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**LORD CURZÓN IN INDIA**



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# Lord Curzon in India

BEING A SELECTION FROM HIS SPEECHES  
AS VICEROY & GOVERNOR-GENERAL  
OF INDIA

1898-1905

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND AN INDEX

AND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I.

LEGAL MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL, 1899-1904

'We are condemned to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishmen and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people.'

*Speech at Calcutta, Feb. 15, 1902*

IN TWO VOLUMES

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## PREFACE :

THESE volumes contain a selection from the speeches on India and Indian subjects that were delivered by Lord Curzon from the time that he was first appointed to be Viceroy and Governor-General in August 1898, until his return to England from his second term of office in December 1905. The number of speeches actually made by him during this period amounted to over two hundred and fifty, for in India the Viceroy is, by long custom, almost the solitary speechmaker of the Administration; and it is clear, therefore, that a selection of less than sixty of these must leave large groups of subjects untouched.

In choosing, an attempt has been made to subserve the general object of this book, which is to provide a key to the problems of modern Indian government, as well as a synopsis of Lord Curzon's administration; and accordingly speeches or parts of speeches relating to subjects of local or ephemeral interest have been omitted, and attention has been invited in preference to those utterances that explain the principles by which the Government of India is actuated in approaching its stupendous task, and the concrete manner in which, in

Lord Curzon's time, it endeavoured to carry them into execution. He himself lost no opportunity of taking the community into his confidence, both as to the objects and the details of his policy, holding that there is nothing from which the Government of India suffers so much both in India and in England as public ignorance, and that even the government of a dependency is best conducted by a free and frank interchange of opinions with the governed. While this method to a certain extent challenged popular criticism, it left the Indian public better informed than they had ever previously been as to the aims and acts of their rulers, and ended by furnishing what may be described as a handbook to the recent history and government of India more complete and authoritative than can be found in any contemporary publication. From this point of view the present work may possess a value independent of any personal interest attaching to it, since, if a reader desires to know what, for instance, is the policy of the British Government in India with regard to frontiers or foreign or military affairs, in respect of education, famine, taxation, currency, irrigation, or the Native States, he can ascertain it from these pages. Simultaneously, Lord Curzon, both in India and England, was perpetually reiterating the fundamental principles of British rule in India, and some of his speeches on this point have already been introduced into the curriculum of English schools; while many of the projects with which he was particularly identified will here be found explained in his own words.

It should be remembered that a Viceroy of India speaks under conditions very different from those which prevail in England. He cannot ascend a platform whenever he pleases to give a vindication of his policy. Public banquets are few and far between, and the majority of his speeches, unless they refer to particular Bills in the Legislative Council, are made in reply to deputations or addresses, or upon formal or ceremonial occasions. The only opportunity presented to him in the year of expounding the general policy of his Government is in the annual Budget debate in the Legislative Council at Calcutta; and Lord Curzon's seven speeches on those occasions, which are reproduced in this collection, are in reality the most serviceable guide to his administration. Furthermore, the character and tone of a Viceroy's speeches are necessarily affected by the fact that he often appears as the representative of the Sovereign quite as much as the head of the Government, and is consequently subject to easily recognised limitations.

The method adopted in printing the speeches has been determined by the description already given of the general character of this work. They are arranged under various headings, in chronological order, and passages relating more particularly to those headings have been transferred from speeches dealing with a multiplicity of topics where they might otherwise have been overlaid. For the many subjects that do not find a separate heading, reference must be made to the Index, which has been compiled with intentional fulness.

In order to supply a general view of the system of

## PREFACE

government that will be seen at work in this book, as well as a connected account of the administrative task undertaken by Lord Curzon and his colleagues during the past seven years, an introductory chapter has been written by Sir Thomas Raleigh, who was Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1899 to 1904.

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# INTRODUCTION

## APPOINTMENT

IN August 1898 Mr. George Curzon, then Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was appointed to succeed Lord Elgin as Viceroy and Governor-General of India; in November the Viceroy-designate was gazetted Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in the peerage of Ireland. In December he left for India; he took over charge from Lord Elgin at Calcutta on the 6th January 1899.

The horizon of the incoming Viceroy was not free from clouds. On the north-west frontier the Tirah campaign was still fresh in the memory of the tribes; large garrisons of British troops were still cantoned in posts beyond our own frontier, at Chitral, at Lundi Kotal, and in Waziristan; and no decision had been arrived at for the settlement of the frontier tracts. In British India a considerable part of the population was slowly recovering from the effects of the famine of 1897; and the crop reports indicated that the resources of Government might soon be taxed to meet the danger of recurring scarcity. Plague, an old enemy, had appeared again in Bombay in 1896, and the weekly return of deaths from that cause had already become a subject of grave alarm.

Indian problems were not presented to Lord Curzon's mind for the first time when he landed at Bombay. Since his election to Parliament in 1886, he had served as Under-Secretary for India in 1891-92, and had made a

prolonged and careful study of our policy in the East. In three books, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), and *Problems of the Far East* (1894), the results of prolonged inquiry on the spot were communicated to the public at home. He had visited India four times; and he may fairly claim to have known the capacities of his ship when he took his station on the bridge.

It is not unimportant to remark that, though previous Governors-General had served and held office as members of the House of Commons, Lord Curzon was the first who may be said to have won his way to that position by service in the popular Chamber. He took with him to India the habits of an assembly in which the man who desires to have influence must earn it by proving his practical knowledge of affairs. Throughout his administration his attitude was often that of the parliamentary minister, who explains his measures, invites the approval and assistance of the people, and defends his policy vigorously when it is attacked. At the same time, Lord Curzon made no concession to the views of those who think that popular government, in the European sense of the term, can be introduced into India under existing conditions. He knew that for a long time to come the Government of India must remain in the hands of officials, appointed and controlled by the home authorities; but he was determined that the officials should be competent, vigilant, and, above all, sympathetic with the Native population.

Before proceeding to take up the questions argued and expounded in these Speeches, it may be well to say a few words of the constitution which the Viceroy of India is required to administer, and of the limitations under which his work is done. From the English point of view, the Viceroy stands for the administration. He is often the only Indian official whose name is familiar to the public at home; it is generally known that he can, in a case of emergency, outvote his Council, although in the last thirty years there is only one recorded case of this

having been done. He is credited with all the successes and blamed for all the failures of his Government. His own opinion often carries decisive weight, but in framing his measures he must cultivate the art of compromise. The mastery of a good Viceroy consists not merely in carrying his own proposals, but in the skill with which he can harmonise conflicting opinions and bring matters to a practical issue. Lord Curzon has referred more than once to the harmonious working of the Council in his time, and in this case it is right to give the Viceroy the chief share of the credit. The popular notion that a strong Viceroy reduces his Council to a nullity is not borne out by my experience as one of Lord Curzon's advisers.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In the daily business of administration the Governor-General is assisted by his Executive Council. At the time of Lord Curzon's arrival, six of the seven Departments of Government were assigned to the five Ordinary Members of Council, appointed by Her Majesty on the advice of the Secretary of State. Before he left India, Lord Curzon had obtained the consent of the Secretary of State to the appointment of a sixth Ordinary Member; the New Department of Commerce and Industry was then created, and a better distribution of the work was thus rendered possible. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Lockhart, was an Extraordinary Member of Council, appointed by the Secretary of State.

At meetings for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, the Council is reinforced by the presence of additional members, not less than ten nor more than sixteen in number: at least half of these must be persons not in the civil or military service of the Crown. At a full meeting the members present include—(1) a few gentlemen qualified by rank or personal distinction, and nominated by the Viceroy to represent particular communities and interests; (2) officials, recommended by Heads of Provinces; (3) a contingent of gentlemen,

usually natives of India, selected by the non-official members of Provincial Councils ; (4) one member recommended by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. The Legislative Council thus composed can hardly be described as a "fierce democracy," but, as some of these Speeches will show, it is large enough, and representative enough, to secure an independent expression of opinion on Bills which excite interest out of doors. The Native members in particular do not hesitate to criticise the Government with the utmost freedom. Strangers are admitted, and the proceedings are fully reported in the press. Hon. members are seated at a long table, and the member who is speaking does not rise from his place ; when the member in charge of a Bill has stated his case, the President calls on those who wish to speak in their order, beginning with the junior member. These arrangements may sometimes limit the scope of debate, but they conduce to decorum ; each is heard in his turn ; the member of Government responsible for the measure under discussion is entitled to reply, and on important occasions the Viceroy sums up the debate.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

If India, as we define it, were divided into five equal parts, three of these parts would be included in British India—the territories governed by His Majesty through the Governor-General and the officers subordinate to him. This vast area is now divided into twelve Provinces ; the heads of local administration are, the Governors of Madras and Bombay ; the Lieutenant-Governors, whose number has been increased to five by the partition of Bengal ; and five Chief Commissioners. The efficiency of our system depends to a great extent on the maintenance of good relations between central and local authorities. It is for the Government of India to lay down the lines of general policy ; but, within its own limits, each local Government claims and enjoys a considerable measure of independence.

Independence does not exclude, or ought not to exclude, conference and co-operation. Lord Curzon found the provinces living, as he said, in water-tight compartments; each working out its own system, and paying too little attention to the methods of its neighbours. It was part of the Viceroy's policy to encourage comparison of results and exchange of ideas as between one province and another.

For the Government of India there remained the task of co-ordinating the information thus obtained, and of indicating the lines of general policy. To do this with good effect it was desirable, and indeed necessary, to provide the Government of India with expert assistance. In point of general capacity, the members of the Indian Civil Service can hold their own with any service in the world. But they are sent to India at an early age; they seldom have the opportunity to make themselves specialists; they do not possess the detailed acquaintance with scientific and administrative methods which is gained by service in a highly-organised office at home. Lord Curzon therefore indented on Whitehall for specially trained officers, whose duties were to be, in the main, of an advisory nature. The Chief Inspector of Mines was to show us where our Indian practice was defective, and how it might be brought up to the English standard. The Director-General of Education was not to supersede the heads of the Education Service; his duty was to inquire and to suggest, to show us how methods might be better co-ordinated and results more accurately compared. Railways, which had previously been controlled by a Department of Government, were placed under a Board of three experts, one of whom was brought from England. Other branches of administration were treated in a similar way; and there can be no doubt that the changes carried out by Lord Curzon represent a very solid addition to the benefits which our rule has conferred on the people of India. Agriculture, commerce and industry, criminal intelligence, public health, architecture, and archæological inquiry have profited, and will continue to

profit, by the changes which he introduced into the mechanism of Government. Changes of this kind are not introduced by a stroke of the pen; they involve much expenditure of personal energy, and anxious consideration of ways and means.

### THE CONGRESS

I need not say that the Indian National Congress, though at first inclined to welcome Lord Curzon as a reforming Viceroy, ended by taking an unfavourable view of his activity in India; and the English reader may be surprised to find that there is no reference to that body in the Speeches now published. Of the Congress I wish to speak with due respect; it is strong in talent and in good intentions, and it expresses faithfully the opinions of that section of the Hindu community which sees in the concession of political rights the main object of Indian ambition and English duty. When the Indian student has read his English history, and has learnt something of other parts of the British Empire, he asks, quite naturally, whether the principle of self-government may not with advantage be applied to his own country. The practical administrator is conscious of certain difficulties. English history is indeed an object-lesson in self-government, as understood by a homogeneous nation. If you take the average Englishman—peer, professional man, or artisan—you are safe in assuming that he accepts certain general beliefs as to the mode in which his country should be governed. India, on the other hand, is the least homogeneous country in the world. If the English reader wishes to understand the Speeches in these volumes, he must endeavour to realise the variety and complexity of the social system over which the Viceroy of India presides. The eloquent Bengali or Mahratta, who finds his appropriate sphere of action in the Congress, is entitled to a fair hearing, but he is only one of many types of Indian character and sentiment. The English official, as he goes his daily round, is brought into contact

with men of a very different stamp—Mohammedan gentlemen, trained perhaps at Aligarh under the influence of Sir Syed Ahmed ; Chiefs of ancient lineage, who cling to the traditions embodied in that wonderful book, the *Annals of Rajasthan* ; Hindu administrators who have made the fortune of the more prosperous Native States ; and large numbers of educated native gentlemen who take no part in agitation, though they are keenly interested in social and industrial reform. These men are not merely factors, they are governing factors in the politics of India ; and there are many of them who regard the Congress with feelings which vary from amused indifference to active disapproval.

There are, as it seems to me, several reasons why the Viceroy of India should decline, under present circumstances, to enter into direct communication with the Congress. In the first place, that body is engaged in a premature and unwise attempt to domesticate English political ideas in India. In the second place, the pretensions of the Congress are out of all proportion to its true significance. It claims to represent three hundred millions of people, 99 per cent of whom have never heard of its existence. There is also a third consideration, which perhaps was not present to the mind of Sir Henry Cotton when, as President of the Congress, he proposed to lay the Resolutions of that body officially before the Viceroy. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has chosen to identify itself with one political party in England. It is with us a cardinal rule of statesmanship that Indian questions ought not to be treated as party questions in the House of Commons. No Viceroy, whatever his personal politics may be, can depart from that established convention without setting a precedent which might seriously embarrass his successors.

The Congress is doing good service in so far as it helps us to concentrate attention on certain facts which ought never to be absent from our minds. There are in India millions of men—patient, industrious, law-abiding—who cannot count on obtaining an adequate subsistence



from the soil. Our first care must be, to give them a larger measure of comfort, to increase their power of self-help and self-protection. When we turn to the educated classes of this vast native population, we find that the instruction we provide for them has stimulated ambition, and in some cases has awakened a feeling of discontent, while at the same time our system of administration affords only a restricted scope for the employment of natives in the higher ranks of our services. These are the facts of the situation; and no Viceroy has faced them more sympathetically or more candidly than Lord Curzon.

#### BUDGET SPEECHES

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the annual financial statement is explained in the Legislative Council: each member is at liberty to offer any observations he may wish to make, but no member is allowed, in a Budget debate, to propose a resolution or to divide the Council. The Finance Member has the right of reply, and the discussion is closed by the President. In practice, this debate ranges over the whole field of administration; the critics of Government put forward their demands for reduced taxation and increased expenditure; while the Viceroy has an opportunity to take stock of the measures for which he is responsible, and to indicate his plans for the future.

The Budget speeches included in these volumes will show how carefully Lord Curzon counted the cost of the reforms which he advocated. His financial position was, on the whole, a fortunate one: when he went to India the period of recurring deficits and unstable exchange was just coming to an end. In March 1899, Sir James Westland was able to budget for a substantial surplus, and the accounts of the five following years show surpluses averaging about 3 millions sterling. The revenue rose from 68½ millions sterling in 1899, to 83 millions in 1904. The debt increased during the same period by 16 millions, but against this must be set a

capital expenditure of more than 20 millions on remunerative undertakings.

It would not have been prudent to begin by reducing taxation. Famine was impending; the equipment of the Army was defective; and the civil administration, hampered so long by want of funds, must be restored to efficiency. In 1900 Mr. (afterwards Sir Clinton) Dawkins had to meet a large famine expenditure; but, with the support of the Viceroy, he had signalised his year of office by passing the important measures which introduced a gold standard into India, and practically fixed the value of the rupee. Sir Edward Law completed the work of currency reform by setting aside the profits of coinage to form the gold reserve fund, which now affords a permanent guarantee for stability of exchange. To carry out a scheme of this nature in India, it is necessary not only to adhere to sound principles, but to command the confidence of the business community. And here the Viceroy's aid was invaluable, for he looked at finance from the statesman's point of view, and he stated the case for Government in language which every business man understood.

In 1902 the Government was able to relieve those districts which were still suffering the effects of famine, by writing off land revenue to the amount of £1,320,000: a searching inquiry, conducted in the previous year, had provided an authoritative exposition of the rules under which this branch of revenue is collected, and had indicated the expediency of lenient methods of assessment and elasticity in collection. The results of that inquiry are recorded in a Resolution which bears traces of Lord Curzon's handiwork. I observe with regret that this important state paper appears to be unknown to some of those sincere but not always well-informed English politicians who interest themselves in the welfare of the people of India.

It was not until 1903, the year of the Coronation Durbar, that Lord Curzon was able to announce a reduction of taxes. The salt tax was then reduced by

eight annas per *maund*, and the limit of exemption from income tax was raised. Salt tax remains one of the permanent props of our Indian finance, but the low duty (which was further reduced in 1905) is welcomed by all who know what cheap salt means to the poor. The effect of this twofold reduction was a sacrifice of revenue to the amount of £2,500,000 per annum. The critics of Government relied, by way of set-off, on the expenses of the Durbar, which amounted to about £200,000, or one-sixth of a penny per head of the population. The incidence of taxation is a subject which the Government of India is constantly studying: we still have many problems to solve, but there is no foundation for the statement, so freely made on English platforms, that the people are being crushed to the earth by oppressive increase of their burdens, or by wanton additions to the expense of Government. The incidence of taxation in India, as Lord Curzon has more than once explained, is among the lightest in the world.

#### AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

Taxation is not the only burden which the peasant has to carry: from time immemorial he has been always, or nearly always, in debt. If he has a bad year, or if he wants a small sum for a marriage or a funeral, he goes, as his fathers went, to the money-lender, who speaks him fair, and produces the rupees. His relations with his own *buniya* are often ancestral, and not unfriendly, but there can be no doubt that the position of the debtor has been altered for the worse by the introduction of our property law. The peasant only asks to live by his land: he may be no more than a kind of tenant-at-will, working for his creditor; but he is not aware of the fact until the *buniya* goes to the judge and gets a decree which makes him owner of the land. Indebtedness is part of the course of nature, but to lose the land is to lose everything.

In the Punjab an inquiry, conducted by Mr. Thorburn,

had shown that the land in certain districts was passing away from the hereditary holders and into the hands of their creditors. Was it expedient, and was it possible, to provide a remedy? To this question the officials and others who were consulted returned various and conflicting replies, but the prevailing opinion was in favour of legislation. A short and tentative Bill was drawn, and in the summer of 1900 an exceptionally strong committee devoted several weeks of labour to the completion of the scheme. The Punjab Land Alienation Act proceeds on the assumption that the hereditary cultivator must be assisted to keep his land, and this has been effected by restricting his freedom of alienation, by prescribing forms of mortgage suited to local conditions, and by investing the Deputy Commissioner in each district with powers of revision and control. The supporters of the Act did not deny that it was an experimental measure. If I may judge from the annual reports of its working, the experiment has been a success. The Viceroy's speech on the passing of the Act contains his answer to those who deprecated all interference with rights of property.

If the peasant is to free himself from the load of debt, it is not enough to strengthen his hold on the land. He must learn to save, and to co-operate with his neighbours in the use and management of money. The problem here encountered was one of extreme difficulty; but many minds were at work upon it. Able civilians, who had studied Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, had advocated the introduction of "agricultural banks" into India; some had even started co-operative schemes on their own responsibility. Founding themselves on the report of a departmental committee, the Government of India resolved to attempt a general scheme, and their proposals were ultimately passed into law in March 1904. In closing the debate on the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, Lord Curzon was able to congratulate the Council on having reached the final stage of a measure which had been received with unanimous

approval, and which, if successfully pursued, will be of lasting advantage to the cultivating classes.

### ARCHÆOLOGY

In the course of his official tours, Lord Curzon startled the apathy of certain local authorities by telling them that the conservation of ancient monuments was one of the primary obligations of Government; long before he left India, he had secured their enthusiastic support. This obligation had been acknowledged, in general terms, but, with rare exceptions, it had not been adequately performed. The Viceroy's address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1900 contained the promise of a new period of effort; and the speech delivered on the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act in 1904 will give some idea of what Lord Curzon was able to accomplish in his time. His own share in the work was by no means limited to the delivery of addresses, or to the issue of general orders. I never visited an ancient building in India without finding that the Viceroy had been there before me, measuring, verifying, planning out the details of repair and reconstruction, labouring to inspire his local subordinates with his own passionate reverence for the historic past.

In reporting to Council on the restoration of the Moghul palaces and tombs, Lord Curzon mentioned with satisfaction that the skilled workmen of Agra had lent themselves to the enterprise "with as much zeal and taste as their forerunners 300 years ago." He was not content to revive the memory of the past; he desired also to impress his Indian friends with the conviction that their country still possessed, in the craftsmen of her villages and towns, a body of men who would rival the best work of their ancestors, if they received the necessary stimulus and encouragement. When the Coronation Durbar was being planned, no part of the scheme owed more to the Viceroy's care and thought than the Art Exhibition. He spared no pains to make it a genuine

product of native skill and taste ; and under his direction every corner of India was ransacked for the best examples of metal-work, textile fabrics, and wood-carving.

To a Viceroy of this way of thinking, the modern public buildings of India can present but few attractions ; but Lord Curzon was as deeply interested in their style and construction as in the conservation of ancient monuments. A French writer, shocked by our jerry-built offices and Courts, has declared that when the British Empire disappears, it will leave no monument, except some heaps of empty tins. Lord Curzon did what he could to remove this reproach. He persuaded the Secretary of State to give him an architectural adviser ; and the public buildings erected at Calcutta and Simla in his time bear testimony to this revival of interest. Before many years have passed, Calcutta will also contain the most splendid and enduring monument of these aspirations, the Victoria Memorial Hall, a structure of white marble, now being erected on the Maidan, to commemorate the first Queen-Empress of India, and to serve as a Gallery of Indian history and art. The foundation stone was laid by the Prince of Wales in January 1906. The speeches in which Lord Curzon explained the purpose and design of the building are included in these volumes.

### CHIEFS AND PRINCES

As I have stated above, three-fifths of India are directly administered by His Majesty, acting through the Governor-General and his subordinates. The remaining two-fifths are included in the Native States. The territories of a Native State are not British territory ; the inhabitants are not British subjects. Legislative authority is exercised by the ruling Chief in his own Durbar or Council ; the courts of the State are in no way subject to our High Courts, nor does an appeal lie from them to His Majesty in Council. The expression "Chiefs and Princes" includes some hundreds of more or less independent rulers, who vary in importance from the

Nizam of Hyderabad to the Rana of a small State in the hill country or an independent landholder in Kathiawar. The external relations of these States, and their relations with one another, are controlled by the Government of India. The leading Princes of India represent the historic families, Hindu and Mohammedan—rivals or allies of the Company in the period which ended with the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and the deposition of the Moghul King of Delhi. They accept the authority of the Paramount Power; but they retain a strong sense of their historic position. Lord Curzon struck the right note when he claimed the ruling Chiefs as his "colleagues and partners in the task of administration." That is exactly what the best of them wish to be, and are. Only those who have studied the affairs of a well-governed Native State can realise how much a capable and honest ruler may do to promote the welfare of the millions who look to him as their hereditary guardian.

If the opportunities of a young Chief are great, so also are his temptations. Surrounded from his infancy by dependants, he may give way to habits of self-indulgence and self-will. There are two influences which help to keep him steadfast in his work. One is, the sentiment which prevails among his brother Chiefs, and the standard of duty which the good Chiefs have set before themselves. When Lord Curzon invested a young Maharaja or Nawab with the symbols of authority, he always took occasion to remind him that his powers and his revenues were conferred upon him in trust for his people. In language which appealed to the traditional sentiment of the great houses, he pointed out that the life of one who aspires to rule his fellow-men must be a life of strenuous labour, dignified self-restraint, "dispassionate zeal."

There is also the influence of education, and in this field Lord Curzon found ample scope for his energies. In discussing the position and the possible future of the Chiefs' Colleges, and in creating and watching over the Imperial Cadet Corps, he was doing his utmost to train

up a succession of young men whom the Viceroy of a later time will gladly recognise as "colleagues and partners" worthy of their trust. The Chiefs' Colleges are not very old; but they have existed long enough to discover that their progress must, for a time, be slow. India is a country where distinctions of rank are carefully marked, and rigidly observed. It is not to be expected that every ruling Prince will perceive the advantage of placing his sons in a College or a Corps where they are subjected to impartial discipline, and brought into competition with lads of less exalted families. Our own schemes of education have perhaps been too literary; we have not always remembered that the object of a Chiefs' College is "not preparation for examinations, but preparation for life." These difficulties exist, but Lord Curzon has done his best to prove that they exist to be overcome; and the marked advance recorded in his farewell speech to the Chiefs at Indore is the best augury for the future.

### THE CORONATION DURBAR

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Sovereignty of the Crown was introduced into India by the Government of India Act of 1858. The East India Company, which "began in commerce and ended in empire," was created by a royal charter; its power to make peace and war, and to negotiate with the Princes of India, was derived from the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; the Directors and the officials whom they appointed were, as Lord Hardwicke explained to them, only delegates and trustees. But the transfer of direct administration, the terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation, and the assumption of a new title in 1876, had established a more direct and a more personal tie between Sovereign and People. It was, therefore, only right that the accession of the first Emperor of India should be duly and worthily celebrated. By command of His Majesty, Lord Curzon made arrangements for a Durbar to be held at Delhi,



and there was general rejoicing when it was known that the Duke and Duchess of Connaught would be present.

To provide for the reception and entertainment of many thousand guests—including more than a hundred rulers of Native States—was a task of no ordinary magnitude. Lord Curzon was supported by a band of very able assistants, each of whom had his own share in the success that was achieved. I was myself only one of the guests, borne along upon the current of each day's proceedings ; but in going through the camps I came to the conclusion that the harmony and good order which prevailed were largely due to the fact that every detail of importance had been foreseen and provided for by one controlling mind.

The Durbar was a pageant, such as none of us who were present can hope to see again ; but it was much more than a pageant. The vast amphitheatre, roofed only by the clear winter sky ; the quiet advent of Princes and Governors, each bearing his allotted part in the display, each bringing his tribute of respect and loyalty—these were to us the visible signs of the peace and unity which England has bestowed on India. The cordial sincerity of the King's message, the sober and well-chosen words of the Viceroy, expressed the thoughts that were in every mind.

### COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

In England the Government, in relation to trade and industry, is mainly a regulative agency ; the Legislature intervenes only to protect the health and safety of the persons employed. In India, where capital is less abundant and the forces of industry more widely scattered, the Government is expected to take a direct interest in useful undertakings ; and Lord Curzon threw himself into this part of his work with active sympathy. He found time to visit the coal-fields of Bengal, the gold-mines of Kolar, the oil-wells of Burma, the tea-gardens of Assam. On two occasions his Government had to undertake

the difficult but unavoidable duty of amending and strengthening the regulations introduced for the protection of labour.

Even before 1899 the mining industry in Bengal had secured a strong position in Eastern markets. The coal was of good quality, and easily won; the labour force was recruited among the Sonthals, and other more or less primitive peoples. There was no reason to suspect that the employers, as a class, were indifferent to the welfare of their labourers; but it was known that in some cases ventilation and sanitation had been entirely neglected. Preventible accidents had occurred, and in certain mines the conditions of underground life were in every way unsatisfactory. The case for a regulating Act was strong; but when a Bill was introduced, it was received with a good deal of grumbling. As might have been anticipated, the Viceroy was accused of hampering industry by needless rules, and of punishing the good employer for the sins of his less careful neighbours. Lord Curzon was anxious to secure the assistance of the mine-owners in framing his regulations; the Bill was postponed for a year, and the interval was so well employed that the Mines Act of 1900 was passed with the consent and approval of those whose interests were affected. In the Calcutta session of the following year the chief place in the programme of legislation was given to the Assam Labour Bill; abuses which had grown up in connection with the labour traffic were corrected, and the position of the coolie was distinctly improved. In India, as in some other parts of the world, it is found impossible to start new industries unless with the aid of labourers who are unable to protect themselves by contract. The legislation which makes this possible is the affair of Government, and Government is not justified in giving the necessary powers unless it is made certain that the coolie will not be ill-treated or deprived of his share in the reward of industry. It may be that before long the Government and the tea-planters will be able to dispense with special legislation, and to rely on the

ordinary action of demand and supply, supplemented by those provisions of the existing law which experience has shown to be necessary.

Of the speeches on commercial subjects delivered by Lord Curzon two only are now reprinted. He frequently had occasion to dwell on the importance of a sound currency policy and stability of exchange as the basis of economic progress; on the necessity for the employment of capital on a large scale—if possible, British and Indian capital in combination; on the community of interest between Government and those engaged in developing the resources of the country; on the fallacy of the familiar doctrine that there is a constant “drain of wealth” from India; on the policy of encouraging native industries; on the financial soundness of an extended railway programme and reduced telegraph rates. I have already mentioned the establishment of a new Department of Commerce and Industry. When Lord Curzon left India the Chambers of Commerce gave emphatic expression to the appreciation and the regret of the business world.

### EDUCATION

Since the establishment of British rule in India our Government has always made some provision for education: the outlines of our present system are traced in the famous despatch of 1854, and in the recommendations of the Commission which reported in 1882. When Lord Curzon began a searching inquiry into the subject, he was not satisfied with the rate of progress maintained. In some quarters the enthusiasm of 1854 had given place to the spirit of routine, and there was a tendency to assume that English education, as imparted to natives of India, must always be superficial and second-rate.

After a careful preliminary survey Lord Curzon invited the chief officers of the education service to meet him in conference at Simla in the autumn of 1901. In his opening speech he indicated clearly the duty incumbent on Government, and the ideal which he proposed to

set before the educated classes of India. The deliberations of the Conference were held in private; those who were present will bear me out in saying that the Viceroy spared no pains to elicit a full expression of all opinions, whether they agreed with his own or not. The general sense of the meeting was embodied in a series of Resolutions, and Government was thus provided with a programme of educational reform.

For the changes introduced in pursuance of the advice thus obtained, after reference to local Governments and prolonged public discussion, I must content myself with a reference to the Resolution recorded and published by the Government of India in March 1904, and to the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at Simla in September 1905. So far as elementary education was concerned, the chief difficulty was to find ways and means. Education had commonly been regarded as a matter of provincial concern, and the local Governments, always labouring to make both ends meet, were not able to face a large expenditure. But the general revenue was steadily improving; the liberality of the Government of India kept pace with the needs of the time; finally, in 1905, an annual grant of thirty-five lakhs for primary education was accepted as a permanent charge. Training colleges, industrial schools, and female education have all benefited in like manner by what one may call the Simla policy—a policy which may be said, without over-confidence, to have opened a new era of successful effort.

On turning to higher education a more thorny problem is disclosed. India possesses five universities, all of them founded on the model of London University, as it was in 1854. By setting the standards of examination these bodies control the instruction given in 191 colleges, numbering altogether about 23,000 students. It was originally intended that the colleges should be placed under inspection, but this part of the scheme was overlooked, and no attempt was made to lay down in general terms what a college ought to be. There were, therefore,

good colleges working under many difficulties, but animated by a true academic spirit; there were others which could only be described as secondary schools or cramming establishments of an unsatisfactory kind. The weaker colleges had a direct interest in lowering the university standards; they were encouraged in this aspiration by the governing bodies of the universities themselves. When the three senior universities were founded in 1857 the Senates then appointed were small bodies, mainly academic in character; their leading members were men engaged for the most part in teaching, and competent to advise the Government on questions relating to the higher education. The Senates of 1900 were large bodies, mainly composed of gentlemen who made it their object to attract the largest possible number of students, and to turn out the largest possible number of graduates. Even in Bombay, where the colleges were fewer, and consequently better, than in Bengal, the university was controlled by a large body of professional men whose aims were not academic. No university made any proper provision for advanced study. No university had a library, or a laboratory, in which research work could be done.

These defects were fully considered at the Simla Conference, but it was felt that college teachers had a right to be consulted; a Commission appointed for this purpose reported in 1902. The Report, which embodied a scheme for the reconstitution of the Senates, was received with a storm of protest, especially in Bengal. It was freely asserted that the Viceroy was resolved to "officialise" the universities, and to insist on an impossible standard of efficiency, so that the weaker colleges might be forced out of existence.

If these had been the Viceroy's objects he might have fallen back on the despatch of 1854; he might simply have taken statutory power to appoint inspectors and to frame regulations. Lord Curzon had in fact determined to rely on university action. His plan was to provide all the universities with new Senates, mainly

composed of teachers, and to leave each university to frame its own regulations and inspect its own colleges. These were the most important provisions of the Bill introduced at Simla in the summer of 1903, discussed and passed into law at Calcutta in the spring of 1904. To secure an adequate discussion of this Bill four university teachers were appointed to the Legislative Council.

The Universities Act has now been in operation for some time, and, so far as I can learn, none of the apprehended evils have followed in its train. The Senates have not been "officialised," nor have they shown themselves oppressive or inconsiderate even in dealing with unsatisfactory colleges. I am one of those who think that the people of India should be trained and encouraged to take a larger part in the management of their own affairs; and I venture to say that the Universities Act is the most powerful instrument yet devised for the attainment of that end. It is still included by the Congress in their annual catalogue of Lord Curzon's "retrograde" measures.

### CONVOCATION SPEECHES

No account of Lord Curzon's educational work would be complete without some reference to the annual Addresses which he delivered as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, two of which are now republished. The note of controversy is not absent from these speeches, but in listening to them we felt that the Viceroy was addressing his audience, not as head of the Government, but as the head of an educational body to whose welfare and progress he attached supreme importance, and that his chief desire was to awake a spirit of hope and courage among graduates and students. He would not admit that the university system was a failure; he invited his hearers to help him in improving it. Our progress since 1854 had been "not slow but startling"; but much remained to be done—much that

could only be done by Indians; for if Government was to accept heavier responsibilities in connection with elementary schools, the higher education must always be a field for private effort. He besought the students to believe that their English education was not intended to denationalise them, but rather to fit them for an intellectual campaign in which East and West should march together. "Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people."

In the Convocation Address of 1905 the Chancellor adverted briefly to the difficulties of his task. He might not always succeed in understanding the thoughts of young India; they might find obscure meanings in what seemed to him to be simple and true. Still, there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity; and among these Lord Curzon gave the first place to truthfulness. He went on to say that truth had taken a high place in the moral codes of the West before it was similarly honoured in the East, and he suggested that Oriental opinion as to the lawfulness of deception is still vague and undecided. This doctrine is not absolutely novel, and it was expressed by Lord Curzon with all the proper qualifications. But at that moment the Universities Act was just coming into operation, and the academic atmosphere was highly charged with electricity. The Viceroy's address gave the opponents of Government, as they thought, good ground for a personal attack. Loud cries of indignation were raised at several of the university towns; the machinery of agitation was set to work; meetings were held in places where the Congress party was strong. The incriminated address is printed in these volumes exactly as it was delivered. Indians and Englishmen can see for themselves how little it takes to make a "popular movement" in Bengal.

## EURASIANS

In the ordinary work of administration, the Government of India is constantly engaged in balancing the claims of Hindu, Mussulman, and European; its task is not rendered easier by the demands and complaints of the mixed community, generally known as Eurasians, though they prefer to call themselves Anglo-Indians. Lord Curzon sympathised with the special trials of this class of British subjects, and he showed his sympathy in a practical way by persuading his Government to agree to a scheme for the enrolment of a Eurasian regiment; he did not succeed in persuading the Secretary of State. When he came to India, he found much in the programme of the "Anglo-Indian" Association which he could not but regard as fanciful and ill-judged. His address to a deputation of that body was friendly in tone, but friendship was so combined with candour that the members of the deputation were somewhat perturbed. They had come to ask for help, and the Viceroy had turned the tables by asking them to help him. His vigorous allocution was not without result. The leaders of Eurasian opinion began to take a more active interest in schemes for improving the education of their own people; and Government came to their aid with such useful measures as the revision of the scheme of European Education, more liberal support of schools at hill stations, and the supply of qualified teachers. These measures produced a marked reaction, and in the annals of the Eurasian community Lord Curzon will be acknowledged as one of their best friends.

## FAMINE ADMINISTRATION

From the earliest times India has been liable to periods of famine and scarcity, attended by terrible suffering and loss of life. The mass of the people are dependent on agriculture; their lives are at the mercy of



great natural forces which no Government can control. If the rains do not arrive, the crops may be deficient by 50 per cent in one district, and totally destroyed in the next. Under Mohammedan rule, the authorities, central or local, could do nothing; communications were then so slow that the wisest and most powerful of the Moghuls would have found it impossible to send help from headquarters to a suffering province. Railways, good roads, and honest administration have done much to simplify the problem; the principles and methods of relief have been reduced to a system, and embodied in the Famine Code of 1898. But the art of administration cannot be codified, any more than the art of war. When the calamity is upon us, we still have to rely on the energy and resource of our local officers, and on the discretion which enables them to carry out large plans of relief without pauperising the cultivator or disorganising the industry by which he lives.

The famine of 1899-1900 affected a population of 25 millions in British India, and of more than 30 millions in Native States. Preparations for relief were made on a scale of unexampled magnitude. The Viceroy's share of the work was not limited to what he did or directed to be done at Simla; he visited the suffering districts, and formed an independent opinion on the sufficiency of the methods employed. His presence was welcomed by the people as an assurance that Government would do all that was possible to save them.

The two speeches included in these volumes will enable the reader to understand the extent of this awful calamity and the spirit in which it was met. In the Budget debate of March 1900, Lord Curzon gave the Council an exact estimate of the existing and impending scarcity. In the following October he was able to present a report on the measures of relief carried out under his supervision. Of all the speeches in Council during my time this is the one which impressed me most at the time of its delivery; it is a sober and dignified narrative of efforts and sacrifices which every Englishman may take pride

in remembering. Some party men at home thought this a suitable time to attack the Viceroy of India. They accused him of "sitting helplessly by" while the people starved. The people are, happily, better informed than their self-appointed advocates.

### IRRIGATION

Both in England and in India, the critics of Government have contended that the true remedy for famine lies in pressing forward great works of irrigation. The water that goes to waste in any one of our mighty rivers would be the salvation of the country if it were stored and distributed.

Lord Curzon gave the answer to this argument in the Budget debate of 1905. In attempting to cope with drought and scarcity, we are in the presence of natural forces which human power has not succeeded, and may never succeed, in controlling. Cherrapunji in Assam may receive as many as twenty inches of rain in twenty-four hours; it lies below a mountain ridge which breaks the journey of immense masses of vapour, rising from the Bay of Bengal, and brings them down in the form of rain such as Englishmen at home have never seen, and can but imperfectly imagine. We need not count the number of gallons; for in the face of such a deluge the ablest engineer, backed by all the resources of Government, cannot secure more than a small fraction for the use of the cultivator. While Cherrapunji is submerged, Rajputana may be crying out for water.

At the outset of his administration, Lord Curzon reviewed the history of our schemes of irrigation, and endeavoured to form a practical estimate of the progress which might be achieved in his time. In the Budget debate of 1900, he stated that 19 millions of acres were already under irrigation: under the head of productive works (*i.e.* works which are expected to pay) he looked forward to an extension of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, at an outlay of eight or nine millions sterling. These estimates were,

in the main, borne out by the inquiries of a Commission, presided over by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff. The report, which was presented in 1903, is a document of great interest and value, and it will serve as a kind of Irrigation Code for a long time to come.

In going about India, I have often been struck by the fact that every special branch of our work—Irrigation, or Forestry, or Police—calls for the exercise of administrative skill, and is only rendered possible by the gifts of leadership and management which our officers usually possess. Of this general truth the history of the Chenab Canal, as traced in Lord Curzon's speech at Lyallpur, affords an illustration. It is a considerable feat to have turned a million acres from a jungle to a smiling expanse of cultivation. We should not forget that this beneficent project involved the removal and resettlement of many thousand people; and the people were Punjabis, firmly attached to their own rights and customs, and not always easy to manage. Similar projects have now been devised; the money has been promised; and there is work in hand which will keep the engineers of the Government of India busily occupied for twenty years to come.

To the list of administrative changes for which Lord Curzon was responsible, we have still to add three great reforms to which he devoted much time and thought. He improved the departmental working of the Government of India by releasing its officers from the tyranny of the pen; the number of obligatory reports was considerably reduced; and the practice of the secretariat was somewhat simplified. After an exhaustive inquiry, he took steps to improve the *personnel* and training of the Police Force, which had been recruited, in many parts of the country, from an inferior class, and was regarded by the people as an oppressive and corrupt body. Finally, Lord Curzon led the way in a sustained endeavour to obtain the recognition of Agriculture as a science deserving the liberal support of Government; and in future the hereditary skill and aptitude of the people will be supplemented by experiment and research, and

by good practical tuition. In carrying out the two reforms last mentioned, it was necessary not only to establish sound principles, but to provide ample funds.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It is part of the Viceroy's duty to take charge of the Foreign Department, which conducts the correspondence of India with neighbouring powers, keeps the British Government informed on questions of Asiatic policy connected with India, and supervises the administration of the Native States. This arrangement lays a heavy burden of work on the head of the administration, but it secures his prompt attention to personal questions which might, if otherwise disposed of, give occasion for misunderstanding.

Under Lord Curzon's management, the relations between India and foreign powers were, speaking generally, quite satisfactory. The death of Abdurrahman in 1901 was not followed by any disturbance, and the good understanding established with him was continued with his successor Habibullah. The delimitation of the Seistan boundary removed a source of constant trouble between Persia and Afghanistan. The delimitation of the Aden Hinterland was attended by more serious difficulties, but it ended by securing a satisfactory line of division between British and Turkish spheres of influence.

In Persia, where he was already well known as a traveller, Lord Curzon devoted all his efforts to the opening of trade routes, the extension of the telegraph system, and the maintenance of good relations with Persian Governors and border chieftains. In these perfectly legitimate ways he aimed at building up an influence commensurate with our large interest in the trade of the country. Finally, in the autumn of 1903, the Viceroy paid a visit to the Persian Gulf. After touching at Muscat, an independent Arab State under British influence, the Squadron proceeded to those points on the coast

where British subjects, English and Indian, are engaged in business. At Shargah, on what used to be known as the Pirate Coast, a Durbar was held on board the *Argonaut* for the Chiefs of the littoral. In reading the speech delivered on that occasion, let the English reader bear in mind that the Persian Gulf is kept open for the commerce of all nations by British power, and that the Chiefs are kept at peace among themselves by respect for British authority. I venture to say that the words spoken by the Viceroy of India have produced a deep and lasting effect on the Arab mind. Nothing was wanting that could lend dignity or picturesque variety to the scene, and all present must have noted the significance of this meeting between the British ships, with all their elaborate perfection of equipment, and the boldly handled but more primitive craft in which our visitors made their approach.

In conducting the foreign affairs of India, Lord Curzon never forgot that the North-West Frontier is or may at any time become the key of our strategic position. He recognised, more fully than some at least of his predecessors, that Indian policy must be co-ordinated with the policy of the Imperial Government. In the work of Imperial defence India has to bear her part; and India has not been found wanting. The Government of India lent the troops which saved Natal from an imminent danger; recovered Somaliland from the Mullah; and rescued the Legations at Peking.

### THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

Before he left the House of Commons, Lord Curzon had spoken, as a member of Lord Salisbury's Ministry, on the subject of Frontier Policy. His contention then was, that the policy associated with the name of Lord Lawrence had been rendered obsolete by change of circumstances, and especially by improved communications. It is no longer possible for the Government of India to remain inactive within its own administrative boundary,

and to decline responsibility for all that happens in the debatable land beyond. Our chief hope of peace now lies, not in a Forward policy, but in cultivating friendly relations with the tribes, and in avoiding all measures which give them any excuse for suspecting us of aggressive intentions. For measures of police in tribal territory, it is prudent to rely as far as possible on local levies under carefully selected British officers.

These are in fact the principles on which Lord Curzon proceeded to act in India. Along the whole frontier, from Chitral to Scistan, regular troops have been withdrawn, and their place has been taken by tribal militia or levies. This policy involves an element of risk, but it affords the best security for peace and order, provided always that it is combined with a firm and judicious handling of frontier difficulties. The seven years of Lord Curzon's term have been years of peace; there have been no little wars, no military or quasi-military operations, except the "blockade" established against those very obstinate people the Mahsud Waziris.

With a view to the prompt and effective solution of frontier questions, Lord Curzon proposed to separate a considerable tract of country from the Punjab; and the result of this proposal was, the constitution of the new North-West Frontier Province. There were some distinguished officers, then serving in the Punjab, who resented the change, as involving a reflection on the manner in which their work on the frontier had been done. But the Viceroy's argument prevailed; the new province is now in its fifth year, and I have reason to believe that the objections, which at one time were vigorously pressed, are now no longer heard. If Lord Curzon deprived the Punjab of part of its population, he has made good the deficiency, by the encouragement given to the policy of irrigation, which promises to add some millions of contented inhabitants to that historic province. In the new province, internal peace has been secured, and there is a marked improvement in every branch of administration.

Lord Curzon has been described as the most outspoken of our Indian Viceroys; and in addressing the Chiefs of the frontier he told them plainly what the objects of his policy were. His speeches at Quetta and Peshawur ought to be carefully studied; they produced a great, and, I believe, a lasting effect on the Khans and Sirdars to whom they were addressed. In the East, wisdom is supposed to be the attribute of age; there was something picturesque in the high dignity of an office which entitled Lord Curzon to take the chief place in an assembly of greybeards, and to address them in the language of friendly exhortation and sound advice.

### THE TIBET MISSION

The Tibetan Question is not argued at length in any of these speeches, but it is sometimes brought forward in support of the assertion that Lord Curzon was an aggressive and warlike Viceroy. A brief statement of facts will enable the impartial critic to form his own opinion.

In 1887 the Government of Lhasa invaded Sikkim, a country under British protection. Defeated in this enterprise, they entered into a treaty under which a boundary was agreed upon, and certain trading facilities were conceded to British subjects. The trade thus established was not large enough to impress Sir Henry Cotton, but it yielded a profit to native tea-merchants from India; and, if it had been fairly treated, it might have been developed. It was not fairly treated. From the outset, the Tibetan authorities did not observe the provisions of the treaty. It may be said that in declining to trade with us they only wished to safeguard the "isolation" of their country. Tibet is not in fact an isolated country; and the Dalai Lama, as everybody now understands, was bent on playing a part in the politics of Central Asia. The objects of his policy were well known. He wished to reduce the suzerainty of China to a nullity; to have no communication with India; and to cultivate the good-

will of Russia, which he regarded as the predominant Asiatic power. In 1901 he despatched a special mission to the Czar. The Russian Foreign Minister explained that this mission had no political significance; and the British Foreign Minister, quite rightly, accepted this assurance.

Lord Curzon and his Government, who were throughout unanimous, were not disposed to acquiesce in continued breaches of a treaty in which British subjects had a substantial interest. The Viceroy began with a courteous request that our complaints should be considered; and his letters were returned unopened. In 1902 he arranged a conference with Chinese representatives at Yatung. The Chinese envoys took care to arrive too late; they apologised and professed themselves willing to proceed to such place as His Excellency the Viceroy might consider desirable. If Lord Curzon had named Yatung, or a place in British India, the farce of 1902 would have been played again, possibly by the same performers. By this time it was necessary to show that the Indian Government meant to have a civil answer to a civil question. The Viceroy named Khamba Jong, which is just across the Tibetan border, in the region where our boundary agreement had more than once been violated by the Tibetans. The choice was made with the consent of the Chinese, through whom, or with whom, as the suzerains of Tibet, the Government of India acted throughout; and it was accepted by the Dalai Lama.

Our Mission went to Khamba Jong, and at this point the diplomatic history of the case is, for the moment, broken off. The Dalai Lama refused to negotiate. We gave him every opportunity to stop the advance of the Mission, first at Khamba Jong, and then at Gyantse. He could have stopped it by offering security for the performance of the legal obligations of his Government. But he believed that his holy city was inaccessible, and he acted on that belief, to his own undoing. When Lord Curzon left India for a brief rest, in April 1904, Colonel Younghusband was at Gyantse, and the advance to



Lhasa had become inevitable. For the actual conduct of this arduous undertaking, no praise can be too high. There is nothing to regret, except the loss of Tibetan lives at the Hot Springs, and the guilt of that untoward event lies at the door of the monkish ruler of Lhasa, who sent out a crowd of undisciplined men to stop the advance of our troops.

My object here is only to fill in the details of the provisional report on the Tibet Mission which Lord Curzon presented to his countrymen at home in the summer of 1904. It is, happily, not necessary to enter on the questions which subsequently arose in connection with the treaty negotiated by Colonel Younghusband, and summarily revised by Mr. Brodrick. We are already in a position to say that the Mission has exercised a powerful influence for good. It is something to have dispelled the notion that a government of Buddhist monks can make themselves independent of the public law of Asia. The Tashi Lama, who succeeds to the spiritual throne vacated by the Dalai Lama, has visited India and paid his respects to the Prince of Wales; and we may look forward to the gradual development of friendly intercourse between our people and their neighbours in Tibet.

### BENGAL

Under the Moghul Emperors, the kingdom or province of Bengal included the three sub-provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; all these were taken over by Clive, on behalf of the Company, in 1765.

From Bengal as a base of operations, the Company extended its jurisdiction, westward and eastward, over the whole of Northern India. The political map of the territories thus acquired was formed by a process of accretion and separation. It was at one time intended to divide Bengal into two Presidencies, having their headquarters at Agra and at Calcutta respectively; but this proposal was not carried out. The "North-Western Provinces of Bengal" became a Lieutenant-Governorship

in 1836; the Punjab, annexed in 1849, was also placed in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor ten years later. In the north-east, Assam, annexed to Bengal in 1826, became a separate Chief-Commissionership in 1874.

Bengal (the three original sub-provinces, with the addition of Eastern Bengal) still remained by far the heaviest charge entrusted to any Local Government. When Lord Curzon went to India, no head of a province was administering much more than half the population which looked to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The duties incumbent on the head of a province are well known to those of our countrymen who have resided or travelled in India. The Lieutenant-Governor, who is always a civilian of more than thirty years' standing, is expected to know every district in his province, its resources, its needs, and its aspirations. He must cultivate the friendship of those leading members of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities on whom he relies for advice at all times, and for support in moments of difficulty. He must know the local civil service; only intimate knowledge can enable him to distribute promotion and censure with an even hand.

It is physically impossible that these duties should be performed by one man for a population of eighty millions. Experience proved that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was hopelessly over-weighted. Several incumbents of the office had injured their health by their devotion to duty; and Sir Charles Elliott, whose industry is proverbial, has declared that he found himself quite unable to get through the day's work in the day. The suggestion that the Lieutenant-Governor might be assisted by an Executive Council was beside the mark; for the duties above described are personal in their nature; they must be performed in person, as every Governor of Madras or Bombay has discovered for himself.

From the Viceroy's point of view, the case for a further separation was irresistible; but in this as in other acts of his administration Lord Curzon desired, if possible, to carry public opinion along with him. The legislative

work of 1904 was exceptionally heavy, but in the middle of the session the Viceroy found time for a tour through the districts which were most directly affected by the proposed territorial changes. At Chittagong he pointed out to the business community that he was offering them the chance of becoming the principal port of a new and powerful administration, not overshadowed by Calcutta, but capable of developing its own individuality. At Dacca he made a dispassionate, one may even say a sympathetic, reply to the arguments advanced against all possible schemes of division; at Mymensingh he continued his exposition, and answered point by point the wild assertions which were circulating freely among the people.

These speeches, which, being only of temporary interest, are not reprinted here, produced their legitimate effect. In the following summer, while Lord Curzon was in England, the scheme of subdivision assumed its final shape. There were, however, certain interests, not local in their nature, and not likely to be conciliated by argument. Calcutta began to fear that her supremacy was in danger. Zemindars, pleaders, and bankers organised meetings of protest, in which students and even schoolboys took a conspicuous part. Large numbers of persons were induced to put pressure on the Anglo-Indian community by boycotting English goods. That some loss was thus inflicted on English merchants is not to be denied; but when one considers that Lord Curzon was himself a strenuous champion and partisan of Indian industries, the logic of the *Swadeshi* movement, as a protest against his policy, is not quite apparent.

The agitators made their appeal from an "autocratic" Viceroy to Bengali sentiment. That sentiment exists, and in my opinion it ought to be encouraged; for every friend of India wishes to see a healthy rivalry between the various communities which make up one Empire. But when this local patriotism displays itself in *Swadeshi* movements and the like, I venture to offer two remarks for the consideration of my Indian friends. In the

first place, we cannot forget that the Bengali race has attained its present position of prosperity and influence only under British rule. Under the Mohammedan Nawabs, as a recent writer reminds us, "the real Bengalis were seldom of sufficient importance to be mentioned by native historians." Under our government, they have full scope for their great intelligence and capacity; they dominate their own province, and they push out into other parts of India, where they have no hereditary right to exist, and where, but for our laws, they could not hold their own. In the second place, Bengali sentiment, where it exists, is not in the least affected by the administrative reform of Lord Curzon. The patriotic Bengali retains his language, his literary traditions, his pride in the success of his own people; he may still look to Calcutta as a great centre of academic and social influence.

- It is indeed one of the ironies of fortune that Calcutta should more than once have taken the lead in opposing Lord Curzon's measures. Since Lord Wellesley's time, no Governor-General has laboured so hard to elucidate the history, to strengthen the institutions, and to evoke the corporate spirit of the capital city. Under Lord Curzon's direction, and to a great extent by his personal exertions, the historic lines of Fort William were retraced and permanently marked. The Metcalfe Hall, rescued from comparative neglect, was made the home of a great Library accessible to readers of all classes. It is true that in dealing with the local Corporation the scheme of reform which Lord Curzon inherited from his predecessor incurred the hostility of the more advanced section of native opinion. In the end, Calcutta came to recognise and admire the civic patriotism of the Viceroy; and in due time his statue will be added to the line of eminent statesmen and soldiers who are commemorated, in marble or in bronze, on the historic Maidan.

## MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

In approaching the subject of military administration, the Viceroy of India finds himself between two fires. He has to cope with the arguments of gentlemen who seem to assume that all military expenditure is a waste of money; and he has to meet the demands of the experts, who are so bent on perfecting the machine that they lose sight of the Budget altogether.

In 1899 the efficiency of the Indian Army was called in question by critics at home, who were experts, but not exactly specialists; they knew little of the efforts of successive Military Members of Council, and made no allowance for their difficulties. To the general charge of inefficiency, South Africa and China have supplied a fairly complete answer; but there could be no doubt that in some points our military preparations were inadequate. The Viceroy's first duty is to make India safe; and India is not safe unless her armies are able to face European troops, armed with the best modern weapons. This being the standard, it was found necessary to re-arm the native regiments; to strengthen the artillery, and to make a substantial addition to the number of British officers. These changes involved a large expenditure, and in the Budget debate of 1900 Lord Curzon announced that there would probably be no reduction of military estimates in his time. It is needless to say that this announcement was unpopular; but the circumstances of the time were favourable to the taxpayer: the public revenue was such as to afford a surplus, and the savings effected by lending troops for service out of India were applied in carrying out the necessary improvements.

Among the items of expense was a sum assigned for the introduction of electric lighting and electric fans into barracks. This may appear to be a detail; but it relates to a matter which Lord Curzon had at heart. He knew well that the hot, dark night is the time when the British

soldier's temper gives way and the punkah-coolie who goes to sleep runs the risk of being maimed or killed. Every such assault was regarded by Lord Curzon as a serious incident calling for strict investigation, and, where an offence was proved, for adequate punishment. His action exposed him to much hostile comment from his own countrymen, and no part of his conduct was more frequently discussed in Anglo-Indian newspapers. I do not now propose to enter fully into this controversy. To do so it would be necessary to examine the evidence and procedure in each case—a course of preparatory study with which Lord Curzon's critics have commonly dispensed. He was deeply interested in any plan which promised to add to the comfort of British soldiers, but he was determined to exact from them a high standard of behaviour and a due regard for the rights of their Indian fellow-subjects.

### THE NEW ARMY DEPARTMENT

Lord Curzon's experience in India had given him confidence in the military system which he had to administer. Under that system the Military Department was placed in charge of an Ordinary Member of Council, always a soldier, but precluded, during his term of office, from holding any command in the Army. The office had been held by men in the first rank of their profession, such as were Sir George Chesney and Sir Henry Brackenbury. The Military Member remained at the headquarters of Government during the working year, and was the constitutional adviser of the Viceroy on questions relating to the Army.

The Secretary of State was empowered to appoint, and did, as a general rule, appoint the Commander-in-Chief to be an Extraordinary Member of Council. As head of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief was responsible for promotion and discipline, and for all movements of troops. In case of war, he might have to take command in the field, and even in time of peace

## INTRODUCTION

his duties often prevented him from attending regularly in Council.

The relations between Army Headquarters and the Military Department varied to some extent with the personal qualities of the two distinguished officers concerned; friction was usually avoided, but there was an occasional misunderstanding. At Simla the two offices were close together; but they conducted their business by correspondence. When the Commander-in-Chief had a proposal to make, it was brought to the notice of the Viceroy in Council through the Military Department.

This procedure was strongly objected to by Lord Kitchener, who arrived in India at the end of 1902. His plan was to create an Army Department of which he should himself be the head, and to transfer to this new authority the whole business of military administration.

I was not in Council when this plan was discussed, and my experience does not qualify me to offer an opinion on the merits of Lord Kitchener's proposal. Lord Curzon, who was supported by the Ordinary Members of his Council, was unable to accept it. They were unanimously of opinion that the tendency of the scheme was to concentrate military authority in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and to subvert the supremacy of the civil power by depriving it of independent military advice. Even as amended by the Secretary of State, the scheme was still found open to objection. The Military Member was to be retained; but the position assigned to him was such that the Governor-General in Council thought he could no longer rely on having the assistance of an officer, thoroughly acquainted with the Indian Army, and entitled to express an independent opinion on the political, financial, and administrative aspects of all military proposals. The Government might thus be left without adequate means of information, face to face with the newly constituted military power. The scheme, they considered, could only be worked to advantage if it were laid down that the new Supply Member should be a military officer of great experience, authorised to act

as the general adviser of Government. Lord Curzon indicated the type of officer he wanted, and suggested a name. The Secretary of State rejected the Viceroy's recommendation, and intimated that Lord Curzon should consult the Commander-in-Chief as to the officer to be selected. Mr. Brodrick's description of the class of officer to be appointed, and the terms in which he defined the advisory powers of the Supply Member, were not satisfactory to Lord Curzon. Convinced that a serious, and, as he thought, a dangerous revolution was contemplated in the constitution of the Government of India, he tendered his resignation in August 1905, and left India in the following November.

### THE PRESS

India, that is to say, the educated class in India, is abundantly supplied with newspapers, more or less closely conforming to the type of English journalism. Lord Curzon was a diligent student of their columns; he received from them many hints which he turned to practical account; and he was always willing to supply them with information. He instituted a Press Room at Calcutta and Simla, for the purpose of enabling the newspapers to obtain full and early intelligence of official proceedings.

On many disputed questions the Indian and the Anglo-Indian papers take different sides; the former were joined by many of the latter in opposition to the Official Secrets Bill of 1903. The history of that measure may be given in a very few words. Certain persons had been discovered in the act of photographing fortifications; the military authorities wished to prosecute, but they were advised that under the Act then in force, which dated from 1889, it would be necessary to prove a criminal intention, and the offenders went unpunished. It was plainly expedient to strengthen the law. On taking up the Act for amendment, it was found to have been so drafted that, while one eminent advocate had described



it as an Act for the protection of military secrets only, another, equally eminent, had held that it also applied to civil affairs. The Government decided to clear up this ambiguity by including civil affairs in the scope of the Bill.

In its military aspect, the Bill was not opposed; and it appears to me that, by making this concession, the critics gave away the whole case. If their views had been accepted, the law would have stood so, that the man who copied the pattern of a new regimental button would be guilty of an offence, while the man who published the draft of an important treaty would go scot-free. From the practical point of view, the Bill was only a small but necessary improvement in the criminal law; it was denounced all over India as a deliberate attack on the liberties of the Press. One English newspaper announced that the Government of India was about to enter on a "debauch of Press prosecutions." An Indian member of the Council asserted that Lord Curzon was borrowing his methods of administration from Russia. If this critic could only have been placed for a few weeks in charge of a newspaper at Odessa, and if he had said of the Government there what he used to say about us in Calcutta, he would have returned to his home in British India a sadder and a much wiser man.

### LORD CURZON AND PUBLIC OPINION

In this rapid survey, many points of interest must be omitted; I have tried to indicate with precision what Lord Curzon attempted, and how far he succeeded in achieving his purpose. It is not yet time to sum up the results of his policy; nor is mine the pen that should be employed for that purpose. But, after enumerating some of the heavy tasks imposed on him, I will end by saying something of the impression which his work produced.

The reward of a good Viceroy consists in the confidence of the Services; in the support which he receive

from the ruling Chiefs, and from leading members of the community; and in the gratitude of the people. It cannot be truly said that Lord Curzon has missed his reward. He often fluttered the dovescotes of officialism, but there are few of those who worked with and under him who will refuse to acknowledge his earnest desire to do justice and to do good. By the Princes and Chiefs he will be remembered as a representative of the Crown who sought their friendship and aided their efforts without encroaching on their independence. For the people—there are, as we know, many millions of men in India to whom the Viceroy of the moment is only a passing figure in a procession. But wherever Lord Curzon's duties required his personal presence the people too will remember him as a Viceroy who wished to see with his own eyes what they were doing, and what was being done for them; as an Englishman who proved his sympathy by respecting their beliefs, and his piety by repairing their temples and tombs.

The speeches now collected range over a great variety of topics; they are fused into a consistent whole by Lord Curzon's earnest desire to illustrate, in dealing with each particular question, the principles and aims of British rule in India. He lost no opportunity of testifying to his conviction that India is in many ways the pivot of our imperial system; that its government is the noblest duty imposed upon the British race; and that our duty will not be worthily performed unless justice and humanity are made the corner-stones of our policy. He has set a high standard for others; and by that standard he must himself be judged. As one of those who shared in the labours of his administration, I am not in a position to pass judgment: in these pages panegyric and criticism would be equally out of place. My endeavour has been, to state the facts fairly, and to supply my countrymen with the materials for a wise and dispassionate verdict.

