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of the present day. To them I would only say that, whether Great Britain will ultimately be judged right or wrong in seeking to guide India along this path, it was hardly possible that she should have acted differently. The path of nations, as well as that of individuals, is greatly influenced by inherited character. Throughout all her own history, Great Britain has been the pioneer as regards the application of representative institutions to the science of politics. It is a commonplace to say that this is indeed the principal fact that she has contributed to the thought and practice of the world ; and if this is so, I suggest that it is not less ultimately incumbent upon her in those spheres of the world where she has influence to spread representative institutions, which are but the material expression of her own political thought, than it is incumbent upon a fire to radiate heat, which is, in similar fashion, the first quality of its existence. But while therefore I think that such radiation of political thought and practice was inevitable, it was rightly recognised by Great Britain that circumstances and conditions in India alike made it necessary to proceed along this path with prudence. The result of this is seen in the form of administration under which the affairs of India are conducted.

Now, as I have said, many persons, including perhaps some of your own Association, may have felt doubts, less far-reaching indeed than those to which I have just alluded, as to the method and time chosen for the new departure. It is the more clearly to their credit that they should have decided to throw their full weight on the side of supporting and justifying the new policy. It is of course not difficult to point to inconveniences and defects in the system which make it difficult to work with complete efficiency. In the realm of principle it is, for example, obviously true that power and responsibility



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ought to go hand in hand, and that power is only safely exercised by those who have a sense of equivalent responsibility. If therefore at any time it is desired to give training in responsibility by the conferment of power upon those who have not hitherto enjoyed it, and if the counsels of prudence are that the full enjoyment of responsibility should only be reached by a gradual process, it is probable and almost inevitable that during this stage there should be some failure to reach the ideal adjustment of responsibility to power. Speaking of central politics, so long as there is in the hands of the Governor-General or Government of India some reserve power by which in the last resort they can secure what they conceive to be essential, it is evidently possible for popular representatives to escape the sense of responsibility that ought to accompany the power, even though only partial, which they exercise. Again, so long as the Government of India is not fully responsible in the strict sense of the word, it is impossible for parties or politicians to feel the salutary check of being perhaps compelled to replace in the task of government those who have been the targets of their criticism and attack. It therefore follows, as we have recently seen, that one of the principal distinctions between the different Indian parties is apt to be the degree of vehemence with which they assail the policy of Government. The latter, necessarily in great degree inarticulate, is presented as the common opponent of patriotic citizens.

These are real difficulties, and difficulties which, as far as I can see, are unavoidable so long as it is necessary to retain the final power in the hands of a Government not directly or wholly responsible to popularly elected representatives.

Few would be so bold as to hazard any very assured prophecy as to when the British Parliament was likely to

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feel disposed to entrust full responsibility to India. I would however venture upon one or two observations. The answer to that question is likely to depend much more upon the foundations that India herself can lay for her own political development, than on any preconceived notions of the British Parliament. As I have already said, the whole instinct of Parliament, so far as it can claim to be the voice of British character, must be to wish well to India in this matter. But if Parliament is a well-wisher, it is also a shrewd and competent judge, and Parliament will, I suspect, realise that at the root of the whole question lies the problem of what I may call the average political sense of a wide electorate. An educated electorate, as Mr. Langford James has said, is the only sure basis of democracy. Without it politics are the possession of a small class of intelligentsia, and the leaders of political thought, who must be pioneers of political development, would be the first to recognise that in these conditions the political system, instead of resting broad-based on intelligent popular judgment, is insecurely poised on an inverted apex.

Let me relate what I am saying to the work of your Association. I know how much your members and those who are associated with you have already done in the way of either giving time themselves, or allowing others to take time, for political work. Business firms have been ready, at no small inconvenience to themselves, to spare their best men for work in the political field, and I trust that they will never grudge to India the services of those whose experience of the country fits them in every way to represent the best interests of their community. Mr. Langford James himself is untiring in this cause, and have admired the efforts which your able Secretary, Colonel Crawford, has made to bring to all the branches of the Association greater knowledge of the main issues



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with which those who represent you in the Legislature at Simla or Delhi have to deal. I do not doubt that the interest shown by your Association in the proceedings at Cawnpore is largely due to the work he has been doing. And I should like to reinforce what I believe to be the thought of many of those, who serve the Association best, by appealing to you, and through you to your other members, never to conceive of Indian politics only as matters directly affecting, at particular points, European interests, but as a great business affecting the whole of India's future, to which you can bring qualities such as India can find nowhere else.

We have unhappily witnessed in the last few months a deplorable exhibition of communal narrowness and animosity. Let there be nothing communal in the European outlook on Indian politics, but let it rather be inspired by the determination to take that share in the moulding of events for the good of India, to which by knowledge, experience, and responsibility you are entitled.

Some of you will remember the last public words spoken in India by one who was perhaps the greatest Viceroy of modern times, who had so warm an affection and admiration for this city, and of whom it can be said, if it can be said of anyone, "*nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*". He was speaking of the true work of Englishmen in India and there is a ring in his words which must be my excuse for repeating them to you to-night. "To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of his ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape,

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to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he is gone.”

Our hand is in sober earnest on the plough to-day. It will need a strong hand, a willing team, to drive the furrow straight ; it is uphill work and there are roots and rocks in plenty to turn the blade aside. Each and all of us need firm faith and sane enthusiasm if we wish to carry through successfully the task to which we have set our hand.

It is because this Association has done so much already to assist Indian growth, because they have brought to the land of their adoption those gifts of determination, honesty and initiative, to which Mr. Langford James referred, and because in the years to come their opportunity of service may well be greater and not less than it has been up to now, that I feel particularly grateful to you for having afforded me this opportunity of meeting you, and of thanking you, not only for the welcome you have given me, but for the promise of your loyal co-operation and support.

BENGAL CLUB DINNER.

20th Decem- The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at
ber 1926. the Dinner given in his honour by the Bengal Club at Calcutta
on the 20th of December :—

I must begin by thanking you, Mr. President and gentlemen, for your kindness in inviting me to be your



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guest to-night. The Bengal Club has long been famous for its hospitality, and I am delighted to have the opportunity of tasting its pleasures for myself. I understand that the Club is on the eve of its hundredth birthday. I should like to congratulate it on this happy event and I hope that its bicentenary will find it in the same flourishing condition that it is in to-day.

You, Sir, have referred to the early history of this City and to the energy and vision of your predecessors which raised it, laboriously, painfully, surely, to the place of honour in the British Empire which it holds to-day.

We are so apt, in unreflecting acceptance of the present, to forget the past, that it is wholesome sometimes to turn our eyes backward. And I suppose that our Imperial records contain no greater romance than that which surrounds Calcutta's creation and Calcutta's growth. It is from the so-called "Factory" of the first days of British settlement, which men once pointed to with pride, that has sprung the Calcutta which we now know. We see her with her vast population, with all the equipment of great and varied industrial undertakings, her streets, her offices, her markets, and her wharves, all concerned with the carriage of merchandise to and from the four corners of the earth, and all bearing witness to the place which Calcutta has come to occupy in the intricate world of business by which we exist to-day. In no other part of India is it possible for a Viceroy to meet so many of those who are prominently identified with the country's commercial interests, and history here seems to challenge an answer to some deeper questions, which underlie the passing issues of the hour.

Since I have been in India I have constantly asked myself the question, which I suppose is often present to all our minds, namely, in what light will what the British

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have done or tried to do in India be ultimately judged ? Such a question was definitely posed to me the other day by our visitors from South Africa, and the fact that they should have so questioned me perhaps shows that the answer is not as plain as we are often tempted to suppose. How far can we claim to have fulfilled the postulate of Burke, who, you will remember, in his famous speech on Fox's India Bill laid down a fundamental doctrine which, however familiar to the present generation, must have sounded strangely in the ears of many of those who listened to him. "All political power" he said "which is set over men ought to be some way or other exercised ultimately for their benefit" and he went on to say that the rights and privileges derived therefrom "are all in the strictest sense a trust". I know no place which more directly suggests the propriety of answering such questions than this city, so closely allied with all the early beginnings of British rule and, thanks largely to Lord Curzon, so rich in historical memories of it.

We are all familiar with the fortuitous character of the first beginnings and establishment of British rule in India, and it is not now necessary to dwell upon the gradual substitution of order for chaos, or on the replacement of turmoil by tranquillity. For many years no doubt the principal efforts of British administration were directed along lines of promoting and securing the interests of trade and commerce, and I imagine that most of the blemishes on early company rule were attributable to the imperative instructions of directors, urging their representatives to earn them the wherewithal with which to meet the shareholders' desire for dividends. From such modest and hazardous beginnings has grown that great structure of commerce, internal and external, which many of you represent and which holds so important a place in



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the life of India. This commercial adventure, as at first it was, necessarily attracted increasing attention from the politicians. I have already mentioned Burke's enunciation of a doctrine that was to take the British Empire very far. The attention of Parliament was not infrequently directed to India in its debates, and it was from the political side that the great change finally came which witnessed the transfer of the old rights and obligations of the Company to the Crown. It is also certainly true that in these latter years it is the side of political evolution that seems to have engrossed the major part of the attention of Government and the public. You in Bengal have your full share of political activity, and you will allow me here to pay my tribute of respect to the manner in which Lord Lytton, whose services Bengal is so soon to lose, has faced great difficulties with all that sense of responsibility, courage and candour which his friends and every one who knew him would have expected of him.

But everywhere the atmosphere is thick with discussion on constitutional reforms; oratory is plentiful; and some might be forgiven for thinking that the steady and solid achievements of the past were in danger of being submerged under a new avalanche, of a type with which India has not hitherto been familiar. They may even feel that the machinery of Government is standing still to watch the result of this new political venture, content to see things slide and to sacrifice what they have been accustomed to regard as the most efficient administration in the world to the necessity of training new classes in power and responsibility. I am far from saying that such an attitude is unintelligible or unnatural. None the less I feel that it is a very dangerous misapprehension of the truth, and that we should be making a huge mistake if we supposed for a moment that politics and the play of political forces were the sum of the contribution that

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Government was at this moment making to India's future. It is indeed true that in regard to these we have expressly undertaken commitments to the Indian peoples, which we shall to the best of our ability fulfil, but that in no way absolves us from the obligation of constantly attending to other matters which make for India's welfare.

May I say a word to you about two directions in which Government is to-day striving to discharge the duties of its trusteeship? For those obsessed with the idea that Government is no longer a dynamic but a static force, I would prescribe no better remedy than a tour to the North-West Frontier. It is difficult to conceive of a greater contrast than that presented by the settled life we know here and what has hitherto been the uncertain and precarious existence of the frontier, for so long, through history, the postern gate of the keep of India. Its atmosphere of blood-feuds, forts, barbed wire, is difficult of apprehension unless we see it for ourselves. It is indeed a different civilisation, and one, it must be confessed, whatever its disadvantages, of possibly greater and more arresting daily interest than the one which we are seeking with such success to establish in its place. No one who visits it, and sees for himself the barrier of rugged and cruel hills, the stalwart Pathan, whose rifle is an indispensable article of otherwise exiguous every-day apparel, can fail to appreciate the meaning of the roads and railways and all the organisation, political and military, which are bringing peace and order into that troubled land. Once there you feel that Government has not lost its old grip, that progress is real and that we are in fact still achieving something which justifies British rule.

It is only a few years, as you will remember, since Waziristan was the centre of grave trouble involving difficult and costly military operations. Within that short space of time a great change has come over the spirit of

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the dream. I give you one figure to illustrate the change. Four years ago 131 raids were carried out by gangs from independent territory in the North-West Frontier Province. The following year the figure had dropped to 74 and last year to 31 ; while in the first seven months of the present year we have only recorded 9. We have not forced upon the tribes any exasperating regulations, that would merely antagonise people who worship the individual but doubt the authority of the law. We trust rather for our influence to the name of British justice and to the personality of the British official, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which they have justified that trust. Their monument may rightly be said to be the same as that which Sir Christopher Wren drew from St. Paul's Cathedral ; "*Si quaeris monumentum circumspice*".

If anyone were still unconverted by the work of political reclamation proceeding in these areas under the Union Jack, I would ask him to come with me to those parts of Northern India where the engineer is using his technical knowledge to convert dry, thirsty, desert soil into land bearing food and material for the use of man. I was fortunate enough two or three weeks ago to visit one of these canal colonies in its earlier stages, where I was able to see this useless and unwanted waste, side by side with land of similar quality a few yards away, which on the 1st of June last had had its first drink of irrigation water and was, six months later, covered by splendid crops. Much of the colonisation of the Punjab is now ancient history, and we may almost be tempted to forget that where there are now prosperous villages was once devoid of vegetation and empty of human life. But every year the work goes on, and bit by bit we see the green line of cultivation pushing its way forward into the dusty brown of desert. I confess that I felt, after seeing these two fields of present-day

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activity and effort, that here was Government in all its vigour and that here was something as close akin to creation as it is given to man to do.

Well, gentlemen, I have taken you a long way from the plains of Bengal and from the comfortable hospitality of this Club. What connection you may wonder has all this with your own lives and work? To my mind the connection is not far to seek. These activities, which I have attempted to describe, are nothing to me but the logical continuation of that restless energy, which has steadily radiated through India from the earliest centre of British power and initiative—Calcutta and Bengal; and I suggest that it illustrates the importance, if we are to judge progress in India truly, of judging it as a whole.

At the risk therefore of appearing to fall a victim to self-satisfaction and complacency, I feel able unhesitatingly to assert that our record in India is one on which the historian will return a favourable verdict. I know very well how many are the obstacles by which the growth of India to-day and during the next years is likely to be beset. She needs wise counsel to help her in surmounting them, the counsel of friends who neither flatter nor decry. To turn a blind eye to her weaknesses is no true friendship. But when we criticise let our words be free from any sting of bitterness. Let us be careful to fan no flames of controversy, but seek always with cool reason and warm sympathy to strive for the realisation of India's hopes and ours. If we can keep untarnished our faith in India's future, we shall not fail to convince India that we can still help her to achieve it, and that the contribution we can make, though it may be different, will not be unworthy of the achievements of the past.



ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BENARES MUNICIPAL BOARD AND THE BENARES DISTRICT BOARD.

In reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Benares Municipal Board and the Benares District Board at Benares on the 4th January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

4th January
1927.

Gentlemen,—Lady Irwin and I greatly appreciate the cordial welcome extended to us by the Members of the Municipal Board and of the District Board in the addresses which have just been read. Both addresses referred, as was both natural and right, to the history of Benares and to the special sanctity with which the name of Benares is invested, and my only regret is that my visit is perforce too short to allow me to see more than a small part of all that your city has to show. The restfulness of Kashi is indeed a strange contrast after the din and bustle of the great towns in which I have recently been living. Politics, industry, commerce, all seem alike unable seriously to disturb the underlying atmosphere of contemplative calm, which pervades this place. I read somewhere recently an impression of Benares as being held aloft on the trident of holiness. I shall have this picture in my mind as I visit your shrines and holy places in the next day or two,—and long afterwards when I look back upon these days spent in the heart of Hindu India.

The duties, however, with which your own bodies are immediately concerned, are rather those of the more material side of life, although the problems of administration which you all have to face have a peculiar variety and importance through the very privilege of having a religious metropolis in your midst. Both Boards have to tackle formidable difficulties in housing and communications, created by the ebb and flow of a large population from whom little return in the shape of a direct income can be expected. At the same time you have to pay due regard



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to the interests of the ratepayers whom you represent by providing those amenities of life which they have a right to expect.

The Municipal Board in their address have been modest, I might almost say pessimistic, in speaking of their efforts to meet this double responsibility unaided. You will, however, realise that I am not in a position to give any promise of direct financial aid from the Government of India. The added privileges of local self-government bring corresponding charges in their train, and the decentralization of the collection and expenditure of public money leaves no funds in the hands of the Central Government for direct grants to municipalities.

I trust however that the goal is not beyond the limit of the Municipality's own endeavours. The Board's normal expenditure, I hear, is now below its income. Two of your big schemes, the electrification of Benares and the improvement of the water supply, are well in train. I am informed that the Local Government have given a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs towards the latter object, and I trust it will not be long before the needs of the city as regards these two important matters of administration are fulfilled. The greatest difficulty lies perhaps in the state of the drainage system. Apart from the dangers to the population arising out of defective conservancy arrangements, I have been sorry to hear complaints of the pollution of the Ganges water as it flows past the sacred ghats. There is a saying that cleanliness is next to godliness, and I am convinced that every pilgrim to Benares would gladly spare a modicum of his offerings to see his holy city and its river preserved pure and unsullied. Surely it is not beyond the power and genius of the religious authorities, if not the Board itself, to devise some means of enabling



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such feelings to be translated into action. You have already a number of philanthropic institutions, which compares favourably with any city in India, such as the Ram Krishna Mission of Service and many others. I feel sure that by voluntary subscriptions much could also be effected towards preserving intact the outward glories of Benares.

I gather from the District Board's address that their problems are similar to those of the Municipality, but spread over a larger area, and are in the same way affected by the presence within their boundaries of a centre attracting pilgrims of every kind from outside as well as from within India. It follows that many amenities of life, important enough in the ordinary way, become here vital needs. Again, though I am aware that the present Board has done all in its power to restore its finances to a satisfactory condition, there is the complaint of lack of money, which all governing bodies feel now-a-days constrained to make. Although grants from Government amount to two-thirds of the Board's income, the fact unfortunately remains that this income is inadequate to cover ordinary expenditure. This inelasticity of income has been ascribed to the Permanent Settlement. Whatever there may be to be said for and against this view, I am glad to hear that the Board have finally decided to steel themselves to raise new revenue, though I recognise that even then it is improbable that you will be able to provide for all the needs of your District as you would desire. All the more care is therefore necessary to allot the expenditure to objects which will give the greatest benefit to the greatest number, and to conserve as far as possible your resources for some large minded and wisely conceived scheme, rather than to expend them, as many bodies are apt to do, on a number of minor objects none



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of which are likely to effect permanent improvement in the daily lives of your inhabitants.

Gentlemen, though your task is difficult, your addresses show me that you are fully alive to your responsibilities, and that in itself is an indication that you will continue to do your best to discharge them worthily. I am particularly glad to hear of the devoted service which has been rendered by your respective Chairmen : service which must mean considerable sacrifice of the little leisure which the ordinary day's work affords. From the wider point of view the work which is being done to-day by local bodies is of very great importance. By success or otherwise in small things, a nation may be judged in the greater, and no one who gives his service to such work need ever feel that his labours are thrown away. In the problems you are called upon to solve, in the debates which are held amongst you, in the decisions you take, in the responsibilities you bear, in the hundred and one calls which the administration of your charges makes upon your powers, the same qualities are demanded of you as of those who direct the wider world of politics. But to you I imagine your best reward will be to make the setting of this sacred city worthy of the precious stone within.

It has been a great pleasure for me to have met you personally here to-day, and I thank you once more for the friendly reception you have given to Lady Irwin and myself.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE LIBRARY
OF THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

4th January
1927.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the Library of the



*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Library of the Benares
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Benares Hindu University at Benares on the 4th January :—

Mr. Vice Chancellor and gentlemen,—I thank you sincerely for the welcome you have offered to Lady Irwin and myself. Almost 11 years ago Lord Hardinge, in laying the foundation stone from which this great institution has risen, expressed the hope that the University might come to be a place of many sided activities, prepared to equip young men for all the various walks of life. His hopes have not been belied. Those who have directed the growth of this University—and I know how much the University owes to its Vice-Chancellor—have laid their plans wisely and pursued them well. In the choice of their site and the character of their buildings they have striven to create the real academic atmosphere, impalpable but always powerful to influence the minds of those who are brought within its range. They have afforded opportunities for the study of a wide variety of subjects, intellectual and practical, theological and scientific, adequate to give a young man the mental equipment he needs to face the manifold problems of life. They were, I believe, the first to adopt here the organisation of a residential teaching institution. Your system of housing the different departments, with their hostels in separate contiguous buildings, allows not only for specialisation in study but also for a common social life outside the class. And both are of the essence of the real University life. Those of us who were fortunate enough to receive our education at one of the English residential Universities know how much of what we learnt there was learnt not from text books or in the lecture room, but from contact in our own rooms and in the course of every day life with our fellow undergraduates.

This finely conceived and finely executed plan is therefore very bright with promise. It can well claim to be

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an all-India University, for it draws half of its 2,000 students from outside the United Provinces, and it is built on a scale in keeping with the area of its appeal. Your Vice-Chancellor has told you of the large sums of money already spent in building and equipping the University and has employed all his most persuasive arts in the attempt to elicit further sympathy in practical shape from the Government of India. I have had no opportunity, since he told me the matters to which he had it in mind to refer, of making enquiry into the reasons that might weigh with Government in the consideration of the requests which he has made. I can therefore say no more at present than that I shall make it my business to give personal and careful attention to these matters. But inasmuch as the financial heart of all Governments in these difficult days is proverbially stony, may I perhaps utter the one word of warning which will find place in my speech to-day, that, however praiseworthy the object, I trust that expenditure will not outrun the University's means. I greatly hope that the debt, towards the reduction of which the Government of India has this year sanctioned a grant of 5 lakhs, will soon be cleared, and the finances of the University be placed on a permanently satisfactory footing.

The new library, however, of which I am, at your kind invitation, to lay the foundation stone to-day, has had special funds provided for it through the generosity of a benefactor. Your University is fortunate in having as Chancellor a man to whom appeals for educational purposes are seldom made in vain. A few years ago H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar gave a donation of a lakh of rupees to the general funds of the University. He has recently given a similar sum as an endowment for scholarships to enable Science students of the University to continue higher



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studies at foreign Universities. He has now followed his own admirable example by giving another lakh for the construction of this library. The whole library building is expected to cost 5 lakhs, but His Highness' generous donation has enabled the work to be begun. The building is so planned as to admit of large future extensions, as the Council wisely recognise that a University library must ever grow. It is appropriate that the central portion which is to be taken in hand at once should be called the "Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Library" in honour of the benefactor who has made its inception possible.

The library when completed will supply a very real want in the University. The dispersal of the present collection of books over several separate rooms and the lack of any reading room are indeed serious drawbacks. No University is complete without its library. There is something in a library of books, whether old or new, which you find nowhere else on earth, a sense of communion with the thought of all the ages, a feeling that you have around you a store-house on which to draw, as the fancy takes you, for inspiration, knowledge, or consolation.

You remember the lines of the poet Southey on his library :—

My days among the dead are passed ;
 Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes are cast,
 The mighty minds of old.
My never failing friends are they
 With whom I converse day by day.

To a man who loves his books, his library is a home of his own which he can furnish according to his tastes, a

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world of his own which he can people with his friends. His circle of friends is ever widening, and, once made, they are friends for life.

I think that perhaps never more than at the present day was there greater need for developing among the youth of this—as of any other—country the taste for general reading. A University student, with examinations looming large before him, must perforce devote much of his time to the reading of text books, and must specialise on the particular branch of study which he has undertaken. He is no student if he does otherwise. But to be a ‘full man’, in Bacon’s words, his reading must take a wider sweep. Above all he must search out for himself the books or the passages which strike a chord in his mind and are henceforth destined to influence his life and his thought. If we have to trust the opinion of others as to what is good in literature, we shall never make much progress. The perverseness of the human mind is even apt sometimes to make us approach with a hostile feeling the book which we have been told is ‘the best ever written’. Not that we should blindly discard advice. It is remarkable how general is the consensus of opinion on the world’s greatest books. But when we read a book we should make up our own minds first, which parts of it appeal to us, by stimulating or making articulate trains of thought hitherto only existing in our subconscious mind. It is well to mark these passages and return to them again and again. We shall often find that our first judgment was wrong in the light of further experience. We may feel that our idea of their standard of value has changed. But by exercising our own judgment we have added something to our stock of wisdom which we could have attained in no other way. We should vary our reading too. In

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unexpected places we make discoveries. In a line from a poet, a sentence from a novel, we are 'stung by the splendour of a sudden thought' which will carry us through life. It is no bad plan to read two types of book concurrently—one for pure pleasure, poetry, novels, memoirs—the other as discipline, as an astringent to the mind, philosophy, social science, theology, economics. You thus acquire that mental balance without which knowledge can seldom be of great value either to yourself or to others. I speak not without a sad consciousness that I am preaching what I seldom have the chance of practising—but none the less I hope one day to have time to read again, and meanwhile I know that my advice is sound, and contains a great secret of the real interest and happiness in life.

Many of those I am now addressing will have gone out into the world before the building, which is to rise upon the stone I am now to lay, has reached completion. But whether you have the opportunity or not to profit by the advantages it will offer, I hope that all these who are now passing or shall hereafter pass the precious years of youth within this place may be inspired to repay the intellectual gifts that they have here received by service in many fields, and win for themselves the title of honoured sons of an honoured University.

BANQUET AT BENARES.

In responding to the toast of his health at the Banquet given in his honour by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares at Benares on the 4th of January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

4th January
1927.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you Your Highness on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the kind words with which you have bidden us welcome

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to your State, and proposed the toast of our health. We are both most grateful to Your Highness for having given us the opportunity of visiting your territories, and for the manner in which you have entertained us. I am well aware how many calls there are on Your Highness's hospitality, for Benares exercises a magnetic attraction upon the world, and few distinguished visitors pass through this city without experiencing the comforts of Your Highness's well appointed guest-house at Nandesar.

It is pleasant to hear Your Highness reiterating the assurance of loyalty which has always distinguished the Ruling House. In the years before us, as Your Highness has said, the whole question of the position and function of the States in India and in the British Empire must inevitably be faced. It is a question which, in the interests alike of the States and British India, stands in need of the best thought that can be brought to bear upon it. Whatever the solution may be—and its solution will not be as easy as some might seem to think—its essential basis will be mutual agreement and confidence between the States and British India, and I am therefore glad to see that Your Highness so clearly recognises the interdependence of the two. Your Highness may be certain that I shall be ready and anxious to do whatever lies in my power to secure that this matter is dealt with in such fashion as may best assist the States to take their rightful place in the future life of India. I feel sure that any opinion which Your Highness may at any time offer on this problem will be as frank and sincere as that which you have just expressed on the general subject of the Reforms.

It would be an ill return for your generous hospitality that I should speak at length on the constitutional changes that were introduced in India seven years ago, and that will presently be the subject of statutory review. They



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have had many critics, and Your Highness is, of course, not alone in thinking that India was not ripe for the action which Parliament approved, and that the British Government of that day acted with undue precipitancy. I was a member of the House of Commons at that time, and I very well remember the careful and exhaustive examination of which these proposals were the subject. Therefore whether what was then done will be ultimately judged wise or unwise, it would be unjust to Parliament and the British people to suppose that they failed to weigh the issues involved with becoming gravity. It is certainly true that the result has been by no means free from disappointment, and it will be the duty of the Statutory Commission to examine the whole position with impartial thoroughness, in order to satisfy itself that the foundations on which we seek to build are sound. But I can entertain no doubt that Great Britain and India can and must continue to work together for the good of both, and that the collaboration of Great Britain is an essential condition of India's evolution.

I share Your Highness's regret that it has not been possible for me to spend more time in acquainting myself with the organisation and progress of your State, for I have heard much of the sound character of Your Highness's administration. Your solicitude for the well being of the cultivating classes is no secret, and is instanced by the very reasonable charges for irrigation which are, I believe, if anything below the economic level. Your capital of Ramnagar too, with its admirably equipped hospital, electric supply, and other features of modern development, is well on the way to becoming a model town. Much of the secret of Your Highness's success lies, I suspect, in the generous treatment you accord to your officials, and the wisdom with which you select your public servants from

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men whose experience, whether gained in your own State or in British India, renders them fit to carry out your policy.

It is with great pleasure that I have learnt of the ability and wisdom with which Your Highness has handled any communal dissension which threatened to arise, with the result that your State has been almost wholly free of trouble of this kind. The personal touch which Your Highness maintains with your people and their affairs, whether in private life or in public Durbar, has been the means of enabling you to win, in striking degree, the confidence of your subjects.

I sincerely trust that Your Highness may be spared for many years to support your responsibilities with all your present vigour. Years have been kinder to Your Highness than to most, though, I know, it must largely be due to your own rigorous physical training that you have preserved that vitality which many a younger man might envy. Few men, I think, can have celebrated the passing of their allotted span of three score years and ten by starting out on a lion-hunting expedition, as Your Highness did last year to the West of India. I shall count myself very fortunate if I can, when the time comes, emulate Your Highness's achievement. We all hope, Your Highness, that you will live to shoot many more lions, and to welcome many more Viceroys to Benares. My own visit, alas, has been all too short. But Lady Irwin, I, and all your guests shall carry away the happiest recollections of all that we have seen, of the host under whose auspices we have seen it, and of all those whose acquaintance we have been fortunate enough to make.

I will now ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to rise and drink to the health and prosperity of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.



ADDRESS FROM THE KASHI SUDHAR TRUST, BENARES.

H. E. the Viceroy addressed the Deputation representing the Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares, in the following terms :— 5th January 1927.

Gentlemen,—When I was asked by the Members of your Trust to receive this deputation, and when I heard the reasons which had prompted you to lay your case before me, I need hardly say that my interest and sympathy were keenly aroused. For the thought that the sacred buildings of Benares should be in danger of damage and destruction was enough to disturb not only the minds of those in whose religion Benares holds so exceptional a place, but also of many like myself who, members of other religions, know that it has for ages been an object of the deepest reverence to the whole Hindu community. The name of Benares has become one of the world's household words, and no visitor to India would deem his visit to be complete until he had seen the river front of Benares. Men have come from far distant lands to see the place where Gautama Buddha first preached his gospel, and to look on the city whose countless buildings, clothed with the mantle of history and sanctity, have for centuries been an inspiration to the great Hindu religion. It hardly therefore, I think, requires an assurance from me that the preservation of this holy city is and always will be a matter of the deepest concern to me.

Let us now come to the less romantic facts. I may first dispose of a question which is really a separate problem and has no connection with the damage to the ghâts. I refer to the pollution of the Ganges water. I am told that an excellent intercepting drain, which was built several years ago, has been allowed to fall into partial disuse, and that if it and other drains already constructed are put in proper repair, there is no reason why the river should not flow on untainted. This is a

*Address from the Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares.*

matter on which it would seem that the Trust should first approach the Municipal Board, in whose hands the primary responsibility for the drainage of the city rests. Your Trust could, I think, give valuable assistance to your cause by organising public opinion to realise the importance of strict conservancy administration, and by encouraging the Municipal Board to make the fullest possible use of existing drainage.

As regards the question of danger to the ghâts, I am told that the damage, which the river front has suffered, has occurred over a long series of years, and that there are two main reasons for it; the blocking of the sub-soil water by buildings along the front, and erosion by direct action of the river. The former danger may perhaps not be difficult to meet, but to guide the waters of a mighty river like the Ganges at Benares must of necessity be a very expensive and possibly a hazardous enterprise. It has, I understand, been estimated that the protection of the ghâts against the action of the river will cost not less than 30 lakhs, and the wayward strength of a river is so incalculable that it would not be safe to limit the possible expenditure even to this figure.

You no doubt realise, gentlemen, the magnitude of the work you have undertaken, and your enterprise in seriously taking up this question is greatly to your credit. Your first duty, as it appears to me, is to gain the confidence of the public. You must satisfy them that the scheme is one which will bring credit to themselves and to you, and in which the money they subscribe will not be uselessly thrown away. The first step towards gaining this confidence must be to carry out a thorough and expert survey of the threatened area and to prepare an estimate



Address from the Kashi Sudhar Trust, Benares.

of the cost of protective works. I invite the Trust therefore to confine its efforts in the first instance to raising funds for a survey which, though expensive, could, I understand, be carried out for a sum of Rs. 50,000. I have received an assurance that as soon as the requisite funds are raised, the Provincial Government will gladly supply a competent officer to carry out the expert surveying work. I hope that towards raising this preliminary sum your Committee will accept, as evidence of my interest in your work, a small subscription from myself.

The completion of the survey will of course be only the beginning of your real task, and we cannot for the present say with certainty what funds will be required. But I have no doubt that you will agree with me when I say that the ultimate expense involved in this great work should, in fairness, be mainly a charge on all Hindu lovers of Benares. Until the critical work to which I have referred has been completed, it is hardly possible for me to give practical consideration to the question of Government assistance; and it is evident that any such assistance would of necessity be conditional upon the state of public finances and upon the amounts previously subscribed by private persons. I find it difficult to believe that if your Trust can satisfy the Hindu community as a whole that the need is an urgent one and that you are determined to the utmost of your ability to carry through the work to which you have set yourselves, Hindus of every class and whatever their circumstances would not joyfully subscribe to save the city to which their thoughts so often turn. I can assure you that in all the efforts you may make to accomplish the purpose to which you have set your hands, you will carry along with you my warm interest and good-will.



ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BHARAT DHARMA
MAHAMANDAL, BENARES.

5th January
1927.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following reply to the Address of Welcome from the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal at Benares on the 5th of January :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the welcome you have offered me. I feel that it is not so much perhaps a welcome to this sacred city, in which your Association appropriately enough has its centre, as a welcome on the part of the whole brotherhood of Hinduism. For yours is a body which, drawing supporters from many parts of India and from many different walks of life, has one common bond, which you truly recognise as superior to, and wider than, time or place, in the tenets of the great Hindu religion.

I thank you too for your assurance of loyalty and devotion, those instinctive sentiments of your creed. Fidelity to the ruler, loyalty to established authority, have always been cardinal tenets of the Hindu faith. And even as they have from ages past been one of the foundations of your religion, so in the world of the present day they are vital sources of strength not only for your own community, but for the whole of India.

Next to loyalty you have laid emphasis upon respect for social order. This feeling, I suppose, is the counterpart in public life of that reverence for family tradition, that insistence on family discipline, which are such striking features of Hindu life. Their value was never more apparent than to-day, when many forces are tending towards the dissolution of ties on which society has long depended. There is indeed no part of life which can claim immunity from one of life's general laws, that to seek so-called liberty in separation from any idea of authority and discipline is to betray the principal purpose of existence. As you have implied, neither the individual



*Address of Welcome from the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal,
Benares.*

nor society can afford to confuse liberty with license ; for though we but dimly apprehend it, we all instinctively realise, whether in nature or in ourselves, that life is controlled by law, and if by our conduct we deny it, we are imperilling the reality of life itself. It is therefore satisfactory to know that your Association representing as it does all that is best in Hindu orthodoxy, is never likely to throw aside lightly traditions which have stood the test of time. Orthodoxy, as you most truly say, is not or ought not to be stagnation, and should in no way be antagonistic to the progressive realisation of new ideals and new desires.

There is much in the social life of India, which stands in dire need of reformation, and I trust that there will be an increasing number of loyal adherents of your great community, who will be found willing to devote unselfish service to these social causes.

You speak of the harm that has been done and is still being done by the divorce of education from religion, and there can be few thinking men, of whatever creed, who would not share your views. The object of all true education is to build character, and character ultimately depends upon the moral sanctions which a man or woman accepts as final in his or her daily life. Such sanctions are found most surely in religion, and if we neglect the place of religion in education, we are rejecting the most powerful instrument to assist us in our work. But the question how far, or by what means, it is for Government to effect the union of the two, raises, especially in India, far reaching issues on which I would give no hasty verdict. I can however promise you that any scheme which your Association may ever wish to bring forward will be considered by my Government with all the care and sympathy which such an important subject has the right to claim.

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You have dwelt briefly on the communal dissensions which we have recently had such unhappy occasion to deplore. I repeat the hope that the whole Hindu community may approach the question in the same wide spirit of toleration for which your Association strives. May it bring to a consideration of the problem the same vision with which your own "Temple of All Religions" aims at the establishment of a true world peace between all countries and all creeds. For it is by seeking, as your Temple does, the points of agreement—and there are many—between religions, and not by emphasising and distorting the points of difference, that religious communities can best hope to find the way to real and lasting peace. The last few years have seen human effort more and more directed towards the attainment of world unity in the sphere of politics, and your Association has the satisfaction of knowing that it is working on lines analogous to an organisation which is surely destined to have a profound influence on the future of mankind.

Let me again thank you, gentlemen, for your welcome and your address, and assure you of my interest in the aims of your Association and of my readiness to further in any way that I can the beneficial activities of your members.

BANQUET AT RAMPUR.

6th January 1927. H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the Banquet at Rampur on the 6th January :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to thank Your Highness for the very kind manner in which you have proposed the toast of Lady Irwin and myself. We had, as Your Highness has said, immediately

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after our arrival in India, the pleasure of making a brief acquaintance with Your Highness in Delhi and with true Indian hospitality almost your first words were an invitation to visit you in your State.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we have taken advantage of Your Highness' kindness, and I may, I am sure, on behalf of all his guests who are here to-night, offer to His Highness our united thanks for the abundant hospitality with which he has entertained us and for the personal trouble I know he has taken to ensure our comfort.

We have all listened with deep appreciation to Your Highness' expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The whole history of Rampur echoes that assurance. A century and a half of loyal and constant friendship to the British Crown is guarantee that on this theme Your Highness employs no empty phrases. The tradition which Your Highness' ancestors founded so long ago was worthily maintained in the dark days of the Indian Mutiny and carried on throughout the Great War, when Rampur was never known to begrudge assistance to any appeal that was made to her. I feel sure that I can continue to rely on Your Highness' staunch assistance to Government whether in War or peace, and I have recently been greatly pleased to hear of your ready co-operation with the United Provinces Government in helping their special police to run to earth the gangs of professional criminals who were using the State as a base of operations against British India. It is in great part owing to Your Highness' help and to that of your Inspector-General of Police Sahibzada Abdul Majid Khan that their depredations have now been terminated.

Another passage in Your Highness' speech which afforded me great satisfaction was the reference to the

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cordial relations which exist between Your Highness and the British Officials with whom Your Highness' State is concerned. I can well believe this, for there is perhaps no quality in a man better calculated to win the approval and friendship of the British official than frankness in speech and action. And these are traits which I well know belong to Your Highness' character. Those who have known Your Highness best have always been struck by the sincerity with which you tell them what you really think, and by the loyalty you show to your personal friends, among whose number I hope that I may count myself.

I am glad to hear from Your Highness that you are fully alive to the educational needs of your people and to the advantage of developing your State with roads, canals, and colonisation schemes. For it is by the prosperity and contentment of your subjects that Your Highness' rule, as every other, will ultimately be judged. I hope that your new schemes will be found to lend themselves to those advanced methods of agriculture which, I think, are likely to be the solution of many of the difficulties which beset the Indian country-side to-day. The improvements which Your Highness has effected in the town of Rampur itself are patent to everyone. The latest of all, which, I understand, was constructed to Your Highness' own design, is the new block of the Khas Bagh Palace. I am indeed grateful to Your Highness for the great efforts which I know you have made to have it ready for my visit, and I can assure you that the comfort and pleasure that it offers to its inmates well repay all the trouble you have taken.

Architecture is not the only of the arts in which Your Highness shows your interest. The Rampur Library which you showed me this morning is well known to be one of



Naming of the Imperial Airways Aeroplane.

the first in India and among its collection of 9,000 manuscripts are many of which no other copies exist in this country. It is fortunate to find in the person of Your Highness a generous patron of the Arts, who is both student and collector, and who is steadily adding to the reputation it has already gained.

I will not detain you longer. I will only assure Your Highness of the deep personal interest I take in all that appertains to the welfare of the States of India.

I would now ask the company to rise and drink to the health of a good ruler, a good host and a good friend—His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

NAMING OF THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS AEROPLANE.

H. E. the Viceroy delivered the following speech at the ceremony of the Naming of the Imperial Airways Aeroplane at Delhi on the 10th of January :—

10th January 1927.

I am very pleased that I should have been asked to take part in this ceremony. A voyage such as Sir Samuel and Lady Maud Hoare have achieved carries our thoughts back to journeys in earlier days between Europe and India, when the slow-footed camel and beasts of burden carried Indian merchandise across the old land route to Southern Europe, when men made the discovery—amazing in those times—of a sea route to India, and finally succeeded in shortening the journey by the canal which severs the Asiatic continent from Africa. Many people looked to railways as the next obvious step in speeding up the communication between England and India. But the air has forestalled them.

The political, commercial and social implications of this new development of travel are obvious enough and I need not elaborate them. Sir Samuel Hoare stated a day or two ago that India, by virtue of her size and geographical position, might well become the air centre

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of the East, and I see no reason why in the course of time his prophecy should not come true.

When that time comes, India will look back and remember the day when this machine first landed in the city from which it is now to take its name. This Imperial City has been the goal of many journeys and many adventures in past history. It is fitting that it should give its name to the aeroplane whose journey has opened a new page in its history and has added one more to the many roads which lead to Delhi.

I know that I utter the thoughts of all present to-day when I wish good luck and safe voyaging to the aeroplane which I now invite Lady Irwin formally to name.

OPENING OF THE COUNCIL HOUSE AT NEW DELHI.

18th January 1927. In opening the Council House at New Delhi on the 18th of January, H. E. the Viceroy said :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before proceeding to the ceremony which Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has asked me to perform, it is my duty to announce that I have been honoured by a command from His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor to read a message which he has been graciously pleased to send. It is in the following terms :—

“ Fifteen years ago in Delhi, I gave public expression to the hope that the great changes then to be effected might bring increased happiness and prosperity to India. On this solemn occasion I desire to associate myself with the outward completion of a great part of the task then undertaken. The new capital which has arisen enshrines new institutions and a new national life. May it endure to be worthy of a great nation, and inspire the Princes and



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people of India with ideals of brotherhood and service, by which alone the peace and true prosperity of my subjects may be secured. I earnestly pray that in the Council House about to be opened, wisdom and justice may find their dwelling place, and that God's blessing may rest upon all those who shall henceforth serve India within its walls.

GEORGE R. I."

We gratefully acknowledge the desire of His Majesty to unite himself on this occasion with the Princes and peoples of India as yet one more example of the constant and intimate interest in their welfare, which he has always shown. I am certain that the sentiments, to which His Majesty has been pleased to give expression, will awake a new echo of loyalty to his Person and Crown throughout the whole Indian Empire.

The occasion of our meeting to-day is one that reflects many of the deepest and strongest feelings of our human kind. Throughout the ages men have ever sought to give visible shape to ideas that have enlisted their devotion and respect, and, by so doing, to protect them from oblivion and decay. Thus men have been moved to find permanent embodiment in material form for their highest ideals of religious and civic life in order that they might thereby hand down to future generations the spirit and traditions of the past. Here in India, and not least in Delhi, we have around us eloquent memorials of bygone days, and it is fitting that it should be in this place, on a spot hallowed by tradition and dear to Indian sentiment, that we should be inaugurating the first of the great buildings of our New Capital.

The noble design of Government House, the magnificent stretch of the Central Vista we owe to Sir Edwin Lutyens,

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who from the beginning has taken the leading part in the creation of this city. To him and to Sir Herbert Baker, the author of this great building and of the Government of India Secretariat, as well as to the Chief Engineer and those who have worked with him—to whom Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has rightly given praise—I desire to extend our grateful thanks. Nor will any think me lacking in appreciation, if I say that those to whom the work was entrusted will have succeeded in their task, if the buildings of this city may be counted worthy of the historic environment in which they have been set.

But it is not merely on the architectural features of this building, which the Hon'ble Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has described, it is not on the labours of the builders, that I wish especially to dwell this morning. I would ask you for a brief space to allow your thought to pass through this building to that of which it is the visible and external sign.

Since the King-Emperor laid at Delhi the foundation stone of the New Capital of India, great events have brought us through an infinite variety of experience, in which anxiety, sorrow and disappointment have struggled for the mastery with faith, determination and hope. India took her full share in this stern conflict, and under its impulse, here as in many other parts of the world, we have witnessed the emergence of new forces and new aspirations. The development towards responsible Government in India under the British Crown can indeed be traced far back in the history of British rule in India, but it is in these latter years that by the Declaration of August 1917 definite and explicit recognition has been given to the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government is to be directed. This day brings home to



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us with especial significance the reality of this declaration of intention. In the earlier design of the new city such a building as this had found no place, and its inclusion is the natural issue of those constitutional changes, from whose loins the deliberative bodies, in future to be housed within its walls, have sprung. Therefore this Council House will stand as the outward expression of the set purpose and sincere desire of the British people, and the opening of its doors would appear to be the most appropriate ceremony with which to inaugurate the new centre of the Government of India. But this is not all. If the war was the parent of great movements in the political thought of men, it taught us in clear language how intimately the ties, which unite India with her sister nations of the Empire, depend upon the fact that they are woven round the common centre of allegiance to the Crown. Only through that allegiance to its head does each member of the Imperial body preserve its individual nationhood, and simultaneously achieve firm and enduring unity with its fellows. It was thus a noble conception of the architect to give form to this idea by housing within one circle the three bodies, the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State, and the Legislative Assembly, signifying thereby the unity not of British India only, but of all India under the Imperial Crown.

But the circle stands for something more than unity. From earliest times it has been also an emblem of permanence, and the poet has seen in the ring of light a true symbol of eternity. May therefore we and those who follow us witness, so far as we may, the fruition of these twin conceptions. As our eyes or thoughts rest upon this place, let us pray that this Council House may endure through the centuries, down which time travels towards eternity, and that, through all the differences of



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passing days, men of every race and class and creed may here unite in a single high resolve to guide India to fashion her future well.

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

24th January
1927.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following address at the Opening Session of the Third Legislative Assembly on the morning of the 24th January :—

GENTLEMEN,—

It is my pleasant duty to-day to welcome you to the opening Session of the 3rd Legislative Assembly and to wish you well in the labours you are about to undertake. Since I last had the honour of addressing you, the elections have wrought their changes, but, although we miss the presence of some whose faces and names were familiar in the last Assembly and in the wider political life of India, I am glad to see that many have returned, whose experience in previous Houses will be of great value in the important deliberations which this Assembly will be called upon to undertake.

To-day you meet for the first time in your new and permanent home in Delhi. In this Chamber the Assembly has been provided with a setting worthy of its dignity and importance, and I can pay its designer no higher compliment than by expressing the wish that the temper, in which the public affairs of India will be here conducted, may reflect the harmony of his conception.



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As regards external affairs, there is only one matter to which it is necessary for me to refer. As Hon'ble Members are aware, the situation in China has been the subject of grave anxiety. Attacks have recently been made on the lives and property in the various treaty ports of the mercantile communities, which include many Indian as well as British subjects. Certain Settlements have already been evacuated under pressure and the property of the residents extensively plundered. Other and even more important areas are similarly threatened, and His Majesty's Government have reluctantly decided that it is their duty to send reinforcements to China to protect the lives of those for whose safety they are responsible. Having regard to the fact that India is the nearest part of the Empire in which forces are available for immediate despatch, the Government of India have agreed to co-operate in this purely defensive action by contributing a contingent, including Indian troops.

Public opinion throughout the world has lately witnessed the enlightened action that has been taken to bring to an end the conditions of slavery previously existing in Nepal. Hon'ble Members will have welcomed more recent examples of the same humane movement, provided by the action of the Khan of Kalat within his territory, and by the measures taken only last month by Government to stamp out slavery in some of the outlying territories situated close to the Burmese frontier.

A few months ago I had the opportunity of visiting another of India's frontiers on the North-West, and of seeing for myself evidence of the improved conditions which there prevail. I trust that the policy which my Government has been pursuing for the last four years in

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Waziristan will continue to prove of benefit both to the independent tribes and to the adjacent parts of British India.

When I addressed the Indian Legislature on the 17th August last, I stated that the Union Government had agreed to hold a Conference at Cape Town with representatives of the Government of India, in the hope of reaching a satisfactory settlement of the Indian problem in South Africa.

The delegation, appointed by my Government and generally accepted by Indian opinion as representative, sailed for South Africa on the 24th November, and on arrival received a most cordial welcome from both the Government and the people of the Union. The Conference was opened by the Prime Minister of the Union on December 17th and closed on January 13th. As Hon'ble Members have seen from telegrams that have appeared in the Press, a provisional agreement has been arrived at between the delegations of the Indian and Union Governments, which will require ratification by the respective Governments.

Hon'ble Members will share the satisfaction of my Government that Sir Muhammad Habibullah and his colleagues, again happily assisted by the devoted and unselfish labours of Mr. Andrews, should have succeeded in reaching an understanding which, as we may hope, will lead to a settlement of this long-standing problem. Those who recall the difficulty that this question presented a few months ago will feel that the new aspect which it has assumed reflects high credit on those who have represented the two countries in these discussions. Our



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delegation have already left South Africa and are due to arrive in Delhi on February 6th. Pending their return and the receipt of their report, I am not in a position to make any announcement regarding the provisional settlement that has been reached. It is intended to publish the results of the work of the Conference simultaneously in both countries, and in regard to the date of such publication we are bound to consult the wishes of the Union Government. My Government will not fail to give the Chambers of the Indian Legislature an opportunity of discussing the matter at the earliest possible opportunity.

I now turn to the announcement made by my predecessor on the 9th February 1926 in the Council of State conveying the decision of His Majesty's Government to re-constitute the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force, thus enabling India to enter upon the first stage of her naval development, and ultimately to undertake her own naval defence. Lord Reading pointed out that much constructive work had to be done before the Royal Indian Navy could be inaugurated. I am glad to be able to say that considerable progress can already be recorded. The Bombay Dockyard has been busily engaged on the equipment of the Depot Ship, and only one sloop remains to be acquired in order to complete the initial strength in ships. Details of recruitment, organisation and finance have been worked out, and the most important of the proposals of my Government under these heads are already in the hands of the Secretary of State. The necessary legislation in Parliament will be carried through, I hope, early this year. My Government will then be in a position to introduce legislation to provide for the discipline of the new force; and, when

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that legislation is passed, the Royal Indian Navy will come into existence.

A recent event of outstanding interest has been the arrival in India of the Secretary of State for Air in the first of the great air-liners sent out to this country by the Imperial Airways Company. In so far as India is concerned, this development of aviation marks the introduction into the country of a new form of civil transport. India is a country of vast distances, but aviation annihilates distance as it has hitherto been reckoned. The increased speed of air-transport, coupled with the facilities which it offers for surmounting geographical obstacles, will be a potent factor in shortening the communication of India with other countries, and also in linking up her own widespread Provinces, thus drawing them more closely together as members of a single nation.

As the House knows, there are several financial and commercial matters, with which we are at present concerned. After a series of balanced budgets the Government of India may justly claim to have reached a strong financial position, with their credit firmly established both within and outside India. While securing this result, for which India owes a real debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, Government have been able to abolish the Cotton Excise duty, to reduce the salt-tax and to extinguish a considerable proportion of the Provincial Contributions. During the present Session, in addition to the annual Finance Bill, legislative measures will be laid before you to give effect to the principal recommendations of the Currency Commission.

A Bill will also be placed before you, based on the recommendations of the Tariff Board as regards protection to the steel industry. The declared object of our



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protective policy is that ultimately the protected industries should be able to stand alone and face world competition unaided, and it is by this criterion that the success or failure of the policy will be judged. The remarkable progress made at Jamshedpur since 1924 affords reasonable grounds for hope that, before many years have passed, steel will be made as cheaply in India as in any country in the world, and that the need for protection will disappear. But it is necessary, if capital is to be attracted to the industry, that manufacturers should be assured for a reasonably long period of the continuance of the basic duties applicable to imports from all countries. The Board however are, I think, right in forecasting that after seven years the time will have come to review the position afresh, and ascertain, in the light of the circumstances then existing—not whether the industry deserves protection, for that question has been decided—but whether it still needs it.

The Tariff Board, which was specially constituted to consider the claim to protection of the cotton industry, is, I understand, about to submit its report, and my Government will seek to arrive at a prompt decision on the issues involved.

I turn now to topics of a more general character, which must necessarily occupy a prominent place in all our thoughts.

This Assembly is of particular importance inasmuch as within its life-time must be undertaken the Statutory enquiry, prescribed by the Government of India Act. This fact is my excuse—if such be needed—for speaking frankly on some aspects of the general situation. But, before doing so, I desire to make my own position and that of any Governor-General plain.



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As long as the final control of Indian policy is constitutionally vested in the Secretary of State on behalf of Parliament, it is the duty of the Governor-General, while he holds his office, to guide his conduct in conformity with the general policy approved by the Imperial Government. Just as in Parliament, however, Indian affairs are with foreign policy rightly held to be outside ordinary party controversies, so a Governor-General as such has no concern with British party politics. It is his duty with his Government to seek faithfully to represent to the Imperial Government what he conceives to be India's interests, and he must count on the help of the Legislature to enable him to do this fairly. On the other hand, it is possible that he may be able to help India by telling those who represent her in her Councils, from his own knowledge, of the manner in which, and the angle from which, the judgment of Parliament is likely to be formed.

I do not ignore the fact that there is a section of opinion in India which rejects the right of Parliament to be the arbiter of the fashion or the time of India's political development. I can understand that opinion, I can acknowledge the sincerity of some of those who hold it, but I can devise no means of reconciling such a position with the undoubted facts of the situation.

But there is another section of opinion which, while hesitating to prefer so fundamental an objection to any right of Parliament to be the judge of these matters, would yet say in effect that it was indefensible for Parliament to exercise its judgment in any sense but that of granting to India forthwith a wide, if not a complete, extension of responsible power.

The distinction between these two lines of criticism is narrow ; for Parliament would be no real judge if



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its title were held to depend for sanction upon the judgment that it delivers, and it is scarcely possible to impugn its right to deliver a free verdict, without challenging its title to sit in judgment on the case.

I have not infrequently been told that the problem is psychological, and that many, if not most, of our present difficulties in regard to pace and manner of advance would disappear, if it was once possible to convince India that the British people were sincere in their professed intention of giving India responsible government.

It is difficult to know in what way one may hope to carry conviction to quarters which remain unconvinced. I have already stated my belief that, whether what the British People has sought and is seeking to do in India will be approved or condemned by history, their own inherited qualities left them no alternative but to open to India the path in which they had themselves been pioneers, and along which they have led and are leading the peoples, wherever the British flag is flown.

Moreover, in the success of the attempt to lead a friendly India towards self-government, the self-interest and the credit of Great Britain before the world are alike engaged, and forbid her to contemplate with equanimity the failure to achieve a purpose which has been so publicly proclaimed. Every British party in a succession of Parliaments, elected on the widest franchise, and therefore representing in the widest possible manner the British people, has pledged itself to the terms of the 1917 Declaration. They have implemented those terms by legislation, and thus given practical proof of sincerity by introducing wide and far-reaching changes into the structure of Indian Government.

From those undertakings no British party can or will withdraw, and, although the British race may lack

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many excellent qualities, they can afford to remain unmoved by charges of bad faith, which their whole history denies.

But, it is said, the alleged sincerity of Parliament receives practical contradiction on the one hand by arbitrary executive acts such as the detention of certain men without trial in Bengal, and on the other by the reluctance of Parliament to give a firm time-table for the completion of its loudly professed purpose of making India herself responsible within the Empire for her own government. The first question concerns the exercise of that executive responsibility which must rest upon any administration, however constituted; and, though I am well aware of its political reactions, it is a question which must be dealt with on its merits, and has no direct relation with the general question of constitutional advance. For constitutional forms may vary widely, but the maintenance of law and order is the inalienable duty of all those on whom falls the task of Government. And indeed the action, of which complaint is made, is solely due to the fact that Government has had good reason to believe that those now detained had rejected the way of constitutional agitation for that of violent conspiracy, and that to put a term to their dangerous activities was essential.

I share with all Hon'ble Members the desire to see an end to the necessity for the continuance of these measures, but the guiding principle in this matter must, and can only, be the interests of the public safety. Nor is the matter one that rests wholly or mainly in the hands of Government. Before releases can be sanctioned Government must be satisfied either that the conspiracy has been so far suppressed that those set at liberty, even if



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they so desired, would be unable to revive it in dangerous form, or, if the organisation for conspiracy still exists, that those released would no longer wish to employ their freedom to resume their dangerous activities. Government have always made it clear, and I repeat to-day, that their sole object in keeping any men under restraint is to prevent terrorist outrages, and that they are prepared to release them the moment they are satisfied that their release would not defeat this object.

The other main ground for challenging the sincerity of Parliament is based, as I have said, upon the general method of approach that Parliament has adopted towards the problem of Indian constitutional development, and as regards this, I wish to speak more fully.

Those who are anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce Parliament or convince it. I cannot emphasise too strongly that in this matter they are not likely to succeed in coercing Parliament, and that Parliament will resent the attempt to do so, under whatever shape the attempt is made. Moreover, it must inevitably be gravely disquieted by language, which appears to be inspired by hostility not only to legitimate British interests, but also to the British connexion. Nor is this feeling on the part of Parliament the mere selfish desire to retain power that it is sometimes represented. Parliament believes, and in my judgment rightly, that, as it has been placed by history in a position to guide and assist India, it would be definitely defaulting on these obligations if it surrendered its charge before it was satisfied that it could be safely entrusted to other hands.

Parliament therefore will be rather inclined to examine the practical success or otherwise that has attended the attempt it has made to solve the problem. It will

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be quite ready to believe that there are features in the present arrangements which can be improved—and it will be ready to improve them. What it will not understand is the line of argument which says that, because the present foundations for future responsible government are alleged to be at fault, this is necessarily to be remedied by immediately asking those foundations to bear the entire weight of the whole edifice we desire to build.

When Parliament invites India to co-operate in the working of the reformed constitution, it does not invite any Indian party, as it was authoritatively stated the other day, to lay aside for the time being its demand for Swaraj ; it does not desire that any party or individual should forego the freest and fullest right of criticism and constitutional opposition to any action that Government may take ; but it does invite Indian political parties to show whether or not the ultimate structure, which Parliament is seeking to erect, is one suitable to Indian conditions and Indian needs. If it sees any large section of Indian opinion, however vocal in its desire to further the cause of Indian self-government, steadily adhering to the determination to do nothing but obstruct the machinery with which India has been entrusted, Parliament is more likely to see in this evidence that the application of Western constitutional practice to India may be mistaken, than proof of the wisdom of immediate surrender to India of all its own responsibility. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction that a considerable part of the political thought of India has not allowed itself to be dissuaded by criticism or opposition from endeavouring to work the new constitution with constructive purpose. Those who so guide their action are in my judgment proving themselves the true friends of Indian constitutional development.



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Parliament is likely to judge these matters as a plain question of practical efficiency. It will be less interested in the exact legal and constitutional rights granted by the reforms to the Indian Legislatures than in the extent to which these Legislatures have realised their responsibilities and duties. It will be quite willing to recognise and make allowance for the limitations placed upon Legislatures by the existing constitution; but it will be genuinely puzzled and disappointed if it finds that a good part of ten years has been wasted in a refusal to play the game because some of the players did not like the rules. Propaganda in favour of altering the rules in the early stages of the game will have little effect on the mind of Parliament, but, on the other hand, it will certainly be influenced if it finds the Indian Legislatures exercising their responsibilities, albeit limited, in a spirit of service to India, and tacitly assuming always that their real responsibility is greater than that which is expressed in any Statute.

For Parliament has spent hundreds of years in perfecting its own constitution, and knows very well that it has only grown into what it is to-day by the steady use and extension of the power, at first limited, but by custom and precedent constantly expanding, which it contained. There was a time in Canada, when the religious differences between Protestants and Roman Catholics were supposed to constitute an absolute bar to full self-government; but after a few years, owing to the good sense of the Canadian Legislature, the very real powers of the British Parliament to intervene were silently allowed first to fall into desuetude and then to disappear. Parliament knows too that it is by this means that every one of the Dominions has obtained fully responsible self-government, finally leading, as we have seen at the last Imperial Conference, to a wide revision of the letter of constitutional rela-

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tions previously prevailing between the several Governments of the Empire.

What then is the position ?

If we concede, as I ask we may, to British and Indian peoples sincerity of purpose, we are in agreement on the fundamental matter of the end we desire to reach. There may be, and is, disagreement over the ways and means of reaching it ; but it is surely a strange distortion of perspective if we allow our conduct to be unduly influenced by differences on issues, which are after all only incidental to the main issue on which we are agreed.

Here, as in other human affairs, evolutionary progress can be realised in two different ways, between which we have constantly to make our choice. Either we can search out points of agreement in the final purposes which inspire thought and action ; or, rejecting these peaceful counsels, we can follow the way of conflict where agreement is forgotten, where disagreements are exaggerated, and where the fair flowers of mutual understanding and trust are overgrown by the tangled weeds of suspicion and resentment. In many directions and throughout many centuries the world has made trial of the last, and, in sore disappointment at the results, is coming painfully to learn that the way of friendship may be at once the more noble and the more powerful instrument of progress.

I have thought it right to say so much, because I am deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation and with the necessity that lies upon us all of facing facts. I am conscious that much that I have said may evoke criticism and excite opposition ; but I hope that I may have succeeded in saying it in words that will not wound the legitimate susceptibilities of any. If in this respect I have any where gone astray, and employed language

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which has falsified my hopes, I would here express my genuine regret. But, believing as I do that what I have said is true, I should think myself to have been lacking in my duty, if I had been deterred from telling this Assembly frankly what I conceive to be the truth, from fear that it might sound unpleasantly upon their ears. It were better to be blamed for saying unpleasant things if they are true in time, than to be condemned for saying them too late. I think it is essential that India should clearly appreciate some of the factors which will be powerful to influence the mind of Parliament. I have sought, so far as my own experience and knowledge on these matters is of any worth, to place India in possession of them, and I earnestly hope that, in the time which will elapse before the Statutory enquiry, events may follow such a course as may convince both India and Great Britain that it is possible for them harmoniously to work together for the consummation of their common hopes.

BANQUET AT BIKANER.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at 29th January
the Banquet at Bikaner on the 29th January :— 1927.

YOUR HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

Lady Irwin and I are most grateful to you, Your Highness, both for the language and the spirit in which you have proposed our health, and to you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordiality with which you have received it. I am sure that all Your Highness' guests will wish me to take this public opportunity of thanking you for the manner in which you have entertained us, and for all the trouble you have taken to make our visit one of interest and enjoyment. A visit to Bikaner is the envy of those who have not had the pleasure of experiencing it, and our visit here will leave very happy and lasting memories in all our minds. The very name of Rajasthan,

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par excellence the home of chivalry and pride of race, has associations which must arrest the thought of anyone to whom history makes appeal. And indeed it is not difficult, when you have once felt the wide freedom of the plains of Bikaner and breathed the atmosphere of its keen air, to understand how it has bred that virile race of which Your Highness is an outstanding type.

Your Highness' speech was full of many points of interest. Your reference to the old connection, which associates my family with Bikaner, gave me especial pleasure, and it was with much gratification that I read a copy of the letter written by my grandfather to His late Highness Maharaja Sirdar Singhji. Your Highness is rightly proud of a letter which so clearly testifies to and records the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Imperial Throne which has ever been displayed by the Rulers of Bikaner. It is pleasant for me too to reflect, as Your Highness remarked, that my grandfather, besides being indirectly responsible for my own existence, should have been the unconscious agent in securing Your Highness' presence as our host to-night.

I can therefore claim something in the nature of an hereditary interest in the Indian States, but the hold that they have upon our imagination does not depend only upon historical coincidence. Here we see an order of things that has flowed directly from the traditions of other days. Standing, as they do, astride the centuries, the Indian States seem to enshrine many of those elements of reverence for tradition, and respect for the judgment of earlier generations, which are sometimes lacking in modern political philosophy. But none can be content merely to yield himself to complacent veneration of the past, for the past is more truly a well from which we draw inspiration for the future. The States on their part and the people of British India on theirs are joint workers, brother builders, each contributing their part towards the realisation of better things than our fathers



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or we have known. We must together strive to ensure that there may be no loose stones, no internal flaws tending towards the weakness and ultimate destruction of that which we desire to build, and that our successors, as they contemplate the results of our joint handiwork, may have cause to feel grateful that the foundations have been well and truly laid.

Your Highness is right in thinking that I realise to the full the sanctity of the Treaties and *Sanads* of the Indian States and I shall do everything in my power to observe them. While there are of course weighty responsibilities always attaching to myself and to my Government in relation to the Indian States, I can assure Your Highness that the general policy which my Government sincerely desire to pursue remains, as in the past, a policy of non-interference with affairs that are internal to the States.

The wider question of the relations of the States with British India is perforce taking on new aspects with the present passage of political events. This is a matter of the greatest moment to us all, and in the prolonged consideration of the many different problems, which are soon likely to arise, I look forward to the collaboration and advice of the Chamber in which Your Highness has always taken so prominent a part and to which, as Chancellor, you gave such long and devoted service. As Your Highness bore the brunt of the preliminary work involved in its constitution, so it was due largely to your initiative that the Ruling Princes of India realised the advantage of taking common counsel in all matters affecting the welfare of their States. Your Highness remarked in passing that I had endeavoured to encourage some of the younger members to speak in the Chamber, and I sincerely hope that they will do so more and more. My only complaint indeed against Your Highness is that you have set such a high standard of eloquence that it may

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well deter less experienced speakers from entering the arena of debate.

A part of Your Highness' speech which interested me greatly was your reference to irrigation. I had, not long ago, the opportunity of visiting one of the new Colonies of the Sutlej Valley Project and of seeing the first effects of irrigation. It was a stimulating experience to stand on the very edge of a dry and thirsty desert, and see side by side with it land of similar quality which only a few months before had had its first drink of irrigation water, and was now covered with a thick carpet of luxuriant crops. The extension of this great scheme to Bikaner may, I think, be said to typify the inter-dependence of all Indian States and British India, and is a landmark in the story of Your Highness' ceaseless efforts, ever since your accession, to protect your State against the ravages of famine. Your Highness has described the administrative and financial problems which you had to solve, and I scarcely know whether to admire more the farsighted wisdom which Your Highness showed in the original conception of this scheme or the unremitting patience, energy and labour by which, in face of great natural difficulties, you have brought it to triumphant issue.

No Banquet in Bikaner would be complete without a reference to the wonderful sport which Your Highness provides for your visitors. The magnetic qualities of our host, which attract streams of visitors throughout the winter to Lalgarh, even exert their influence on the sandgrouse from the distant plains of Central Asia. Why they should continue foolhardily to flock hither as they do, I hardly know, for they must realise by now that they are invading the territory of one of the best shots in the world. It may be that they know some of his guests do not hold as straight as His Highness. The memory of my shoot at Gajner will remain with me as a red-letter day in my calendar of sport. This cold weather has also seen the arrival of other new and strange birds of the air

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in Bikaner. The flight of Sir Samuel and Lady Maud Hoare from England to India is something more than a mere winter migration, and I am certain that nothing could have more greatly stimulated Indian interest in this new means of travel and communication than that it should have been inaugurated by the Secretary of State for Air.

Your Highness perhaps remembers the words you spoke on an occasion like that of to-night, 30 years ago, when, I believe for the first time in its history, Bikaner entertained a Viceroy. As a boy of 16 you said "it is my most earnest wish that I should prove myself worthy of the position in which I have been placed. I want not only to be the ruler of my people, but their friend, and their best friend too". The history of Bikaner since that day is witness to the manner in which, with strong sense of the obligations of your position and with great administrative ability, Your Highness has fulfilled that promise. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the outstanding features of Your Highness' career. They are common knowledge to us all. India and the whole Empire are indebted to you for the part you played in the Imperial War Cabinet during the Great War, and at the Peace Conference at Versailles. More recently the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva was reinforced by your broad outlook and sagacious judgment strengthened and enriched by long contact with affairs in many fields. We have as our host to-night a Statesman versed in Imperial and International politics, a Soldier whose sword has been unsheathed in three continents in the service of the King-Emperor, and a Wise Ruler who finds his relaxation from public duty in showing good sport and dispensing unstinted hospitality.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE TALUQDARS OF
OUDH.

22nd Feb.
ruary 1927. His Excellency the Viceroy received a Deputation from the Taluqdars of Oudh at Delhi on the 22nd February, and in reply to the Address of Welcome presented by them said :—

Raja Sir Rampal Singh and Members of the British Indian Association of Oudh,—I thank you for the cordial address of welcome which you have so kindly presented to me to-day. Since your President several months ago informed me that your Association wished to send a deputation to bid me welcome, I have looked forward to this opportunity of meeting personally its representatives. The traditional loyalty of the members of your Order to the British Crown and Empire has been recognised by successive Viceroys; and, as the latest representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, it gives me great pleasure to hear your reaffirmation of this long-standing devotion to the Throne.

I also value your reference to my interest in agricultural matters, and your claim that I am indeed as one of you—a land-owner who by birth and circumstances is inevitably attracted by, and bound up with, the problems of progress in the development of the land itself, and in the improvement of the condition of the people who live by it. I have been long enough in India to realise the difference between the problems which the land-owners in England and those in India are called upon to face. Diversity of climate alone would be sufficient to make this inevitable. But whether we live in Yorkshire or in Oudh, many of the principles which guide us in the task are the same. I have already said much on this subject during the last nine months, and I wish now to emphasise only one point with regard to the work of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Whatever the recommendations of that Commission may be, no permanent good will come of them



Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

without the active co-operation of the great Zamindars of the country such as yourselves. You are in the position to translate theory into practice, and, if you do not make the attempt, those who live little above the subsistence level will be entirely unable to do so. I know that the task is no easy one, and that courage and perseverance are needed in following new paths and facing new risks. But the words of your address give me confidence that in the Garden of India, as you have described it, the Royal Commission will not find their labours unproductive for the want of soil in which to flourish.

I have heard with much pleasure the aid which the Association as a whole has given to the spread of education in the Province, and the steps voluntarily taken to ensure that the obligations which you have taken upon yourselves in this respect are properly met. You no doubt realise as well as I do the importance of education to the members of your Order in fitting yourselves to meet the requirements of your position. I trust full benefit is derived from the Colvin Taluqdars School, which I understand is maintained chiefly for this purpose.

In expressing appreciation at the establishment of the Chief Court of Oudh, you urge another change of status, despite the short time during which this Court has been in existence. The transfer of Judges and other officers of Government well acquainted with local conditions is one of the inevitable drawbacks in the administration of so vast a country as India. In this particular case I am told that the changes in the Chief Court have not been relatively more numerous than those in the High Court for the same period, and are not in future likely to be frequent in spite of the difference in prospects between the two Courts. However, the point you have raised will be borne in mind by those concerned, although further experience is necessary before the position can be profitably reviewed.

Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh.

In the course of your address you have made a request for the grant of a Permanent Settlement. You may be sure that I fully realise the importance of maintaining stable conditions, in which agriculturists can look with confidence to the future, and I am ready to do all that I can to assist the Indian agriculturist on whom in great measure the prosperity of India depends. But much grain has passed through the mill since Lord Cornwallis gave Bengal its Permanent Settlement. India's place in the commercial markets of the world and the intricacies of her financial and social problems have brought many new factors into the picture, which necessitate elasticity of public revenue and expenditure. The present constitutional position too is only a transitional stage in the relations of the executive towards the Legislature and the people. The Government could hardly therefore, even if it so desired, accept the responsibility of anticipating the final verdict of the electorate on so important a measure. There are moreover obvious objections to the Permanent Settlement. It involves the sacrifice of the share of the State in growing values of land, and perpetuates assessments which must become more and more uneven as time goes on. Any measure too which tends permanently to limit the share which any class is called upon to contribute to the general revenues is almost certain to result in an unfair burden on other classes. The evidence before Government does not bear out the contention that the present system of periodic revision of land assessment places any real obstacle in the way of improvements to the land, or adversely affects agricultural development generally.

I am afraid too that the changed conditions of life in India make it impossible for me to acquiesce in your request for an unqualified exemption from the operations of the Arms Act. When the Local Government decided that, while no restriction should be placed on any living



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Taluqdar, the case of each successor should be decided on its merits, the notification remarked "the day for the unlimited possession of unlicensed arms by private individuals in India is passing away just as in other countries it has already passed". I am assured by the Local Government that every precaution by way of special orders is taken to see that the new Act is worked in the most liberal spirit, and in actual practice I hope that the restrictions of which you complain are no more than those which a loyal citizen cheerfully accepts to ensure that dangerous weapons do not fall into unauthorised hands.

I am sorry that I cannot meet your wishes in these two respects, for you need no assurance from me that I have your interests at heart, and I do not under-estimate the value of the loyal and conservative influence which has ever been exerted by the Taluqdars of Oudh. I hope that I may continue to rely on your support, and that you will not fail to fulfil the responsibilities which your position demands of you. Secured as you are in your possessions by the strong arm of Government, and enjoying large incomes in a country in which public spirit is weak, you have definite responsibilities towards your tenantry and towards the State. In every country direct obligation rests upon us who own land to maintain close and sympathetic touch with everything that concerns the welfare of those who cultivate our land, and we cannot rightly delegate these to others. I should be glad therefore to see more of the large land-holders in India paying personal attention to the management of their estates rather than leaving it to agents whose personal interest in the lives and prosperity of the tenantry is not always what it should be.

In conclusion let me thank you on behalf of Lady Irwin and myself for the warm invitation you have extended to us to visit Lucknow. We both look forward



Address from the Ahmadiyya Community.

to coming there as early as our other public engagements will permit, and our anticipation is heightened by the thought of the cordial welcome which awaits us in the midst of such true friends as the Taluqdars of Oudh.

ADDRESS FROM THE AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY.

25th February 1927.

In replying to an Address presented at Delhi on the 25th February by a Deputation representing the Ahmadiyya Community, His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

Gentlemen,—I have listened with much pleasure to the address with which you have been good enough to present me, and I thank you on Lady Irwin's behalf as well as my own for the kindly sentiments which it contains. I greatly appreciate your whole-hearted expression of good-will and loyalty to the Crown, and I am sure that these feelings will continue in the future as in the past to inspire the thought of your community.

The brief review which you have given of the early history and expansion of the Ahmadiyya community is enough to remind me of the deeply interesting life story of your founder, his studious early years, his powerful expositions of doctrine, and the other influences which gathered round him his first band of devoted followers. The growth of your community since that day, in the short course of one generation, is the measure of the belief which as a body you have reposed in the teachings of your founder and his successors.

You have referred in your address to the necessity of ensuring adequate Mahomedan representation in the Legislatures and in Government service, and you have expressed anxiety lest the chances of members of the Ahmadiyya community to obtain appointments under Government



Address from the Ahmadiyya Community.

should be prejudiced by the mere fact of their being Ahmadies. As regards this last point you need be under no apprehension that the Government have any intention of departing from their traditional policy of toleration for all creeds, or that any man is or will be debarred from public service by the fact of belonging to a particular religious sect.

On the point of communal representation, I may repeat what I said not long ago in Calcutta, that there is no present intention on the part of Government to make any change in the system which is now in force, and that Government will never contemplate the possibility of any alteration, without first taking into consideration the opinions of all communities which are likely to be affected. As regards recruitment of Moslems to service under Government, it is clearly preferable that the Moslem community should by merit alone make good their claim to representation, proportionate to their numerical and political importance. You have indeed yourselves frankly recognised the truth of this, and it is satisfactory to know that education among the members of your community is progressing with the rapidity which you have described. In the meantime Government endeavours by some reservation of appointments to remedy any marked discrepancies which may at present exist, and to give to each community a fair chance of public office. It is, as you will readily agree, impossible to lay down any hard and fast proportion in these matters, and merit must always be a primary factor in considering an individual's claim to be taken into Government service.

In touching on the communal dissensions which have marred the recent history of so many towns in India, you have emphasised the necessity for a change in the mental outlook of the Hindu and Moslem communities and the need for a spirit of mutual toleration and increased sense of duty among the leaders of both parties. I have said a

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good deal on this subject on previous occasions. Government have, as I have pointed out more than once, taken such measures as they deemed possible, and I do not think that I can or need to-day say more than that I hope with all my heart that the lessons of this deplorable strife have sunk deep into the minds of all, and that lovers of peace will pursue with unabated zeal their labours towards reconciliation.

You are, I think, mistaken in supposing that, in the system by which Indians are now eligible for the King's Commissions in the Army, no attention is paid to the claims of those families who have for generations rendered military service. It is true that the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun, which trains boys for the Sandhurst entrance examination, is open to all Indians irrespective of their community ; but, in making selections for this college, special consideration is given to the claims of sons of Indian officers who have done good service ; and the sons of such officers, after admission to the college, are eligible for some reduction of fees according to the financial position of their parents or guardians. Actually, the great majority of the students at this college belong to families connected with the Army, and nearly half are the sons of Indian Officers. It is gratifying to me to see in your deputation to-day a number of soldiers who have served in His Majesty's forces.

Once again I thank you, gentlemen, for the renewal of your assurance that the Ahmadiyya community takes pride in its steadfast loyalty to the British Government, and I am happy to know that the representative of the King-Emperor in India may count on your steadfast assistance and support in meeting, and I trust solving, many of the difficulty problems by which this country is confronted.