medan Educational Association's description of the lines upon which it is carrying out its work. I am a great believer in the practical good to be derived from technical training in useful industries, and I am well aware of the difficulties the Mahommedan community has had to face in matters of educational advancement. I can assure the Association that they have my sincere sympathy in the furtherance of the objects they have in view, and I must thank them for their generous recognition of Lady Minto's effort on behalf of the women of India.

It is very encouraging to hear from the Provincial Congress Committee of the growing cordiality of the relations between the people of India and the Government. The committee is professedly a political organization and is also, as its representatives have told me, the mouthpiece of many districts and of a large body of political opinion in this Presidency. All they have to say is therefore of special interest at the present moment when a great scheme of political reform has just been launched. That scheme has aimed at granting to the people of India the fulfilment of principles of administration, but it cannot in the early days of its introduction be expected to be perfect in all its details. I would venture to advise the Committee that they can best serve the political interests of their fellow-countrymen at the present moment by assisting the Government to ensure the success of the scheme in its early stages and by leaving alone for the present the academic discussion of small points, until the public has had some experience of the practical working of the new machinery. It is upon the good sense of political committees such as that which has addressed me to-day that the Government must largely rely for broadminded assistance.

I cannot sufficiently thank you, Gentlemen, for the many kind words which you have addressed to me on behalf of your Associations and for your appreciation of the work

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I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to carry out on behalf of India and her many communities. If I have in any way contributed to their future happiness and the better administration of their country I shall have earned the reward I most value. I cannot tell you how great a disappointment it has been to me to be obliged to cancel a portion of my visit to Southern India. I had so much looked forward to seeing something of the beauties of Madura, Trichinopoly and Tanjore of which I have heard so much and to making acquaintance with their people, and I sincerely regret the fruitless trouble and expenditure which I am afraid I am answerable for. I very fully share with them in any disappointment I have unavoidably been the cause of.

I must thank you again, Gentlemen, for the heartiness of your greeting to Lady Minto and to myself, and I assure you we shall carry away with us very warm recollections of our reception by the citizens of Madras.

PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE DORSETSHIRE REGIMENT.

10th Dec. 1909. [Early morning to-day streams of carriages poured in to witness the parade of the Dorset Regiment and presentation of colours to the regiment by His Excellency the Viceroy. The verandahs to the east of the Banqueting Hall were packed with European officers and influential native gentlemen who evinced much enthusiasm in witnessing the grand parade of the Dorsets on the turfs of the lawn opposite the Government House at 7-30. His Excellency the Viceroy in plain military suit and Lady Minto, followed by the Military Secretary, the Governor and Lady Lawley, proceeded to a shamiana, where the Lord Bishop of Madras, Mrs. Whitehead, Sir Arnold White, the Maharaja of Travancore, the Raja of Cochin, the Misses Lawley and A.-D.-Cs. were assembled. There the scene was entirely novel. The colours playing round the lines, the troops marched past at a walk. His Excellency the Viceroy inspected the troops and watched

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the proceedings from the shamiana. The display was grand. The troops advanced in saluting order and halted. His Excellency the Viceroy warmly congratulated the Commander. The colours were placed at the centre and the Lord Bishop of Madras, followed by the Domestic Chaplain, gave a benediction prayer. The lines in the meanwhile curved into a hollow square. The choir then raised the strains of the grand old hymn. His Excellency the Viceroy then, in presenting the colours to the Dorsets, spoke as follows :—]

Colonel Bonus, Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers and men of the Dorset Regiment,—I am very pleased at having this opportunity of presenting new colours to a Regiment with such a long record of distinguished services. Your regiment has fought and won laurels all over the world ; and in the early days of British rule in India earned for itself the proud title of "Primus in Indis" in recognition of its undaunted bravery and conspicuous valour at the battle of Plassey. Later in the century it served through the memorable siege of Gibraltar under an ancestor of mine, General Sir Augustus Elliot, who was created Lord Heathfield, and in 1801 was with Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt, took part in the desperate assault on Fort Marabout, and at the conclusion of the campaign returned to Gibraltar again, where it added still further to the reputation it had already earned. Then came the Peninsular War, and your old colours have proudly vouched for the gallant deeds of your predecessors in the glorious victories of the Duke of Wellington.

After that, at varying intervals, war followed upon war in Burma, in the Crimea, in Tirah, and in South Africa—the regiment was present through them all, continuing always to build up for itself a splendid record of many hard-fought fields.

But it is not on land alone that it was distinguished, for in old days it served much afloat with His Majesty's Navy, and in 1775 assisted in the burning of the enemy's privateers in the harbour of New York, which was I believe the origin of its nickname "The Flamers," whilst every-

one has heard of the magnificent exploit of the saving of the *Sarah Sands* troopship, when she caught fire 1,000 miles from land when conveying the regiment to the help of our countrymen during the time of the Mutiny. The Army Order extolling its discipline on that occasion was read at the head of every regiment in the service.

Colonel Bonus, your regiment may well be proud of its traditions, and I present these new colours to their keeping, knowing that they will be cherished with the same bravery and loyal devotion which has adorned the annals of your regimental history.

ADDRESS FROM MADRAS MUNICIPALITY.

11th Dec. 1909. [During the Viceroy's stay in Madras, His Excellency was presented with an address by the Municipality.

The points brought forward in the address were the better supply of drinking water, which caused much anxiety, and the Drainage Scheme, for both of which Government help was solicited.

The address also asked the Viceroy to lay the foundation-stone of the new Municipal Offices, which ceremony His Excellency performed. The Viceroy replied as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—The reception Lady Minto and I have received from the citizens of Madras has been so cordial that it is difficult for me to thank you sufficiently, and I can only tell you we sincerely appreciate the friendly greetings which have met us on all sides.

I have listened with interest to all you have told me of the administrative problems with which your Municipality has to deal, but to which I hesitate to refer, requiring as they do technical and local knowledge, in which I am of course deficient. I know, however, of the difficulties which have confronted you in respect to your water-supply, and I trust that the scheme which has now been sanctioned for filtering and pumping the water will prove successful.

Address from Madras Municipality.

You have had even greater troubles to face in the inauguration of a new drainage system. It is easy to understand that the drainage of a city built upon peculiarly flat ground and covering a very extensive area must of necessity constitute a serious engineering problem—a problem which has already caused you much anxiety, whilst attempts to solve it on mistaken lines have, I am afraid, committed you to very considerable and fruitless expenditure in the past. I hope, however, that the new scheme to which you have alluded will fulfil the expectations that have been formed and raise the standard of sanitation of Madras to a level thoroughly worthy of the capital of your Presidency. Also, I trust it may not be unreasonable to believe that a growing prosperity may possibly justify an expansion of revenue from your municipal assessments, may assist your sources of income, and enable you to meet without further assistance the costly charges of the improvements which the public very naturally look forward to.

I am grateful for the opportunity you have afforded me of laying the foundation-stone of your new Municipal Offices, designed by Mr. Harris, and am glad to hear from you that they will, both in architectural beauty and modern arrangements, meet all the increasing demands of your city and also that they will perpetuate the memory of Lord Ripon. The bestowal upon them of his name is peculiarly appropriate inasmuch as the introduction of local self-government in India was due to him, and no Viceroy ever laboured as earnestly as he did to encourage the people of India to interest themselves in the management of their own affairs. He fought hard against much opposition in those early days, and I trust the seeds which he sowed may be about to bear useful fruit at last.

I heartily thank you again, Gentlemen, for your address. I assure you that Lady Minto and I will never forget the beauties of Madras and the loyal and cordial welcome of her citizens.

IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FIRST MEETING OF REFORMED COUNCIL.

25th Jan. 1910. [The first meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council as reconstituted and enlarged under the Reforms Scheme was held on Tuesday at 11 A.M. The Old Council Chamber, where the meetings used to be held, was re-arranged and newly furnished by Messrs. Lazarus & Co., the well-known cabinet makers, upholsterers, etc., of Calcutta. On the east and west side of the room were two raised galleries, one reserved for the Press, while the other was intended for the visitors. On the east, a daïs had been erected for the accommodation of His Excellency the President, while in front of him had been arranged several rows of benches, upholstered in morocco leather, in the form of an amphitheatre. The first row on the right-hand side of the President was especially reserved for the members of the Executive Council. All the members were present with the exception of the Hon'ble Mr. W. L. Harvey and the Hon'ble Mir Allah Baksh Khan. Three more seats were also vacant, and that was due to the fact that three Hon'ble Members had not yet been nominated. Almost all the seats in the visitors' gallery were taken up by ladies and gentlemen. Among the distinguished visitors present were: Her Excellency Lady Minto, Lady Jenkins, Mrs. Chitty, Sir George Sutherland, Mr. K. G. Gupta and Mr. A. Ahmad. Her Excellency, Lady Eileen Elliot and Miss Katherine Jones occupied seats on the floor on the right-hand side of the Viceroy's daïs under the Press gallery.

His Excellency on arrival requested the members to take the oath or affirmation of allegiance to His Majesty the King. The Hon'ble Mr. J. M. Macpherson, Legislative Secretary, was the first member who left his seat to take the oath, which done, he bowed to His Excellency and after going round the Presidential chair signed his name in a book which was lying on a table in front of His Excellency, and was in charge of Dr. Banerjee, Legal Assistant to the Legislative Department. The same procedure was observed in the case of every member. The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan in taking his oath took out a "Gita" from his vest pocket and kissed the sacred book. The Hon'ble Raja Partab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., of Partabgarh, who represents the landed aristocracy of Oudh, took his oath in Urdu; while according to the Jewish custom, the Hon'ble Sir Sassoon David performed the ceremony placing a handkerchief on the crown of his head and kissing only the Old Testament. The ceremony of taking the oath lasted for about thirty-seven minutes.

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The Viceroy then rose and made the following speech, at the conclusion of which His Excellency was loudly cheered :—]

Gentlemen,—I welcome the members of this newly-constituted Imperial Council on their first assembly at the capital of the Indian Empire.

The occasion is replete with political meaning. It marks the close of a system of administration which, under the guidance of many illustrious statesmen, has contributed much to the prosperity of India and to the glories of her history—it opens a new era with the inauguration of broader principles of government, and though this Council Room is ill-adapted for the accommodation of our increased numbers and for the convenience of the public, it has seemed best to me that we should first assemble within the walls of the palace which Wellesley founded, and in the Council Chamber hallowed by the legislative traditions of the last 100 years.

Those years have witnessed the consolidation of the Indian Empire as it exists to-day—they tell a story of troubles and anxieties, of hard-won successes and many glorious episodes—but they have throughout been years of recurring administrative changes in harmony with social progress and an advance in political thought largely due to the results of an education system introduced into India by British rulers.

It has been a period of evolution. We have moved in successive stages from Wellesley's small Supreme Council appointed by the Board of Control—to the days of Lord William Bentinck and the Charter Act of 1833—to the conquering rule of Lord Dalhousie and the Charter Act of 1853—to the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892—great landmarks in Indian history. And each successive stage has witnessed either the grant of larger legislative powers to the Government of India or an increasing recognition of the necessity for broadening the basis of administration upon lines more representative of the general interests of

the country. That necessity was first met by the nomination, and subsequently by the *quasi*-election, of additional members of the Governor-General's Council. The first additional member was appointed nearly 80 years ago under the Act of 1833. That member was Lord Macaulay. Since then the machinery affecting their appointment has been gradually adapted to meet varying conditions, whilst their numbers were increased to a possible sixteen by the Act of 1892. That Act, like its predecessors, has been superseded by the adoption of more advanced legislation, and in accordance with the Act of 1909 this newly-constituted Imperial Council is now for the first time assembled.

I have merely ventured to sketch the progress of British legislation, because I cannot but feel that much of the criticism of the recent policy of the Government of India has been oblivious of past history, and has been based upon the assumption that the India of 20 years ago can continue to be the India of to-day. That is an impossibility —many influences have combined to make it so—and we have had to follow in the footsteps of the statesmen who have preceded us, and to recognise that British rule must again be re-adapted to novel conditions,—conditions far more novel than any with which our predecessors had to deal, in that political forces unknown to them have come into existence in India which it is no longer possible for British administrators to ignore, whilst the trend of events in the Far East has accentuated the ambitions of Eastern populations. When I took up the reins of government as Viceroy in the late autumn of 1905, all Asia was marvelling at the victories of Japan over a European power,—their effects were far-reaching—new possibilities seemed to spring into existence—there were indications of popular demands in China, in Persia, in Egypt, and in Turkey, there was an awakening of the Eastern World, and though to outward appearances India was quiet,—in the sense that

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there was at that moment no visible acute political agitation—she had not escaped the general infection, and before I had been in the country a year I shared the view of my Colleagues that beneath a seemingly calm surface there existed a mass of smothered political discontent, much of which was thoroughly justifiable, and due to causes which we were called upon to examine. We heartily recognised the loyalty of the masses of the people of India, and we were not prepared to suppress new, but not unnatural, aspirations without examination. You cannot sit for ever on a safety valve, no matter how sound the boiler may be. Something had to be done and we decided to increase the powers and expand the scope of the Act of 1892.

It is important that my Hon'ble Colleagues and the Indian public should know the history, the early history at any rate, of the reforms which have now been sanctioned by Parliament. They had their genesis in a note of my own addressed to my Colleagues in August 1906—nearly 3½ years ago. It was based entirely on the views I had myself formed of the position of affairs in India. It was due to no suggestions from home—whether it was good or bad I am entirely responsible for it. It dealt with the conditions it appeared to me the Government of India had then to consider, and as it is answerable for much that has followed in its wake, my Hon'ble Colleagues will perhaps allow me to read it to them. This is what I then wrote—

"I feel sure my Colleagues will agree with me that Indian affairs and the methods of Indian Administration have never attracted more public attention in India and at home than at the present moment. The reasons for their doing so are not far to seek. The growth of education, which British rule has done so much to encourage, is bearing fruit. Important classes of the population are learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves

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their own intellectual capacities, and to compare their claims for an equality of citizenship with those of a ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India.

"To what extent the people of India as a whole are as yet capable of serving in all branches of administration, to what extent they are individually entitled to a share in the political representation of their country, to what extent it may be possible to weld together the traditional sympathies and antipathies of many different races and different creeds, and to what extent the great hereditary rulers of Native States should assist to direct Imperial policy, are problems which the experience of future years can alone gradually solve.

"But we, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change, questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore, and which we must attempt to answer, and to me it would appear all-important that the initiative should emanate from us, that the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from home, that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions and to place before His Majesty's Government the opinions which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold.

"This view I feel sure my Colleagues share with me. Mr. Morley cordially approves it, and in pursuance of it announced, on my authority, in his recent Budget speech, my intention of appointing a Committee from the Viceroy's Council to consider the question of possible reforms.

"Such enquiries have, as you are aware, taken place before. There was the Commission, over which Sir Charles Aitchison presided, to enquire into the employment of Indians in the public services, and we have also the notable

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report of the Committee appointed by Lord Dufferin to consider proposals for the reconstruction of Legislative Councils on a representative basis (1888), over which Sir George Chesney presided, and of which the present Lord Macdonnell was Secretary. It is curious to see from that report how similar conditions and arguments were then to what they are now; with one great exception that we have now to deal with a further growth of nearly twenty years of increasing political aspirations.

"But though increased representation is still the popular cry as it was in 1888, other demands, or rather suggestions, are shaping themselves out of a foreshadowed metamorphosis. We are told of a Council of Princes, of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, of an Indian Member on the Secretary of State's Council, and in addition to the older claims put forward on behalf of increased representation on the Legislative Councils, we are asked to consider new procedure as to presentation of the Budget to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, a prolongation of the Budget Debate, and further opportunity for financial discussion. As to possibilities such as these, I would be grateful for the opinion of the Committee I hope to appoint, limiting myself for the present to only one opinion that in any proposal for the increase of representation it is absolutely necessary to guard the important interests existing in the country, as expressed in paragraph 7, page 3, of the Report of Sir Charles Aitchison's Committee, *viz.*,—

(*a*) the interests of the hereditary nobility and landed classes who have a great permanent stake in the country;

(*b*) the interests of the trading, professional and agricultural classes;

(*c*) the interests of the planting and commercial European community; and

(*d*) the interests of stable and effective administration.

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"The subjects I should propose to refer to the Committee are:—

(*a*) A Council of Princes, and if this is not possible might they be represented on the Viceroy's Legislative Council?

(*b*) An Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council.

(*c*) Increased representation on the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and of Local Governments.

(*d*) Prolongation of the Budget Debate. Procedure as to presentation of the Budget and powers of moving amendments.

"The Minute is circulated for the information of Members of Council, from whom I shall be glad to receive any suggestions or expressions of opinion which they may desire to make, and which will be communicated to the Committee.

"When the Committee has reported, their Report will be laid before Council for full consideration."

That note elicited valuable opinions and was fully discussed in Council, and though, as you are aware, its suggestions were not accepted in their entirety by the Government of India, it laid the foundation of the first scheme of reform they submitted to the Secretary of State.

Since it was written, Lord Morley has fought India's battles in both Houses of Parliament in many great and memorable speeches, and there has been a constant interchange of correspondence between him and the Government of India. Much of it has not as yet been made public, but as regards the reform of the Legislative Councils I commit no breach of confidence in indicating the lines which the Government of India has endeavoured to follow. We have distinctly maintained that representative Government in its Western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire and would be uncongenial to the traditions of Eastern populations—that Indian conditions do not admit of popular

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representation—that the safety and welfare of this country must depend on the supremacy of British administration—and that that supremacy can, in no circumstances, be delegated to any kind of representative assembly.

But we have been deeply impressed by the changing political conditions alluded to in my note, and we have endeavoured to meet them by broadening the representation authorised by the Council Act of 1892, by expanding its rules of procedure and facilitating opportunities for debate, by inviting the leaders of Indian public opinion to become fellow-workers with us in British administration, and by securing the representation of those important interests and communities which go to form the real strength of India, whilst at the same time recognising the claims of educational advance. We have borne in mind the hopes held out to the people of India in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858.

We have felt that the political atmosphere of a bureaucracy may become close and confined, and that the admittance of outside air is beneficial to its health and strength. We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils, but not at the creation of Parliaments. I emphasise what I have just said in view of the opinions to which advanced Indian politicians appear not unfrequently to commit themselves.

The machinery of our scheme was explained in our Resolution of November 15th. There is no necessity for me to analyse it—it has already been fully discussed by the public. We by no means claim perfection for it, we know that there will be much to learn from experience of its working, and that it may require alteration in the future, but if I have judged Indian public opinion correctly, the verdict has been in our favour in admitting the necessity for administrative changes, and the general soundness of the lines we have followed. Of course we have met with many criticisms. It would have been unfortunate indeed,

if a scheme of vast political moment had not elicited discussion and diversity of opinion. But there is one criticism which I refuse to accept—the suggestion that the Councils Act of 1909 is the result of concessions to seditious agitation. There is no foundation for any such assumption —unless the recognition of the political condition of India in 1906, as I have endeavoured to describe it, is to be reckoned as a concession—though it was a recognition the necessity for which no responsible administrators could disregard. The murders at Mozufferpore were the first of the political crimes which have horrified all India, and they were perpetrated 1½ years after my Councils Committee had commenced to formulate their reform proposals. Then came the Manicktollah Garden discoveries, followed at intervals by a repetition of outrages, mysterious in their origin. Was the Government of India in the face of those outrages, and on account of them, to renounce the conclusions they had deliberately come to, and to throw overboard their schemes for reform? Were they to be frightened by an anarchical plot out of a policy they had deliberately adopted? I absolutely refuse to admit that the just aspirations of the loyal subjects of the King-Emperor should be jeopardised by traitorous conspirators. That is a concession I will not agree to.

But it is unfortunately too true that the progress of the work upon which we have been engaged, and in the completion of which we hoped to confer a welcome boon upon the people of India, has been marred by a succession of abominable crimes which have forced my Government into one repressive measure after another. And yesterday, on the eve of the assembly of this Council, a faithful and gallant public servant was brutally murdered within the precincts of the High Court and in the broad light of day. A spirit hitherto unknown to India has come into existence, a spirit opposed to all the teachings of Indian religion and traditions, a spirit of anarchy and

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lawlessness which seeks to subvert not only British rule but the governments of Indian Chiefs, to whom I am so deeply indebted for their loyal assistance. We are called upon to deal with subterranean machinations, and methods of assassination and robbery, dangerous to the public safety and discreditable to the fair fame of India. We are aware of associations which are doing their best to inveigle into their meshes the youth of the country poisoned by the dissemination of revolutionary literature which, out of a chivalrous unwillingness to interfere with any form of freedom of speech, British administrations have tolerated for too long. Present dangers we are prepared to meet, and the moral training of the rising generation our duty will no longer allow us to neglect. We can no longer tolerate the preachings of a revolutionary press. We are determined to bridle literary license. I am glad to believe that the support of an enlarged Council will go far to assure the Indian public of the soundness of any measures we may deem it right to introduce.

I had hoped to open this new Council under an unclouded political sky. No one has longed more earnestly than I have to allow bygones to be bygones, and to commence a new administrative era with a clean slate. The course of recent events has cancelled the realisation of those hopes, and I can but assert that the first duty of every government is to maintain the observance of the law,—to provide for the present, and as far as it can for the future welfare of the populations committed to its charge,—to rule, and, if need be, to rule with a strong hand.

But, Gentlemen, though I have no wish to disguise from you the anxieties of the moment, I do not for an instant admit that the necessity of ruthlessly eradicating a great evil from our midst should throw more than a passing shadow over the general political situation in India. I believe that situation to be better than it was five years ago. We must not allow immediate dangers to blind us to the

evidences of future promise. I believe that the broadening of political representation has saved India from far greater troubles than those we have now to face. I am convinced that the enlargement of our administrative machinery has enormously strengthened the hands of the Viceroy and of the Government of India, and has brought factors to our aid which would otherwise have had no sympathy with us. I believe above all that the fellow-service of British and Indian administrators under a supreme British Government is the key to the future political happiness of this country. It is in that belief that I have worked hard for India, and when I see around me to-day the representatives of the powerful communities and interests, for whom I pleaded in my note, I feel convinced that the dignity and good sense of this Council will be worthily maintained, and that the navigation of the Indian ship of state will be loyally and ably assisted.

And now that my tenure of my high office is drawing to a close, I hope I may feel that my years of work have borne some fruit, and I am grateful to Providence in that He has spared me to be present on this great historical occasion.

PRESS LAW.

8th Feb. 1910. [In order to prevent the spread of sedition and anarchy by seditious writing a Bill for the better control of the Press was introduced into the Legislative Council on Friday the 4th February 1910.

After reference to a Select Committee the measure was fully discussed in Council on Tuesday the 8th idem and was passed into law with only 2 dissentients.

His Excellency in closing the proceedings spoke as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—This is the first great measure which has been dealt with by the new Imperial Council, and I congratulate Hon'ble Members on the thoughtful tone of the

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speeches to which we have listened, and though some exception has been taken to the nature of the powers conferred upon Local Governments, I would ask Hon'ble Members to bear in mind that in framing the Bill the Government of India has had to consider, and to meet as far as possible, very considerable diversities of public opinion. We believe that the Act as now passed avoids unnecessary and irritating interference, and at the same time affords ample machinery for dealing with the evil it is intended to meet. The causes which have rendered legislation necessary were so fully and ably explained to you by Sir Herbert Risley on Friday last and were so eloquently laid before you by the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha to-day that I need not attempt to repeat them to you. I would rather draw your attention to the political importance and significance of to-day's discussion. The members of this greatly enlarged Council, thoroughly representative of Indian interests, have passed what may be justly called a repressive measure, because they believe with the Government of India that that measure is essential to the welfare of this country. In so doing they have furnished the proof which I have always hoped and believed that they would furnish —that increased representation of Indian interests and communities would not weaken, but would vastly strengthen, British administration. That being so, I hope I am right in assuming that we are at the commencement of that new political era of which I have so often spoken, and that the presence on this Council of the leading public men of India may afford the Viceroy's Government the loyal advice of which it has so often stood in need.

In accordance with this view the Government of India has decided to obliterate, as far as they have it in their power to obliterate, the sore feeling caused by the action which has been forced upon them by past emergencies. We have determined to release the State prisoners who were deported under Regulation III of 1818, 14 months

ago. Our justification for their release is based upon the belief that the political position has entirely changed, that the political movement of which they were the leaders—seditious as it was—has degenerated into an anarchical plot, which can no longer be legitimately included as part of the political agitation in which they were so culpably implicated. We believe that we are no longer confronted by a political movement such as they inaugurated, but are face to face with an anarchical conspiracy waging war against British and Indian communities alike, and that it will be long before we can exterminate the evil unless those communities agree to work together hand in hand. We believe that their mutual efforts will be greatly encouraged by the release of the deportees as showing that Government is willing to trust the influential classes of the people and to rely upon their co-operation and loyalty.

But though we have come to this decision, we cannot for an instant disregard the probability of further attempts at outrages, and that probability we are determined to combat with all the weapons at our disposal.

In the meantime we trust that the Act which this Council has passed to-day will efficiently control the source from which so much evil has emanated.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

12th Mar. 1910. [The annual convocation of the University of Calcutta for conferring degrees was held at the Senate House on Saturday afternoon. His Excellency the Chancellor presided. Owing to the presence of His Excellency special police arrangements had to be made and officers of the Criminal Investigation Department were seen in the hall seated among the students. There were 3 Ph.D.'s; 9 M.A.'s; 261 B.A.'s; 45 B.Sc.'s; 14 B.T.'s; 1 D.L.; 94 B.L.'s; 1 M.D.; 7 M.B.'s; 39 2nd L.M.S.'s; 6 B.E.'s; and 2 Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore Medalists. Sobhanabala Rakhit was the only lady graduate who obtained the Padmavati Gold Medal after passing the B.A. Examination from the Bethune College.

Convocation of the Calcutta University.

His Excellency the Chancellor having declared the convocation open, degrees were presented to the candidates by the Vice-Chancellor.

The Vice-Chancellor then in the course of a lengthy address referred to the death and retirement of members of Senate. He then spoke on the work of University towards higher studies for the benefit of advanced students. After referring to the effect of the enforcement of new Regulations, the Vice-Chancellor reviewed the work of inspection and criticism of affiliated colleges. He next made the following observations regarding the discipline of students:—The question of the discipline of our students has engaged the earnest attention of the University. It will not be disputed by any careful observer that the growth of a tendency to commit breaches of discipline, to indulge in disrespect and defiance of authority, and to rush headlong into the vortex of political agitation and demonstration, which was so widely prevalent among students two or three years ago, does appear to have been arrested. I wish it were possible to maintain further that the situation is now wholly free from danger. I am by no means anxious to take a pessimistic view of the matter, but it would be idle to deny that the conditions, under which a large proportion of our students live, afford them little or no protection from the path of evil and ultimate ruin. In not a few instances innocent boys and young men of promise, peacefully engaged in the pursuit of their studies, have drunk deep from the fountains of poisonous literature, and have been captured by designing men who have beguiled them into the paths of crime. It is manifest that the danger is neither slight nor easily remediable. In this matter, as in many others, the University must rely mainly upon the active and cordial co-operation of the principals and professors of colleges, of teachers in schools, and of the guardians of the students. On more than one occasion, during the last twelve months, the University has appealed to them for assistance, so as to keep the students away from the unwholesome excitement and distractions of political agitation and demonstrations, and it is worthy of note that our efforts in this direction have met with a ready response and have not been altogether fruitless. We are, of course, not concerned as a University with those who have stepped into the paths of idleness or vice, who have abandoned the pursuit of their studies, and are no longer under our control. But it is our paramount duty to afford adequate protection to the innocent and guileless, and to save them, if need be, even from the verge of ruin. The problem is by no means easy of solution, but there are, I venture to think, two powerful and effective remedies at our disposal. In the first place, a systematic extension of the residential system is immediately needed; in the second place, a well-planned and determined effort must be made to

impart moral instruction to our boys in schools and to our young men in colleges at every stage of their career. In so far as the development of the residential system is concerned, the progress we have hitherto made has been neither rapid nor satisfactory. The principal difficulty is one of funds and I make no secret of my conviction that without a liberal grant-in-aid from the State, continued for many years and supplemented by private effort on an equally extensive scale, it is impossible to provide colleges and schools with adequate and well-managed places of residence for their students. No expenditure, in this direction, can however be deemed excessive, when we realize how great and obvious the danger is, when young men at the most impressionable period of their lives, are left free to imbibe dangerous doctrines not conducive to mental health and discipline. On the other hand, it must be conceded that an equally obvious danger may arise with the expansion of the residential system, unless the students gathered together are brought into intimate personal relation with their teachers and professors, and receive healthy inspiration from them. The success of the residential system must consequently be dependent, in a large measure, upon the devotion and sagacity, the wisdom and sympathy of our teachers. The practical value of the protection from evil which may thus be afforded may be substantially enhanced, if facilities are afforded for systematic moral instruction. Ever since the famous resolution of the Government of India on the subject, issued more than twenty years ago, the subject has been kept in public view, but no well-planned scheme has ever been developed. I do not for a moment suggest that any practical or permanent advantage is likely to be gained, if students are made merely to commit to memory ethical rules and formulas selected from the great writers of the past or if they are induced to examine the primary grounds of moral obligation; but I do maintain that special arrangements ought to be made to present regularly to youthful minds concrete instances of noble and virtuous life. If the elements which constitute the groundwork of a noble character, and are destructive of the ignoble parts of our nature, are thus systematically illustrated, and indelibly impressed upon the minds of our students and young men throughout their career in school and college, if further they are carefully trained as they grow older in the process of self-examination and self-criticism, there cannot be the remotest doubt that the most beneficial results will follow in the development of a robust moral character and of a fine feeling of loyalty and devotion amongst them.

There is only one other topic of fundamental importance to which I must allude on the present occasion. For the attainment of these objects, we must be dependent almost entirely upon the loyal and

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enthusiastic co-operation of the gentlemen to whom is entrusted the training of our youths. For the members of the teaching profession I entertain the highest respect and admiration, and the mode in which by far the largest majority amongst them have hitherto discharged their responsible duties even in time of ferment and excitement, has been really worthy of the highest commendation. It is a matter for the keenest regret, however, that in isolated instances, individual teachers and professors have betrayed themselves into actions and utterances unworthy of the position of trust they occupied. The University has, without hesitation, interfered whenever conduct so unbecoming in a teacher or professor has been brought to its notice. Each particular position in life has its own special duties and responsibilities, which modify and limit individual liberty of action in a way and to an extent which may not admit of precise definition, much less of legal enforcement, but which all the same may be generally indicated with sufficient clearness from a common-sense point of view. A teacher scrupulously abstains from political matters within his class-room, but at the same time he devotes much or all of his leisure hours to political activities and agitation; his name is prominently before the world in connection with political organizations and functions; the newspaper press constantly quotes or reports political speeches made by him on public occasions: what effect may all this be legitimately expected to have on the minds of his pupils, specially if his actions and utterances are not always of the most discreet character. The answer cannot be doubtful: their minds will inevitably be attracted towards political affairs and political agitation, for the reason that it is this which evidently constitutes the main life-interest and lifework of one who stands towards them in a position of authority and to whom they are habituated, and in most cases, no doubt, perfectly willing, to look up with respect and deference. This kind of influence will naturally be most potent in the case of those teachers who have managed to acquire a firm hold on the minds of their pupils by altogether legitimate and praiseworthy means—men whom their pupils like and esteem, possibly love and revere, as persons of high scholarly attainments, as painstaking and devoted instructors, adorned with many of the virtues of private life and taking a friendly or fatherly interest in the welfare of those entrusted to their charge. In fact, among teachers of this description, the most effectual propaganda for political pursuits will be made just by those who excel most highly in their profession and who in a wider sense are the best men. We parents and natural guardians do not desire our boys to be prematurely drawn into political activity or even political speculations by the influence of any man, however

worthy and excellent he may be. Assume that the teacher who makes politics the business of his life, however extreme his political views and aspirations may be, is a man of some experience of life and affairs. But how about the boys whom his example prompts and inspires? Can we justly expect that they, all of them, should be wise and cautious as well as eager and enthusiastic, should manage to discriminate successfully between what is permissible and legitimate and what is not, should have themselves sufficiently in hand to stop and reflect before the ardour of their convictions urges them on lines of action subversive of the peace and order of the community and probably destructive to themselves? The lamentable experience of recent years leaves no room for controversy; there is clearly no basis for any such expectation, and it is thereon that we base our emphatic objection to any sort of influence which tends to impart to the minds of our boys a premature bias towards politics. I look at the matter entirely from the academic point of view, and I earnestly call upon teachers who hold it to be their duty to figure as active politicians out of school or college hours, to reflect on the special responsibilities incident to their station in life, in the present circumstances of the country. I make no secret of my deepest conviction that men of this type, however honourable they may be, are not safe guides of the young.

His Excellency the Chancellor said:—]

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, this is the last occasion upon which I shall have the honour of opening this Convocation, and I would venture warmly to congratulate you upon your eloquent address to this distinguished audience. You are well aware, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, of my sympathy with all you have said as to the momentous future importance of moral training, and the invaluable personal influences which should be wielded by the teachers of the rising generation. On the recognition of these two great necessities the future happiness of India largely depends, and now that my high office is drawing to a close, I rejoice to feel that the administration of this great University will continue to benefit from your distinguished ability and your fearless courage. I wish you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and the Calcutta University, all success in the years that are to come and I now declare this Convocation to be closed.

PRESENTATION OF BUDDHA RELICS TO BURMESE DEPUTATION.

[The ceremony of presenting the relics of the Lord Buddha, found some months ago at Peshawar, to the Buddhist deputation from Burma, took place yesterday morning at Government House, and was both interesting and impressive. The function was of a semi-public character, and quite a number of interested spectators gathered in the Throne Room to witness the proceedings. 19th Mar. 1910.

His Excellency the Viceroy entered the hall accompanied by two A.-D.-C.'s shortly after 12-30, and the deputation came in immediately afterwards, and were introduced by the Hon. Sir Harold Stuart. Prince Pyinmana Mintha, step-son of the late king Mindon, of Mandalay, headed the deputation, the other members of which were Maung Maung Golay, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner of Mandalay, and U Pe, trustee of the Aracan Pagoda. They were accompanied by the Hon. Maung Bah Too and Taw Sin Ko, the Burma Government Archæologist.

The scene whilst the presentation was being made was a striking one. His Excellency, who wore a grey frock coat with the Star of India pinned on the breast, stood on the steps of the Throne with his staff on one side, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, Sir H. Thirkell White, Sir Harvey Adamson, and Sir Harold Stuart, all in uniform on the other. The deputation made a picturesque group in the centre in white coats and pink *lungis*. Prince Pyinmana and the Hon. Maung Bah Too wore silk turbans in a delicate shade of pink, while the other two members of the deputation wore no head-dress beyond a strip of white ribbon tied round the hair, which was done up in a top-knot. Taw Sin Ko wore a flowered robe in deep colours, which contrasted sharply with the white and pink worn by the deputation.

The ceremony was very brief and all remained standing throughout. After the deputation had been introduced to the Viceroy, Mr. Marshall, Archæologist to the Government of India, read a brief account of the discovery of the relics.

The Discovery of the Relics.

Mr. Marshall gave an account of the relics. He took his distinguished audience back to the times of Chinese travellers who came on pilgrimages to India between the 4th and 17th centuries of the Christian era. Three of these travellers—Fo Hien, Sun Yun and Hieun Thsang—told of a Pagoda or stupa which had been built near the city of Peshawar by the great Emperor Kanishka, and in which, as

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Hieun Thsang explicitly states, part of the relics of the Lord Buddha had been enshrined. They described this pagoda as one of singular beauty and majesty, adorned with precious substances and unequalled in point of size or grandeur by any monument of its kind in India. Its circumference was nearly a quarter of a mile and its height was variously estimated by them from four to seven hundred feet. It possessed no fewer than thirteen stories, the base being of stone and the superstructure of wood: while the whole was crowned with a pinnacle of gilded discs attached to an iron pillar. So much about this magnificent structure is learnt from the Chinese pilgrims, and Mr. Marshall inferred from an inscription of the tenth century that it survived the last of the pilgrims for at least three hundred years. What happened to it after that history does not relate, but along with many other monuments of Buddhism it is believed to have been desecrated and thrown down by the marauding hosts of Mahmud of Ghazni. Whether that was its fate or not it finds no mention whatever in any later record and with the decay of Buddhism on the frontier its very site appears to have been forgotten. Fortunately, however, some definite indications as to its position were given by the Chinese pilgrim and these proved sufficient to enable the French savant, M. Foucher, to locate the spot in some mounds a little to the east of the modern Peshawar City.

EXCAVATING THE SITE.

Following his identification the Archæological Department decided to explore this site and to discover what remains of the great edifice might still be hidden beneath the soil. The work was begun rather more than two years ago by Dr. Spooner, but for several months it looked as if nothing was to be found except confused heaps of debris. Then little by little there emerged from these heaps the stone plinth of this gigantic pagoda which is undoubtedly the largest of its kind known to existence in India and which in other respects also agrees with the descriptions of Kanishka's memorial given by the Chinese pilgrims. Indeed that this was the identical building constructed by that monarch there could not be a shadow of a doubt, and as soon as Mr. Marshall saw it he pressed on Dr. Spooner the importance of setting to work at once and of searching for the relics of Buddha which were said to be deposited within it. Accordingly a shaft was sunk in the centre of the basement and was carried down with much labour through its heavy stone foundation until at last, at a depth of some twenty feet below the surface, expectations were realised by discovering a small stone chamber and in it the relic casket standing where it had been placed nearly two thousand years ago. If any

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evidence had previously been wanting to prove that this pagoda was the one erected by the Emperor Kanishka, it was amply supplied by the finds which now came to light. On the relic casket itself is the figure of a King identical with the effigies of Kanishka which appear on his coins, and the name which is written in Kharoshti alongside this figure seems to be that of Kanishka. Moreover a coin of the Emperor was found close by which alone would have been enough to indicate the date of the deposit. Thus Hiuen Thsang's statement that this pagoda was erected by the Emperor Kanishka was proved to be perfectly correct and there is no reason to doubt his assertion that the relics in it were those of Buddha. Kanishka's empire extended over most of Northern India and Afghanistan and it was quite an easy matter for the Emperor to obtain well authenticated relics of the Buddha from one or other of the celebrated pagodas containing them which existed within the confines of his dominions. For these reasons, Mr. Marshall added, it seemed that the testimony of Hiuen Thsang might be accepted without hesitation and that with him we must regard these relics as those of the great teacher, which were first divided into eight portions after the Parinirvana and afterwards sub-divided by the Emperor Ashoka.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the deputation as follows:—]

Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in receiving this Deputation of distinguished members of the Burma Buddhist community at the capital of the Indian Empire. I have invited you to Calcutta in order to present to you the sacred relics of Buddha which have recently been discovered near Peshawar. Mr. Marshall has told you the interesting story of how Dr. Spooner found them. India owes much to Mr. Marshall for his able administration of the Archæological Department, and Dr. Spooner's success in bringing to light the beautiful little casket which had been lying buried for so many centuries is an achievement of which he may well be proud. The Government of India have carefully considered to what final resting place the relics should be consigned, and have decided that they must certainly remain within the confines of the Indian Empire, and that Burma as a Buddhist Province, and Mandalay as the acknowledged Burmese capital of that Province, should be invited to

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provide for their safe custody. I am sure that the great honour done to Burma will be thoroughly appreciated by its people, and that these relics will be carefully preserved and cherished by them. I trust too that a suitable shrine may be erected at Mandalay for their reception, where in future years devout pilgrims may gather from all parts of the world to do honour to the memory of the great founder of their religion.

[His Excellency then descended to the gilded table on which the relics had been placed on a silken cushion, and formally handed over the casket to Prince Pyinmana, who received it on a golden tray. The relics were enclosed in a crystal sheath, which was placed inside a casket of gold made in the shape of the Sanchi stupa. The casket was set with precious stones, and on it was an inscription stating when, where, and how the relics were discovered.

Prince Pyinmana said: "Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Buddhists of Burma I beg to thank Your Excellency and the Government of India for permitting the enshrining of Buddha's relics at Mandalay there to be worshipped by the Buddhists of the Indian Empire. Burma is an integral part of India, and we in Burma are proud to belong to the Indian Empire, from which our religion, letters and civilization are derived. As Burma is the only Buddhist province of India it is fitting that the relics should rest there. In quickening our religion, they will stimulate our national advancement, which has made such marked progress under British Rule."

This concluded the ceremony. Subsequently the Viceroy and Lady Minto chatted with the Deputation for some time. The relics were taken charge of after the ceremony by Inspector Hansen of Government House.

Amongst those present were Lady Minto, Prince Antoine D'Orleans, the Hon. Mr. Gates, of the Burma Commission, Sir Lawrence and Lady Jenkins, Mr. Justice Harington, Mr. Justice Brett, Mr. Justice Holmwood, all the members of Council, and a number of other ladies and gentlemen.]

BUDGET DEBATE, 1910-11.

29th and 30th Mar. 1910.

[The Annual Budget Debate was commenced on the 29th instant and concluded on the 30th idem.

This was the first Debate since the inauguration of the Reformed Councils and much interest attached to the occasion. Photographs of the full Council were taken. Most members spoke, but speakers, with the exception of members in charge, were limited to 20 minutes.

The Budget showed fresh taxation and the increased duty on tobacco met with much opposition.

This meeting, the first Budget Debate under the new Act, was also the last meeting of the Council Lord Minto would attend in Calcutta as Viceroy, as His Excellency's term of office would expire in the coming November.

In closing the Debate His Excellency addressed the Council as follows :—]

Gentlemen,—In accordance with our new system of procedure the discussion of the Budget has been so full and detailed, that I propose to confine myself to a few very general remarks on the financial position.

In his opening speech the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson explained to us the financial story of the past years,—his view of future demands upon our revenue, and the means by which he proposed to meet them. I congratulate my Hon'ble friend on the lucidity of his explanation. Since then the Financial Statement has passed through its various stages, and has to-day been before you as the Budget for the coming financial year.

My Hon'ble friend invited us to look back into the past, to the time of the Hon'ble Mr. Wilson fifty years ago, to the days of small revenues and equivalent expenditure, but entailing speeches of portentous length,—he told us of the complicated methods of successive Finance Members anxious to explain to inanimate Councils their administration of the vastly growing trade and ever-increasing income of India, till he brought us down to the present day, with our revenue of over 75 millions, our enlarged Councils and their greatly increased opportunities for criticism and discussion

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—and now that we are at the conclusion of this debate my thoughts naturally turn to the story of our finances since I assumed the Viceroyalty in November 1905. It is four years almost to a day since I addressed the first Budget meeting of my Council—and of the advisers who then sat beside me on my Executive Council it is curious to note that none now remain to me. Some after long years of useful work have retired from the service, one distinguished amongst his compeers has gone to his last resting place, and two are ably directing the administration of great Provinces.

In financial, as in other matters, India has passed through a time of strain and anxiety during those four years; but she has, I hope, notwithstanding many ups and downs, emerged successfully from her trials. When I took over the Government, the country was on the crest of a wave of remarkable prosperity. Notwithstanding short rains and the cruel ravages of plague, we had had in 1905-06 a surplus of over 2 millions, and at my first Budget meeting, in March 1906, we were able to announce a large number of special grants, for education, agricultural research, and police reform, as well as to remit a variety of petty cesses on the land at a cost of 82 lakhs of rupees. Yet even these large concessions failed to check the onward march of our revenues, and in the following year, 1906-07, we obtained a surplus of 1½ millions, and found ourselves in a position to put the crown on a long series of remissions of taxation by reducing the duty on salt to the nominal figure of one rupee per maund. This however brought us to the end of our cycle of good years, and in the autumn of 1907 the outlook became suddenly overcast. The rains failed over the greater part of Northern India, and we had to prepare to avert the misery of a widespread famine—whilst almost simultaneously we found ourselves called upon to face one of those financial upheavals which periodically convulse the great markets of the world. The combination of

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misfortunes bore heavily upon our resources. Our revenue fell off; our trade was dislocated; and a severe drain was imposed on our reserves of gold. In 1907-08 our surplus dropped to little over £¼ of a million; in the following year, the reaction was at its height and we had to declare a heavy deficit. Thus passed two years of anxiety, of constant watchfulness, and of many enforced economies, but throughout our time of trial we may justly recall with pleasure that our financial machinery worked efficiently, and the credit of India remained unimpaired.

With the year which is now closing, begins the third phase of Indian finance during my term of office. We are entering on a time of recovery. The Hon'ble Finance Member has told us that the new financial year promises to open "under favourable auspices, with good harvests, active markets, expanding trade." He anticipates prosperity in the private and public finances of the country, and given a good monsoon, looks forward to a general improvement in our revenues. My Hon'ble friend is proverbially lucky in his 'gamble in rain' so I hope his prognostications may prove true. But there are obvious difficulties ahead of us. Our opium revenue is menaced. We are committed in some respects,—and Local Governments along with us—to expenditures on a scale which it may not be prudent to maintain and which it may be necessary to revise. We are face to face with new aspirations entailing a heavy outlay on social and industrial progress, the vital necessity for which no one recognises more sincerely than I do, but which cannot be directly or speedily remunerative,—and though we may heartily rejoice over a progress which must entail increased expenditure in many directions, we cannot disregard the consideration of the sources from which that expenditure is to be met. It is a great problem—in it there is much food for thought. And behind it there may lurk many other problems which we cannot now foresee—and whilst sympathising, as I do, with many of the ambitions

of advancing prosperity, I cannot but feel that the conditions of the present time call for caution, for the husbanding of our resources and the strengthening of our credit to enable us to meet the duties that lie before us.

And notwithstanding the increased taxation to which we have been driven by stress of weather, the skies are beginning to clear now, and to my mind it is no paradox to say that our position is in reality stronger than it was four years ago at the flood tide of our prosperity. I am not unaware of the criticisms which, in the light of more recent events, have been passed upon our financial policy and upon the large remissions of taxation which we were able to give before 1908,—but I do not concur in those criticisms. We have lightened the burdens of the poor; we have raised the general welfare of the people; and we have returned to the tax-payer money that would otherwise have gone towards enhancing our scale of recurring expenditure, and consequently increasing our present difficulties. It is not only the incidence of our taxation, however, that we have improved. We have taken steps to discount the probable loss of our opium revenue. We have proved the necessity for a less ambitious programme of capital expenditure. We have tested the strength of our gold reserves, and have, I hope, disposed of certain weaknesses in our currency system. It is on all these grounds that I consider we may take stock of our financial position with some pride, and may look forward to the future with confidence.

I will only say one word more in reference to the conduct of our finances. Three years ago—at the Budget debate—I referred to the arrangements which had been made with China for assisting her in the gigantic task of putting down the opium habit in her vast territories. I deprecated the doubts that were thrown on the good faith of the Chinese Government, and I refused to accept the assumption that the revenues of India were being sacrificed

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to the views of a few faddists. The three years for which we agreed to co-operate with China as a test of her sincerity, have not yet expired and it would be premature to discuss the results of the experiment. Nevertheless, I think I may justly invite the attention of the Council to the verdict of the International Commission which sat at Shanghai last year and on which India was so ably represented by the Hon'ble Mr. Brunyate. The Commission recorded its recognition of "the unswerving sincerity of the Government of China in their efforts to eradicate the production and consumption of opium throughout the Empire; * * * * and the real, though unequal, progress already made in a task which is one of the greatest magnitude." We may welcome the integrity of China's aims, and though our co-operation with her has involved genuine sacrifices, both in British India and in the States of some of my friends, the Ruling Chiefs of Central India, we can distinctly claim that those sacrifices have been made in the interests of humanity alone. There is evidence that China appreciates our help. Whether she succeeds in her share of her compact with us, careful local enquiry alone can show, but if she attains the success which her efforts deserve, India may well be proud of the assistance she has rendered to her great neighbour.

I shall not attempt, Gentlemen, to trace our financial position any further. The many points which have been raised by Resolutions and questions have been dealt with by the Members in charge of the various Departments, but as this is the last Budget debate at which I shall be present, I venture to say a few words on the first session of the new Council which closes to-day. It has been a memorable session. The Council assembled at a moment of great anxiety, and was immediately called upon to support the Government of India in legislation which the conditions of the country had unfortunately rendered inevitable. That support was not only unhesitatingly forthcoming, but the

reasons for it were discussed with a good sense and appreciation of circumstances which fully confirmed the views I have always advocated, that increased representation of the real interests of India would not weaken, but would greatly strengthen, the hands of the Government. And throughout our debates there has been ample evidence of a deep interest in public affairs and a desire to contribute to the better administration of the country. The Government has benefited by criticism and suggestions, and the dignity of procedure so necessary to an assembly, such as this, has been well recognised by its Members. I am aware that there have been exceptions to the observance of that dignity, and I am glad the Hon'ble Member Mr. Haque drew attention to them, as his doing so is evidence of the jealousy with which Hon'ble Members are prepared to insist upon a strict conformity with the rules of business, but I feel that I may very justly say that the exception to which he specially referred was due merely to a want of acquaintance with those rules and certainly to no intentional discourtesy towards this assembly.

Our machinery is, I admit, not as yet perfect. It will require some alterations, especially in respect to a rearrangement of the work of the session. I fully recognise the inconvenience and waste of time that must have been caused to Members, both official and non-official, by being required to attend meetings of Council on dates scattered over many weeks. I foresee no great difficulty in a rearrangement of work. Bills might be introduced at an early meeting in the autumn which would not necessitate the attendance of Members except those specially interested in them; at a second meeting in the middle of December they might be referred to Select Committees; a short session might be held at the end of January, or beginning of February, to pass them; and the Budget session would be in March. I am only foreshadowing possibilities, with which my successor will have to deal.

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But putting aside questions of administrative machinery and the great political considerations involved in the creation of this enlarged Council, I claim for it one happy result. It has brought people together—official and non-official Members have met each other. The official wall which of necessity to some extent had separated them has been broken down—they have talked over many things together. Non-official Members from a distance have, not only in our debates but in private conversation, had opportunities of explaining their grievances. Much healthy fresh air has entered this old Council Chamber, and speaking on behalf of my colleagues as well as myself, it has been very welcome to us. And now, Gentlemen, as this is the last time that I shall preside over a full Council, I would ask you to bear in mind that for some time to come there must be much that is experimental in our recent reforms—it rests upon you to consolidate the work which has been done—to prove yourselves worthy of the interests which you represent, to safeguard the moderation and good sense of the Council of which you are Members. It is to you that the Executive Government will look for the expressions of unofficial opinion, it is on your loyal support that they should be able to rely.

I am grateful for the appreciative words in which Hon'ble Members have alluded to my services. I hope that the labours of my colleagues and myself will bear good fruit. I know this Council to be very capable of upholding the great responsibilities entrusted to it, and I shall leave this country in the firm belief that it is destined to play a distinguished part in the future history of India.

ADDRESS BY THE STUDENTS OF THE PAIWAR SCHOOL.

12th April 1910.

[During the Viceroy's visit to the Kurram an address was presented to His Excellency by the students of the Paiwar School, the translation of which is as follows :—

Welcome, O King of India!

May your fortune, throne and country ever remain safe. Come with happiness, remain with happiness and go with happiness. This is our constant prayer to God.

Remain happy, O English nation, remain happy. With prosperity, justice and perfection.

Welcome, our Lord!

Your Excellency's advent in our poor country is a source of prosperity, happiness and pride to us poor subjects. We are fortunate to have an opportunity of seeing in our midst the King of our country, and fortunate are the people who live in peace under the shadow of the Union Jack of the Emperor of India. The peace and prosperity that we are fortunate to enjoy at present never fell to the lot of our ancestors in any age, and the education and moral training that our young generation is receiving in the schools were never dreamt of by our forefathers. We the students have read it in the geography of the world that the sun never sets on the British Empire. There is no doubt in this ; but the day is coming when the British nation will become master of the whole world, since it is more just and a greater cherisher of its subjects than any other nation.

We are very fortunate that when our country first came under the shadow of the British Government, our first Governor was the Hon'ble Mr. Merk, a lover of Science, a good administrator and one who knew the people and was well acquainted with the habits of the Afghans. He at once established primary schools in our country for our education, moral training and civilization. We trust that our Exalted Government will also make a provision for our higher education. May God ever maintain the shadow of the British nation and Empire over our heads and may our lives be sacrificed in loyally serving the British Government. Amen! Amen! Amen!

His Excellency made no reply.]

ALL-INDIA MEMORIAL TO HIS LATE MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

30th July 1910.

[In connection with the proposal to erect an All-India Memorial to the late King-Emperor, His Excellency the Viceroy held a meeting of the General Committee on Saturday the 30th July at Viceregal Lodge.

About 15 members attended, including His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Raja of Nabha.

In explaining the objects and scope of the proposal, His Excellency spoke as follows:—]

Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—I have summoned this meeting in order to place before you certain proposals for a memorial to our late King-Emperor.

I have felt that a memorial would be in accordance with the wishes of every community in India, and that those wishes would best be met by an All-India Memorial, to which everyone in the land, high and low, might have an opportunity of subscribing, and of sharing in accordance with his individual means in doing honour to the memory of a great King whose benign rule and sympathetic care for the welfare of his subjects had so well earned their devotion and loyalty throughout the Empire.

The form the memorial should assume has been carefully discussed, and though I fully recognise the strong arguments which have occasionally been advanced in favour of some great work of public benefactions which might commemorate the great reign of Edward VII to future generations, I have found so much diversity of opinion, local opinion, and that of various benevolent interests, that it seemed to me impossible to decide upon a public memorial which would on such lines satisfy the diversity of views I know to exist. It seemed to be much better therefore that the inauguration of memorials, which aimed at some great public work, such as Institutions, Hospitals, or Museums, should be undertaken locally, under conditions where local interests and local wants were understood, and with that idea I have

All-India Memorial to His Majesty King Edward VII.

encouraged the inauguration of Provincial Memorials inaugurated by local authorities and communities.

I hope they will be kept entirely distinct from the All-India Memorial, the object of which, as I have said, is that subscriptions may be within reach of every individual in India and that the amount of subscriptions should be limited so as to distribute them as far as possible throughout the whole community. With this view individual subscription will be limited to R5,000, and the smallest will be acceptable—whilst the sum total of contributions will be limited to five lakhs.

I may as well say now that some local authorities have proposed to me that a certain percentage of their receipts to Local Memorials should be given to the All-India Memorial. But this is in my opinion contrary to the spirit in which I hope subscriptions for the All-India Memorial will be raised—they should, I feel, be entirely distinct from all local efforts.

Now as to the memorial itself—I have consulted the King-Emperor, and His Majesty has graciously agreed that the object we have in view would be best met by an equestrian statue of King Edward VII at Delhi, a city that is not only central but will be for ever associated with many glorious incidents in the history of India. The actual site will have to be determined by the Executive Committee I propose to name to you to-day, but I may say that the position for the statue which would seem to me the best is the open space between the Jumma Musjid and the Fort. The probable price of a marble statue would, I believe, be about 4,000 guineas, and with a total subscription of 5 lakhs there would be available a very considerable margin for the laying out of gardens and their upkeep as part of the surroundings of the memorial.

The selection of the sculptor and the laying out of such grounds will require to be dealt with by the Executive Committee.

Seditious Meetings Act Continuation Bill.

I have been asked as to the duties of Vice-Patrons and Members of the General Committee. These will, I hope, be to make known the views I have endeavoured to express to-day and to encourage the transmission of subscriptions.

I am glad to say that subscriptions have already been promised from the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharajas of Kashmir, Mysore and Jodhpore amounting to ₹20,000, and that Mr. Ker has in this meeting generously contributed ₹1,000.

As to the Executive Committee, I would propose the following names :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Carlyle.
Do. Mr. Robertson.
Mr. Justice Mookerji.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. N. Graham.
The Commissioner of Delhi.
The Foreign Secretary.
Public Works Secretary.
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.
The Hon'ble Mr. Ker, *Treasurer.*
Captain Mackenzie, *Secretary.*

Mr. Ker has kindly consented to act as Treasurer and to receive any subscriptions which should be paid through the Alliance Bank or the Bank of Bengal.

SEDITIOUS MEETINGS ACT CONTINUATION BILL.

[At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 6th August, the above Bill was taken into consideration. The measure was strongly opposed by a number of non-official members who spoke at some length. It was, however, passed into law by a majority, and His Excellency the Viceroy in closing the discussion spoke as follows :—]

I will only add a very few remarks to what the Hon'ble Mr. Jenkins has said to this meeting of Council and on the matter which he has so very ably put before you. I am sorry to say we cannot, none of us can, disregard the existence of a revolutionary party. No one has welcomed with

Seditious Meetings Act Continuation Bill.

greater pleasure than I have the remarks which have universally fallen from unofficial members of this Council to-day, to the effect that the state of the country is infinitely better than it was and that things are improving politically. The views expressed, as they have been by the opponents of the Act, I know to be thoroughly sound and true, and they have been very welcome words to listen to. But, Gentlemen, I cannot help telling you that to myself there is a personal factor in our proceedings to-day which I cannot disregard. I feel that I am at the end of my administration, and I do not think it would be right either by the repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act or by its re-enactment in perpetuity to commit my successor to a policy of which he had not had sufficient opportunity of judging, and of which he might not approve. I feel very strongly that this Act is one of such enormous importance that it cannot be fittingly considered during a Simla session. The unofficial members who opposed the Act have done so perfectly legitimately and have expressed their views perfectly straightforwardly and very much to the point. I do not say that I agree with all of them, but they have spoken their views fearlessly and I think generally with sound common sense, but I believe they will agree with me that in a very important piece of legislation such as this is, it would not be satisfactory for the country, it would not be satisfactory for India, that we should embark upon a very decided line of policy at Simla, and that our action can only be put in effect legitimately in full Council in Calcutta, where every detail of necessary legislation will be fully considered and where we may rest assured that it will be considered carefully and with an ample knowledge of the state of the country. I do not attempt to foreshadow what that legislation may be, but I am perfectly convinced and I am sure we may all feel satisfied that the Act will receive at Calcutta that consideration which it deserves, and that my successor will be guided by the opinions he forms of the state of India.

FAREWELL DINNER AT SIMLA BY UNITED SERVICE CLUB.

[The United Service Club, Simla, entertained the Viceroy at a farewell dinner on Friday night. These farewell entertainments of the Simla Club are looked forward to with great interest as the departing guest can then review his career in India and indicate the subjects which have occupied his attention with greater freedom than is possible at purely official gatherings. On the present occasion His Excellency dealt with all the principal events which have occurred during the five years of his Viceroyalty. General Drummond, Inspector General of Imperial Service Troops, presided in the absence of General Sir Douglas Haig, President of the Club, and about 140 members were present, including the Lieutenant-Governor and Sir Henry MacMahon and practically all other leading civil and military officers in Simla. His Excellency was met at the door by the General Committee of the Club and led upstairs where he was presented to the assembled members. The dinner was excellently managed and was a brilliant success. Plain dress with orders and decorations was worn by all present. On the toast of his health being proposed by General Drummond, the members sang "For he's a jolly good fellow." Lord Minto's speech was exceedingly well delivered and loudly cheered. On the final departure of His Excellency, the whole company joined in singing "Auld Lang Syne." 14th Oct. 1910

General Drummond said :—

Gentlemen,—In the absence of the President of the Club, Sir Douglas Haig, I have been asked to preside at this dinner and I now have the honour to propose the toast of our distinguished guest, His Excellency the Viceroy.

May I be permitted to remind you, Gentlemen, that Lord Minto was in Simla many years ago—in the seventies—before the Afghan War and that in entertaining His Excellency we are doing honour both to our Viceroy and to one of the oldest inhabitants of Simla. I would also refer to the fact that His Excellency is the only Viceroy who has dined at the Club as a private member, an honour which we all greatly appreciate.

Even in those distant days to which I have alluded, Lord Minto had begun to make his career famous. Already well known as a brilliant horseman, he had earned his spurs in the field with the Turkish Army in 1877. He then saw fighting in the Afghan War in 1878 and 1879. In 1881 he served with Lord Roberts at the Cape; then came more fighting in Egypt in 1882, and, in 1885, fighting again in Canada. Later from 1898 to 1904 he rendered eminent

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services to the Empire as Governor General of the great Dominion of Canada, and from 1905 to 1910 he has been Viceroy of India. Gentlemen, truly a splendid career.

But think of the great changes which have taken place since Lord Minto first landed in this country. When he arrived as Viceroy in 1905, he found that with the spread of education, with progress in every direction, and with ever-increasing facilities for travel, the inevitable time had arrived when His Majesty's Indian subjects would aspire to a greater share in the government of the country, and he realized that a change in the system of administration had thus become a matter of urgent necessity.

But the modification of a long-established system involved the solution of many grave and difficult problems, and I venture to say that no Viceroy, on taking up the reins of government, has ever been faced with questions so difficult, or with burdens of responsibility so heavy as those which His Excellency has been called upon to meet.

How Lord Minto rose to the occasion is well known to us all. His patience, his tact, his courage, his absolute fearlessness when in personal danger and his sympathy with all legitimate aspirations, have won him widespread admiration, and we earnestly hope that slow as the results of the new policy may be in declaring themselves His Excellency may long be spared to see the fullest success crown those liberal measures of reform which he initiated, and with which his name will ever be associated.

It is not only by ourselves that His Excellency's departure will be regretted but by all classes of His Majesty's loyal subjects in India. Lord Minto has no firmer friends than the great Indian Princes. Ever mindful of their best interests, and with a chivalrous regard for their cherished traditions, he has drawn still closer those ties which have hitherto so happily existed between the great States of India and the British Crown.

And so also will all classes deplore the departure of Her Excellency. Lady Minto will be ever remembered for her unremitting labours on behalf of the women of India. Her Nursing Association will live long and flourish as a permanent tribute to her memory. It will be a sad day for Simla when it loses her charming personality; but she may rest assured that she will always be held in the esteem and affection of all those who have been privileged to enjoy her gracious and kindly friendship and her generous hospitality.

And Gentlemen, while Lord Minto has nobly upheld the traditions of the House of Elliot as a great successor to his distinguished great-grand-father, he has been ably supported by Her Excellency and by his charming and accomplished daughters. Can we ever forget the

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lead they have given us in sport, or the triumphs of Lady Eileen at Annandale, at Calcutta and in the jungles, to say nothing of her brilliant performances on the Amateur stage?

It will indeed be a sorrowful day for us when we bid farewell to Their Excellencies and to Lady Eileen. We wish them a safe and restful journey home, and we sincerely hope that they may have a happy meeting in the old country with Lady Errington, with Lady Charles Fitzmaurice and with the rest of their family.

Gentlemen, I give you the toast of a high-minded and chivalrous nobleman, His Excellency the Viceroy.

His Excellency in reply spoke as follows :—]

General Drummond and Gentlemen,—I am quite incapable of expressing to you my appreciation of the reception you have given to the toast of my health. I warmly recognise the honour you have paid me in inviting me to the banquet of to-night. It is very welcome to me to see an old friend in the chair,—an old friend who has reminded me of happy times at Simla in years gone by—who has spoken far too kindly of my past career—and has brought many memories back to me of old soldiering days which I only wish were to come over again. I must thank him too for all he has said of Lady Minto and my daughters—Lady Minto has been deeply interested in the welfare of India. I owe very much to her untiring energy and constant assistance, and I know how earnestly she hopes for the success of those institutions she has done her best to encourage. I assure you, Gentlemen, we shall all of us say good-bye to India and our many friends with a very bitter pang. But, Gentlemen, I feel above all that I am surrounded this evening by those to whose loyal support I have owed so much during the last five years.

Time flies by so quickly in India—every moment is so full—days merge into weeks and weeks merge into months so imperceptibly—that we lose count of the years till it suddenly dawns upon us that our official race is almost run. And the Viceroy has so constantly to face the present, and so often to speculate as to the future, that he has

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no time to look behind him at the history he has helped to make till the time of his departure draws nigh. His daily life is of necessity a constant strain. Reports from the outposts of the Empire, reports of frontier raids with their stories so often little known of the heroism of frontier officers, correspondence with the heads of Local Administrations and with the great Ruling Chiefs of India, information as to political ambitions and warnings as to seditious machinations, schemes for the development of railways and irrigation, the improvement of agriculture, the extension of education, assistance to commerce and industry, increasing facilities for postal and telegraphic communication, military efficiency, together with the betterment of the lot of our splendid Army, British and Indian, the encouragement of thrift, and all that goes to ameliorate the position of the teeming millions of this country—are only additions to the routine administration of the Government of India.

But, Gentlemen, I am very far from wishing to emphasize the individual work of the Viceroy. The official life of every public servant in India is a time of toil and responsibility. I do not believe that the people at home realise the amount of work or the self-sacrificing devotion demanded from their fellow-countrymen in India—services rendered in a distant land, in a climate trying to European constitutions, often entailing separations from much that is dear to men and women, services for which the rewards of appointment to high office are few and can be but sparsely bestowed, but to which the men, who have borne the burden and heat of the day, should, in my opinion, have the first claim.

Gentlemen, here in Simla, we are in an environment of "files"—the constant companions who never leave me, who brandish a blue label in my face in the small hours of the morning and congregate to receive me in my tent after a hard day's shooting. It may be ungrateful of me not

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to reciprocate their affection. I have known men so wedded to their society that they could not do without them. I am fully prepared to treat them with all due respect, but personally I have much sympathy with the views of a departmental clerk whose case was once brought up to me by a certain Secretary to Government. I forget just now whether it was a case for promotion or dismissal—it was some years ago. But the Secretary looked serious and hinted that there were some doubts as to the poor man's sanity, for he had been into his office and found him kneeling before a table upon which were a mountain of those ponderous bundles we know so well, with their blue, red and green decorations. His hands were raised to heaven and in a voice of earnest supplication he was crying aloud—"Oh Lord, deliver me from these files!" "Well," I said, "he certainly is not mad!"—I only hope his prayers were granted.

But, Gentlemen, we all know well enough that the files merely embody the details of our everyday work. We shall be judged by the value of it as a whole. And it is no waste of time to look back occasionally and to take stock of its results.

It is nearly five years since I landed at Bombay. In the ordinary sense of the expression I was new to India. And yet perhaps not so new to her as some of my predecessors. I had been brought up in the midst of Indian traditions. On both sides of my house I was descended from ancestors who have been distinguished as rulers and soldiers here. I had read much of Indian history and had been fascinated by the stories of its invading hosts, the rule of its great Emperors and the romantic tales of European adventurers, and I had seen service in Afghanistan and had made life-long friendship with frontier officers. Fully recognising the heavy responsibilities of the great office to which I had been appointed, I confess that I looked forward to the future with hope and pride.

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I assumed the reins of Government under conditions that seemed to me peculiarly favourable. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales were already in India and were carrying out that memorable tour which has so impressed the personality of the King-Emperor upon his subjects, has assured them of his personal interest in their welfare, and has confirmed their loyal devotion to the Throne. Moreover, I felt that I was succeeding a statesman who had bequeathed to me an administrative machinery, the efficiency of which he had continuously laboured to perfect.

Much has happened since those days. The sky did not fulfil its promise of fine weather. It has often been difficult to penetrate the mists that have gathered round us. The clouds have been heavy and threatening. We have heard the mutterings of a storm.

But putting aside for a moment the abnormal anxieties that have weighed upon us, I hope I am entitled to say that the Government of India has during my term of office continued faithfully to discharge its daily work for the benefit of the people committed to its charge and the maintenance of peace upon our borders. Our frontiers have, on the whole, continued quiet. We had two small military expeditions, the rapid organisation of which and the completeness with which their object was obtained, reflect much credit, not only upon the troops and the distinguished General who commanded them, but also upon the military administration which has done so much to further the preparation of our Indian Army for war. And we have had to deal with a succession of raids into British territory—led by outlaws—some of them carried out in considerable strength and with great daring,—to cope with which in the future we are carefully overhauling our system of frontier protection. But so far our difficulties have not in my opinion exceeded what we are bound to expect in accordance with our policy of non-interference with the

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warlike tribesmen of the hills. The personal influence of our frontier officers has done much to foster mutual understanding with the tribes, and our relations with them have become generally more friendly than in years gone by.

Moreover, the visit of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan in the spring of 1907, the cordial relations he established with the Government of India, and, I trust I may say too, the personal friendship I share with him will, I hope, tend still further to ensure the success of our efforts to preserve the quiet of our mutual frontiers.

But, Gentlemen, the borderland is a tinder-box which the merest spark may ignite. Many of you here to-night know those wild hills by heart and admire the fierce bravery of their people—and you know too how impossible it is—at any time—to guarantee that these will continue to keep the peace. And we have had anxieties elsewhere. On our North-Eastern borders we have been called upon to face new conditions and have had to consider questions affecting frontier States who look to us for protection. I hope that so far the Foreign Department of the Government of India has proved itself a good "warden of the marches," and as head of that Department I cannot say how much I owe to the assistance of its able Secretary.

In the internal affairs of India, too, we have had our troubles—plague, malaria, famine,—we have done our best to combat them, and I hope that the advance of science and the devoted labours of the expert officers to whom India already owes so much will ensure an ever-increasing knowledge of the best means of alleviating the miseries which from time to time afflict her people. And, Gentlemen, notwithstanding the difficulties we have had to face, which after all have been those with which our predecessors have so often been confronted, I trust that we have been able to keep pace with the growing demands of the country and to inaugurate not a little useful legislation.

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I have merely endeavoured, Gentlemen, to sketch what I may call the normal history of my administration—*pari passu* with that history there has been another story to tell of times that have been anything but normal. We have passed through five eventful years. Ever since I landed at Bombay, the political state of India has been foremost in my thoughts. In those early days I could not but realise, all too soon, that the political atmosphere was heavy and electric. I felt it. My Colleagues felt it. I believe everyone who thought at all felt it. And as my knowledge of the state of public affairs increased, I became more and more aware of a sullen and widespread dissatisfaction and discontent—a dissatisfaction shared by many loyal subjects of the Throne. There was widespread political unrest, quite apart from revolutionary sedition. Some great change was evidently affecting the conditions which British administrators had hitherto so successfully directed and controlled. Influences were at work to which the Government of India could not shut its eyes. Ambitions had come into existence, the justice of which we could not deny. The central machinery of the Raj, magnificently as it had worked, was apparently no longer up to date. And what did these ambitions aim at? Please remember, Gentlemen, I am only talking now of what I will call "loyal unrest." Briefly, and speaking quite generally, I believe those ambitions merely embodied the hopes of many thoughtful Indians that a greater share in the government of India should be open to their countrymen. Those hopes were based largely on Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. But what were the causes which had so accentuated the existence of those hopes? I have so often spoken as to this that I must ask you to forgive repetition. They were due, to the best of my belief, to the ripening of the educational seed which British rule has systematically sown,—accelerated by the deep impression produced throughout Asia by the successes of an Eastern military power. The seed was at any rate

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bound to ripen some day—we were bound some day to reap the results of what we had sown—and to me it has seemed that our recognition of those results has not come a moment too soon, and that it has saved India from many troubles. What I would wish to impress upon you is—that the factor—the grave and novel factor—which the Government of India had to deal with when I came to India was the development of the ambitions to which I have referred. There have always been undercurrents in India hostile to British rule emanating often from traditional religious beliefs, and superstitions, from which political agitators have attempted to profit. But the problem with which the Government of India was confronted in 1906 was something much more genuine, and therefore much more serious. It was the assertion of a political awakening. There were two ways of dealing with it. It was open to the Government of India to say we will not listen to these new ideas —they are opposed to the stability of British rule or, to recognise the justice of them as the product of years of British administration, and adaptation of British political thought. We had come to the parting of the ways—and to my mind there has never been a shadow of a doubt as to which was the right road to follow. It was perfectly open to us either to refuse to recognise the signs of the times, or to recognise them and attempt to deal with new conditions. I can only say, Gentlemen, that, if we had adopted the former course, we should have gone back upon all that we have said and done in the past, and alienated from the cause of British administration many who had been brought up in its doctrines and built up hopes upon a belief in its justice. We should have driven them into the camp of the enemy—to become the traducers of British rule. We should have perpetuated a discontented India. Holding these views, we decided that the time had come for a further extension of representative principles in our administration. That