proof to me of the interest taken in this venture that I see to-day so many representatives of the great business community of Calcutta, whom I am most glad to welcome, especially that doyen of Calcutta businessman, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerji, himself a member of the Industrial Commission, which recommended the creation of a School of Mining, and head of the great firm which has constructed this building. From his hands appropriately I am to receive the key which will unlock the door of our new Academy.

From everything that I have heard too I am certain that you have not exaggerated the value of having secured for this Institution the services as Principal of Dr. Penman. I gather that he brings to it that judicious blend of qualities which has long been the peculiar property of his race, and an object of envy, perhaps even sometimes the target of jealous satire, for those parts of Great Britain which lie south of the dividing Tweed.

In glancing through the Prospectus and curriculum of the new school I have been struck by the great variety of subjects with which the students will have to make





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*Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.*

acquaintance. I have noted with special interest that a training in the field and frequent visits to collieries are included. To this I have no doubt you are right to attach importance, not merely because of the direct experience which will be gained therefrom, but because the students will have an opportunity to see for themselves the conditions of labour in mines, and to study some of the social problems which are of such vital importance to industry. If they can acquire a real intimacy with and a sympathetic understanding of such problems, the value of their future work for India will be doubled. I look with much hope to the School to develop in its students vigorous ideals of social service.

Coming as I do fresh to this country, a country old in history and tradition, but in some respects, especially in industrial development, a new country on the threshold of a great future, there is one thought which is very present to my mind. It is that for us in India industrial development brings a great opportunity. India is learning much from Western experience. She is developing industrially — as here inevitably she must develop—very much on Western lines. But with the material benefits which industrialism brings come also disadvantages and grave dangers. In Western countries the growth of industrialism has a history with many unpleasant and unkindly features. Those countries look back upon a century of struggle, upon a period when material progress had outstripped social ideals. The long history leading up to modern factory and mining legislation and to trade union development, is one long struggle of readjustment, of an endeavour on the part of social ideals to keep pace with mechanical efficiency. In that struggle for over a century social amelioration was ever behind hand in the race. In





*Opening of the School of Mines, Dhanbad.*

recent years however, and especially since the War, a great advance has been made. Those who have studied, for instance, the record of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva, will realise the efforts that have been made in the last few years to promote schemes for raising the moral and material condition of the manual workers in industry, and to place the social standards of development in their due position side by side with mechanical efficiency.

In India we come to this question with the experience of Western countries behind us; there is no need for us to work through the painful stages of the industrial revolution and the years that followed it in England. This is what I mean by our opportunity. It is the opportunity to use the experience of others, and to start where they are now. But with this opportunity comes also responsibility. It is for us, for the young men whom this School will turn out, for the great employers of labour, who are represented on your Governing Body, and their fellows, to see that this opportunity is seized and this responsibility realised. Every country has, of course, its special difficulties, its special circumstances to consider. In India progress will not automatically or immediately follow precedent elsewhere. But India cannot remain permanently behind in the matter of social legislation and improvement of industrial conditions. What the experience of the World approves elsewhere must sooner or later, making due allowance for difference of conditions, find a place in our industrial code. In such matters, for instance, as the terms of employment of women and children, the hours and conditions of labour in mines and factories, the improvement of sanitation and housing of industrial workers; in all these matters and others, our opportunity is that we





*Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.*

have the experience of the older industrial world to help us, and our responsibility that we, the later starters in the industrial race, should not neglect or ignore what that experience can teach us.

It is on this note, the note of opportunity and of responsibility, that I desire to close what I have had to say. I regard the School as a great means for training on right lines the mental outlook towards social questions of the industrialists of the future, and its foundation in the first year of my office I look upon as of hopeful augury.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE CENTRAL  
NATIONAL MUHAMMADAN ASSOCIATION,  
CALCUTTA.

11th Decem-  
ber 1926.

H. E. the Viceroy replied to the Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta, on the 11th December, in the following terms :—

*Gentlemen*,—I am most grateful to you for the cordial welcome that you have extended to Lady Irwin and myself, and it gives me great pleasure to meet representatives of a community which forms so large a part of the population of this Presidency.

I am forbidden by the short time at my disposal this morning to follow you deeply into the history of the Moslems of Bengal. The failure of the Moslems nearly 100 years ago to adapt themselves to the introduction of English as the Central language, and their adherence to the old system of Persian education, no doubt retarded the





*Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.*

progress and development of the community. It is all the more incumbent on it now to make up the leeway, and it is in order to help them in this direction that Government have taken such measures as were in their power for the furtherance of higher Moslem education. A system of special scholarships has been created, and special hostel accommodation provided. A first grade Government Arts College for Moslem students has been opened in Calcutta with a staff mainly of their own faith, while a department of Islamic studies has been opened in the University at Dacca. It is for leaders of the community such as yourselves, to see that through the schools and colleges the Moslem should be guided to tread the road towards professional equality with his Hindu fellow citizens, and the more he seizes on the opportunities thus offered to him, the sooner will the whole community recover the ground lost by their earlier reluctance to take advantage of the new method of education.

The difficulties of the Muhammadan cultivators in Bengal, which you deplore, as those of his fellow agriculturists in other Provinces, are matters of deep concern to me, and I may take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude which Bengal, in common with all India, owes to the Royal Agricultural Commission for their indefatigable labours on behalf of Indian agriculture. But I do not think that you can justly attribute the backwardness of the Moslem agriculturist to the old policy of resumption proceedings which, except in a very few cases, did not deprive proprietors, whether Hindus or Moslems, of their landed property. These proceedings simply meant the assessment of revenue on lands hitherto held revenue-free on invalid titles. History shows that the Muhammadan law of inheritance and multiplicity of co-sharers, as well as the disinclination of Muhammadan proprietors to devote



*Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.*

themselves personally to the management of their estates, were more potent causes of the decline of the big Muhammadan families. But whatever may be the cause to which the depressed condition of the Muhammadan cultivator may be attributed, the problem before us all now is to ameliorate that condition ; and I need hardly say that in this field, as in many others, education is likely to be the most powerful instrument by which true progress will be achieved. I am glad to hear that the Departments of Agriculture and Industries are fully alive to the importance of encouraging the co-operative movement among landholders and tenants. Experience in Bengal has shown that organisations for the co-operative sale of agricultural produce must be on a big scale, particularly in the case of jute, owing to the speculative element in the trade and the rapid fluctuation in prices. It is encouraging to learn that new Societies on a large scale for the sale of jute and rice are being started, and that with the help of financial assistance from Government a central godown has been established in Calcutta to facilitate sales at the most profitable rates. In other directions too, such as by deciding disputes among their members by informal arbitration, Co-operative Societies are doing useful and valuable work. I understand that the Arbitration Board in the colonization area of Bakarganj District has been specially successful in this regard.

I did not fail to note the anxiety you expressed as to communal representation. It is too soon to foretell the lines on which the Statutory Commission will proceed, but I have no doubt that this question will be one of those which will claim their most anxious thought. In the meantime I can assure you that Government has no intention of making any change in the existing system, and I can safely go further by giving you the assurance that no such





*Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.*

step will be taken in future without inviting and carefully considering the views of all communities which are likely to be affected. I may, however, take this opportunity of reminding you that in dealing with the difficult question of Moslem representation, the Franchise Committee accepted the course, which was at that time generally urged upon it, of adhering to the agreement arrived at in the Lucknow Pact, an agreement to which the then leaders of the Muslim community were parties.

As regards the representation of the Moslem community in Government services, it is necessary for me to distinguish between the All-India and central services with which the Government of India are concerned and the provincial services which are under the charge of Local Governments.

In both cases, it has been and is the practice of Government to proceed upon the principle of endeavouring by some reservation of appointments to redress communal inequalities, and so to afford to each community an opportunity of taking part in the public service.

So far as the central services are concerned, the general practice of the Government of India is to reserve one-third of the vacancies for this purpose. I am sure that you all join with me in hoping that the necessity for this will gradually cease, and that as time goes on it may be possible to dispense with special procedure. It will clearly be far more satisfactory to all concerned that the Muslim community should be able, without any such exceptional provision, to secure a proportion of appointments to the services appropriate to its own numerical, political, and historical importance. It is my hope that each year may see them steadily progressing towards ability to achieve this result. Meanwhile, the rule to which I have referred



*Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.*

is designed to assist them, while they are by education and other means raising and strengthening their position.

I understand that analogous rules have been framed by the Governor in Council here in connection with various classes of provincial appointments. In some services, the Local Government has reserved the right to appoint Moslems up to as many as 45 per cent. of the vacancies in those services filled by direct recruitment. Similarly, in other provincial services which are recruited by competitive examination, separate lists of Muhammadan and Hindu candidates are maintained with the express object of preventing the exclusion of either of the two communities. It is hardly possible to attempt a strictly proportionate representation between communities in the public services, and the general policy of Government is directed not so much to securing any precise degree of representation as to avoiding the preponderance of any particular community.

I have said so much on this subject because I am fully aware of the importance you attach to it. But there are two things which I must add. The first is that it is not possible, and it would not be right, for Government whether central or provincial, to prefer communal claims before those of the efficiency of the public service. In other words whatever Government may try to do, in order to ensure to any community their due opportunity of service, their action is directly governed by the fitness of that community's candidates for the posts they seek to fill. This is why I so warmly welcome the stress you have laid on the importance of education.

The other thing I must add is this, and I have already said much the same thing by implication. I would most earnestly beg the leaders of all communities to regard





*Address of Welcome from the Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta.*

these devices of special representation in whatever field as a means to a great end, and not as an end in themselves. I have said before, but I will repeat to-day that if their underlying purpose of helping your community better to work for India is ever allowed to be submerged in any narrower loyalty, not only will that purpose itself be brought to nought, but these special safeguards would themselves become a new cause of those unhappy divisions, which they were designed to heal.

You have referred briefly to the existence of communal ill-feeling between the two great communities of India. I have already frequently deplored it. You have also rightly laid stress on the fine record of Indian Muhammadans in the past, and their aspirations for the future, but though it is natural that you should emphasise them, I hope that you will never allow yourselves to think it necessary to present them as inevitably antagonistic to the interests of other communities. On the contrary if anything is certain it is that the future of India depends on the reconciliation of the separate interests of various communities, and the growth of a wide national spirit that shall embrace all interests and all creeds. You referred a few minutes ago to the traditional sympathy which you conceive that I, as a member of the Conservative Party should have for Moslem aspirations in all parts of the world. I readily promise you that sympathy, but I should fail in my duty if I did not urge you, with all the emphasis at my command to realise those aspirations in India, not as a community whose interests do not extend beyond those of your co-religionists, but as an integral part of the great country which is yours. In so doing, you will be giving the highest proof both of your loyalty to the Crown and Person of His Majesty the King Emperor and also of your love for India who needs to-day the true and unselfish service of all her sons.





ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENGAL NATIONAL  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA.

11th Decem-  
ber 1926.

The following is H. E. the Viceroy's reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the 11th December :—

*Gentlemen*,—I am most grateful for the cordial terms in which you have welcomed Lady Irwin and myself, to the great city which is the centre of your Chamber's activities. As you truly say Calcutta is supreme in the commercial world of the East and you need have no doubt that I shall fully appreciate the many opportunities it offers to a Viceroy both of acquiring useful experience and enjoying its amenities. I have indeed been looking forward to coming into personal contact with the business-man of Calcutta and to getting the benefit of that keen shrewd point of view from which he surveys not only his own particular interests but affairs at large. It is of the essence of a successful man of business to take quick decisions, to estimate risks at a moment's notice, and his advice may always be counted on to contain a large measure of that valuable quality, common sense.

I am therefore very pleased to meet so early in my visit the representatives of the Indian mercantile community of Bengal. All through Calcutta's fascinating history, since its foundation by the enterprise of the old John Company merchants, runs a strain of close co-operation between British and Indian industry. Recent years have seen giant strides in the industrial development of India, and in this development Indian enterprise, Indian brains, and Indian capital have taken their full share. They have had their ups and downs and experience has often been bought at the cost of disappointment and misfortune. The aftermath of a world-war shook to the core those mushroom growths in which old accepted rules of





*Address of Welcome from the Bengal National Chamber of  
Commerce, Calcutta.*

trading were disregarded in the pursuit of quick returns. But the great variety and number of interests which your Chamber represents to-day are sufficient indication that public confidence still attaches to the well-established Indian concerns. The storm you have weathered is now low on the horizon, and I trust that a period of fair weather and favouring winds lies before you.

It is only a few days since I spoke at Cawnpore in some detail on the position of Indian trade and the policy of Government as regards its future development. I will therefore only say that, like you, I attach the greatest importance to the agricultural development of India with its inevitable reaction upon trade. I am following with the deepest interest the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture—though I may remark in passing that you wrongly attribute its inception to myself—and I may take this chance of acknowledging the great assistance which bodies like your own have rendered in preparing material for the Commission's consideration. It is hardly necessary for me, before an audience of business-men, to enlarge on the dependence of Indian industry on the agricultural well-being of the country. All the experience that commerce and industry can offer should be placed freely at the service of those who are striving to solve this important and many-sided problem.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the graceful reference you have made to my family associations with India and for the good wishes you have offered me in the task that lies before me. The next few years will, as you have said, be important years in Indian history. It is not for me to anticipate, even by conjecture, what may be the outcome of the Statutory enquiry which must take place in the near future, but I will reiterate my earnest desire that the passage of events between now and the date of that



*Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.*

investigation will be such as to justify the hopes of those who are most concerned to see the future of India established upon unshakable foundations. I have no illusions as to the difficulties which will beset this path, and it means much to me to know that in approaching them I am followed by those kindly feelings which your Association, in common with many other bodies, have been good enough to express.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE MARWARI ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

11th December 1926. In replying to the Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta, on the 11th December, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

*Gentlemen*,—It has given me much pleasure to receive an address from the representatives of such an important and influential section of the citizens of Calcutta, and I thank you warmly for the cordial manner in which you have welcomed Lady Irwin and myself. A few hours spent in Calcutta are enough to impress the visitor with the wealth and enterprise of this great city and the labour and activity on which its prosperity is founded. I suppose that no single community has taken a greater share in this sphere of city life than the Marwari, whose spirit of commercial enterprise has led him and his ancestors to leave the plains of Rajputana and seek their fortunes in distant parts of India.

You have touched on a number of subjects in your address, with some of which I have already dealt in recent speeches. I can well understand the interest which you take in the problems of currency and exchange, and I observe that you are anxious lest the recommendations of





*Address of Welcome from the Marwari Association, Calcutta.*

the recent Commission should adversely affect the Indian agriculturist. You may be sure that my Government is fully alive to the importance of this question, and I need not repeat at length what I said at Cawnpore a few days ago to the Associated Chambers of Commerce. The stabilisation of the rupee will, I believe, greatly assist commercial progress by removing factors of doubt and uncertainty, while the concentration of the management of both currency and credit in the hands of the Reserve Bank should be of real and permanent advantage to the agricultural and commercial interests of India. You may feel assured that such interests are a matter of deep concern to me, and that I await with you the findings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in the full hope that they will show India the way to make fuller use of the great potential resources with which she has been endowed.

A re-examination of the present system of representation in the Provincial and Central Legislatures will be one of the first duties of the Statutory Commission, and I feel confident that, before making their recommendations, the Commission will give due weight to the importance of the adequate representation of commercial interests. I gather that at the present moment you are not too well satisfied in this respect. But I see that in the Bengal Legislative Council, your Association elects one member, and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, in which your community has a voice, elects two members. In the matter of nominated members also, the claims of your community have not been overlooked in the past, as is shown by the case of Mr. Khaitan in the last Bengal Council. On general grounds I welcome the interest you take in, and the importance you attach to, the work of the Legislatures. India has need of her best men in the Councils of the Nation, and commerce can offer her the





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*United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.*

services of men whose experience will be of the highest value.

You have touched with a light hand on the topic of communal feelings, although, I know how deeply affected your community, like all others, has been by the deplorable events in Calcutta during the past year, and I propose to follow your good example. As you say, I have given earnest thought to the whole question and have tried to point out a path towards a permanent reconciliation. But I am the first to acknowledge that little can be effected from without, and that the cure for this evil must come from a change of heart within. I have already appealed to the better feelings of the two communities, and shall content myself with repeating once more the assurance that Government will maintain the public peace and good order before any other consideration. The more confidence that is placed by the two communities in this unshaken resolve of my administration, the sooner will both sides learn the futility of turning themselves into armed camps, and the sooner this regrettable tension will be relaxed and disappear.

I thank you again for the kind way in which you have received us, and I offer to the members of your Association my best wishes for their increasing prosperity in the future.

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UNITED SERVICE CLUB DINNER, CALCUTTA.

13th Decem-  
ber 1920.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Dinner given in his honour by the United Service Club, Calcutta, on the 13th of December :—

*Gentlemen,*—Among all the pleasant functions to which I have had the honour of being invited during my





*United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.*

visit to Calcutta, I think that this is one that stands in a sense alone. Indeed, it seems rather to partake of the character of a family party, as you are all members of those great Services with which I have the good fortune to be closely associated, and of which during my time in India, I may perhaps count myself an honorary member. I have been able in these last nine months to make acquaintances, and I hope friends, among members of every Service in India—civil and military, administrative and technical. I realise of course how little a Viceroy can really know of the ceaseless work which the Services are carrying on in every corner of India, but I know enough already to feel very sure that if, some years hence, I am able to look back to the time I have spent in this country, I shall feel very proud of my connection with those whose traditions and conduct have made their Services the admiration of the world.

I have seen it suggested more than once that the old type of Indian official has served his purpose, that the type, which made a good enough nurse for the child, has not the qualifications to be the companion and adviser of the growing man, and that a new brand is required, strong rather in parliamentary skill and political acumen than in old-fashioned, sound, administrative ability. Let us not be easily misled. New circumstances no doubt require the exercise of new qualities, but the old Services have shown that they can readily supply them. Nothing perhaps has made me admire the Indian official so much as the way he has adapted himself, in an incredibly short time, to conditions for which he had had no direct previous training and under which he never expected to have to serve. It may well be that we politicians have been accustomed to regard ourselves as specialists and to over-rate the mysterious nature of our profession. But the



*United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.*

truth is that men are more important than politics, and the only thing that really matters is that men should be of the right sort, and I have no fear for India's future if we can continue as long as she needs them to offer her the service of the same breed of Englishman as hitherto.

In many ways the life of the British official is more difficult than it formerly used to be. Discharge of his duty may bring him under popular criticism, which can to-day through Press and Council make its voice freely heard. But while the servants of Government are none the worse for sound criticism, and such criticism is a wholesome corrective of all official action, it is the duty of Government here, as elsewhere, when criticism is misplaced, to defend its servants from it. Only a Government which can convince its servants that, when they have acted rightly, it will not hesitate to stand by them, can expect their support and retain their confidence, when called upon to deal justly, or it may even be severely, with its representatives when they have gone astray.

Just 50 years ago, a despatch of the Government of India, in commending the work of a great administrator, used words which, though referring particularly to the Frontier, might well be applied to our position throughout India. "It is by the every-day acts of earnest, upright English gentlemen that lasting influence must be obtained". Well: there is not much to quarrel with in that dictum to-day. A nation is judged by its public servants and it is to character that the Englishman has owed his authority in the past, and it will continue to be so in the future. I devoutly hope therefore that India will continue to attract as fine a type of Englishman as she always has, and I was delighted recently to hear how high was the standard of candidates this year for the Indian Civil Service.





*United Service Club Dinner, Calcutta.*

Here I think is one way among others in which the retired Indian official may still serve the country of his adoption. It must be felt by many who see for the last time the Bombay lights astern that it is the finish of the chapter, the end of an old song. There is a sadness inseparable from the surrender of any task to which a man has been devoted. Stevenson in one of his essays speaks of a student who had just completed a study of the entire works of Carlyle. They told him that there was nothing more of that great thinker left to read. "What!" he said, "is there no more Carlyle? Am I left to the daily papers?" The story goes that Gibbon burst into tears as he wrote the closing words of his great history.

I can well believe that no man can feel this more acutely than those who have given the best of their lives in the service of India and feel that they are retiring to an uneventful life in England. But there is no excuse for such melancholy reflections. There is still plenty of work to be done for India by those who in India have done their work. Though no longer in official harness, every man may still do much by helping to create an informed public opinion on Indian questions and by inducing the best type of his younger fellows to try their future in this land of promise.

Each of you, I expect, has often been asked the question "Would you advise me to send my son into one of the Indian Services?" I know that a few years ago there was a regular campaign in England, against recruitment of English boys for the Indian Services. There was no doubt a partly justifiable apprehension that service in India no longer had the same financial attractions, the same rare liberty, or possibly the same security that it had a generation ago. One heard much of "the good old days"—that disheartening phrase which so strangely





*Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association,  
Calcutta.*

comforts those for whom the present is wholly dark. I do not blame them, but it is fruitless to regret that the hands of the great clock of life move on, for such change is of the essence of all human things.

The last few years however have brought us to see these things in more true perspective. Never had India greater need of the best Englishmen than she has to-day. If there are to be fewer of them, it is the more essential that the fewer should be of the very best. And I can believe strongly enough in British character and initiative to feel confident that the Indian Services will continue to make, as they have in the past, their irresistible appeal to the best of British youth.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BRITISH INDIAN  
ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA.

14th Decem-  
ber 1926.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the British Indian Association, Calcutta, on the 14th of December, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

*Gentlemen,*—I thank you all for the warm welcome and the good wishes which you have offered to Lady Irwin and myself. The eloquent and kindly address, to which I have listened with such pleasure, has the merit of being brief and to the point and in return I shall endeavour to compress my thoughts into as few words as I can.

I am told that the British Indian Association is the father of all such Societies in Bengal and probably in India. Three-quarters of a century is a long life for such a body, but I can see from the distinguished lists of your old and present members that its virility has been well maintained. I notice too that one of the objects of your Association is to establish on a stable basis healthy and satisfactory relationship between landholders and tenants, and in your address you have expressed your sincere





*Address of Welcome from the British Indian Association,  
Calcutta.*

desire to live up to your creed. I trust that you will continue to do so, for you will be performing a real service to your country, a service which as democratic institutions develop, is likely to become more and more essential to the well-being of the country side. A dictionary might define a tenant as a man who pays rent to his landlord. But all good landlords know that their tenants are really in the nature of a trust, and that the obligations are more on the side of the landlord than on that of the tenant. A tenant's duty is done when he has paid his rent. A landlord's is not discharged until he has seen to it that his tenants have adequate housing, decent conditions of life, and the opportunities for education which will fit them to be useful members of their village and of the State.

This duty, as I have said, is more than ever incumbent on you to-day. For an improved standard of life and education will be one of the most convincing arguments for the political advancement to which, as you say in your address, the peoples of India aspire. In the feeling reference which you made to my grandfather's interest in India, you have expressed the hope that his grandson will show an equal sympathy when the re-examination of the Indian constitution comes before Parliament in due course. You need not doubt that my sole desire shall be to apply the experience I shall then have had of India to the best advantage of her people.

It is a great honour to me to acknowledge the loyalty which you have expressed to His Majesty the King-Emperor and to be assured that you too realise the high position which, I believe, India is destined to take as an integral part of the British Empire. You must have watched with considerable pride the ability and statesmanship which your President, the Maharaja of Burdwan, has





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*Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.*

recently shown in the deliberations of the Imperial Conference in London. I have had the advantage of receiving reports of his activities from private sources, and I can assure you that the complimentary statements which have been made about him in the Press are meant in all sincerity and without exaggeration. His visit to England and his announcements during the Conference cannot fail to foster that mutual respect and dependence between the two countries which is so necessary for the true interests of both.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me wish your Association a continued career of usefulness. Your membership embraces a large variety of interests and should be in a peculiarly favourable position to give valuable opinions on matters of public interest in which, I understand, it is so often consulted. May I venture the hope that, whether your voice is unanimous or not, it may always be raised with due regard to all those obligations which landed proprietors, perhaps more than any other class, owe to the country in which they live.

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DINNER GIVEN BY THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION,  
CALCUTTA.

14th December 1926.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at a dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta, on the 14th of December :—

*Gentlemen,*—My first duty must be to thank you for allowing me to be your guest to-night. Even before I came to Calcutta I had heard much of your Association, and it is a pleasure to me to have this opportunity of meeting its members personally. It is particularly agreeable to me that I should here sit under one who was an old college friend of mine and who, I think I may venture to say, taught me in our college debating societies the





*Dinner given by the European Association, Calcutta.*

rudiments of public argument and debate. I remember very well that Mr. Langford-James showed, even in those days, many of the qualities of intellect and character that have no doubt inspired you to choose him as your President.

In the speech to which we have just listened he has touched upon many subjects, and if I do not follow him in them all, it will not be because I fail to appreciate their importance. What he has said rather confirms the impression I derived some months ago, when I met your representatives in Simla, as to the place in the Indian world of an Association such as yours.

This great city affords to anyone an opportunity of seeing the non-official European in full action, and of realising the problems and difficulties with which he has to deal and the spirit in which he sets about it. I would like, if I may, to say something from this angle about the work that I conceive it to be in the power of your Association to do.

Latter day events have necessarily focussed a great deal of thought upon the future political development of India. The movement of opinion and ideas that led to the declaration of policy in 1917 was not one of which the origin can be exactly traced ; nor is it to my purpose to unravel all the twisted strands of cause and effect that led on to this result. I am very well aware that while there were, and are, some who have entertained doubts of the wisdom of the actual structure set up as a result of that declaration, there are others who have sincerely felt even more fundamental doubts. To these last the whole venture of seeking to lead India to self-government through representative institutions has seemed to be a policy at variance both with historical tradition and with many hard realities