

Lord Curzon's

INDIAN SPEECHES

compiled by

S. C. Sinha

V. 2.

second and third year's speeches

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INDIAN SPEECHES
OF
LORD CURZON

COMPILED BY
S. C. SINH



Vol. II.

(CONTAINING THE SPEECHES DELIVERED DURING THE 2ND AND
3RD YEARS OF HIS VICE-ROYALTY.)



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SECOND AND THIRD YEAR'S SPEECHES
OF
LORD CURZON.

PART I.

REPLIES TO ADDRESSES OF WELCOME.

REPLY TO THE DIBRUGARH ADDRESS.

His Excellency Lord Curzon visited Assam in March, 1900. On the 7th March, the planting Community of the Lakhimpur District presented him with an address of welcome at Dibrugarh to which His Excellency replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—It cannot fail to be a source of much gratification to me on this the first occasion of a visit, not merely by myself, but by any Viceroy of India, to the extreme borders of Assam, to receive so warm a welcome at the hands of the pioneer body whose energy and outlay have been responsible for the reclamation of this remote but flourishing corner of Her Majesty's Indian dominions. Most of my travels hitherto have been connected with the North-Western outposts of the Indian empire, where questions of high politics and of imperial strategy absorb the attention of the student ; but because those momentous issues are here in the main replaced by problems of internal development

and industrial exploitation, that is no reason why a Governor-General of India should take any less interest in your enterprise or fortunes. Indeed, my own conception of the high office that he is privileged to fill is that during his time he should, as far as opportunity and health may permit, visit all quarters of the vast dependency temporarily committed to his charge, and should endeavour by personal contact with places and men to form a correct appreciation of local as well as of imperial concerns. In this spirit, gentlemen, I have come, albeit on a hasty visit, to Assam, and in my replies to the addresses with which here and elsewhere I am favoured, I shall discuss, with a frankness similar to that with which you have honoured me, the subjects that are of common interest to us both.

I am glad to note that you record a sincere recognition of the wisdom and sympathy of the attitude consistently adopted by the Government of India with regard to the emigration and labour laws of this province. I agree with you in thinking that the time has not yet come when protection and control by special Statute of the agency of the industry in which you are engaged can safely be dispensed with, and the Bill that has lately been introduced into the Legislative Council is a proof conclusive of my agreement. A day will probably come in the future when exceptional labour laws will not be required for the tea plantations of Assam, any more than they are in the Duars and the Terai of Bengal, and when for the present artificial system will be substituted the natural operation of the

laws of demand and supply. That is the ideal to which successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State, and I imagine also successive generations of planters, all look forward; but the means of access to these parts of Assam must be greatly improved, and the conditions of employment must be ameliorated and rendered more secure, before the natural stream of cheap and free labour can be expected to flow up and down the Brahmaputra valley. In the meantime it is our duty to prepare the way for that consummation by regularising and purifying from abuse or reproach the existing contract system. I am pleased to think that our present effort to do so has in its main outlines met with the frank and cordial acceptance of the planters, who reprobate not less than do the Government of India both the processes and results of an unlicensed and illicit system of professional recruiting, falsely masquerading under the designation 'free.' The temporary postponement of the measure will give us further opportunities of considering the views both of the planting industry and of the executive officers of the province upon points concerning which agreement has not yet been attained. I was much gratified at being able to persuade Mr. Buckingham, in whom in your address you have signified your entire confidence, to give to the Government of India the benefit of his co-operation in our Legislative Council, and although for the reason that I have named we have not as yet been able to take full advantage of his services, I shall hope to be fortunate enough to have established a lien upon them for the

session of next year, when we shall resume the discussion of the Bill.

While avowing your belief, which I share, that upon the development of communications, both by water and land, the future prosperity of the province largely depends, you add an expression of disappointment at the temporary suspension of the work upon the upper section of the Assam-Bengal Railway. I am as well aware as any of you can be of the unfortunate consequences of any such stoppage. But may I point out to you that the Government of India are no more able to certify in advance the complete execution, still less the generous expansion, of their railway programme than you are able to guarantee a first-class crop from your tea gardens. Both of us are dependent upon conditions outside human control. The external world seems sometimes to imagine that the Government of India enjoy unlimited resources for the building of railways, and that only some malevolent bureaucratic streak in our composition stands in the way of the prompt realisation of works which we have already commenced, and even prompter acceptance of whatever fresh proposals may be placed before us. These, of course, are not the facts. Our railway programme must be strictly co-ordinated to our financial resources; and to the triennial outlay that is sanctioned by the Secretary of State. A year of bad weather, high mortality, and low prices will disorganise the whole of the calculations of the tea planter, and will compel him to curtail all the pet schemes of extension he may

have planned for the ensuing season. In the same way the terrible famine from which part of India is now suffering re-acts upon the whole of our administrative and financial programme. We cannot at the same time produce 4 or 5 crores for famine relief and yet spend them on railways. Governments, in fact, have their lean years as well as companies, syndicates, and individuals, and we have to do what every private person would do in the same circumstances, *viz.*, cut down our expenses and economise all round. Now, let me apply these reflections to the case of the Assam-Bengal Railway. I am as anxious to push it through as any man, but the immediate demands are beyond our means. In the present year we were asked for 124 lakhs, and we have with the utmost difficulty given 96 lakhs. Next year we are asked for 127 lakhs, but, owing to the famine and other causes, we cannot from our own resources provide one-half that sum, nor, I am afraid, will the popular though utopian argument that it cannot be sound policy to postpone or delay the execution of a remunerative scheme apply in the present case. So difficult is the country which this railroad traverses that the total average cost per mile of the 740 miles of metre-gauge line is likely to be 1½ lakhs (or £10,000) a mile, a total only reached by the heaviest broad-gauge lines in Upper India. I doubt if the most sanguine of believers in the future of Assam whom I am now addressing will assure me returns within a measurable period of time that will even infinitesimally recoup this enormous outlay, or will con-

vert the Assam-Bengal Railway for many a year to come into anything but a heavy annual drain upon the pocket of the Government.

Gentlemen, the suggestion you have made of a geological survey of the hill tracts of this district by a Government expert is new to me, but it is one to which, if it comes up to Government with the approval of the Chief Commissioner, I shall be glad to give the most favourable consideration. The Government should certainly lose no opportunity of opening the door by such assistance as it can legitimately afford to the enterprise of its citizens, particularly in neighbourhoods where their activity and initiative have already effected so much.

You have been kind enough in the concluding paragraphs of your address to make special mention of the fact that Lady Curzon has accompanied me upon this journey, and to hint that this can only have been accomplished at the cost of some discomfort and fatigue. You must, I think, have temporarily forgotten that it is in one of the superb steamers of the India General Steam Navigation Company that we have made the trip, an act of generous assistance on the part of the Company, without which I am afraid that we should never have succeeded in reaching Dibrugarh in the brief time at our disposal, while the contrast of a day on board the *Bussard* with any average 24 hours while I am in Calcutta tempts me to think that there is less fatigue in penetrating to the remotest corners of Assam than there is in never moving from my own

writing table at Government House. Neither Lady Curzon nor myself will easily forget the hearty and loyal reception which you have extended to us. During the next two days we shall be busily engaged in inspecting the industries of this most interesting neighbourhood. I have previously been down coal mines, both in England and in Tonking. I have inspected spouting oil wells and refineries on the shores of the Caspian, and I have examined tea plantations both in Ceylon and Japan. But I understand that you propose to spare me any similar travels in the future by showing me all these curiosities within the space of a few miles, and of less than 30 hours. I am sure that I shall profit by what I see, and that Lady Curzon and I will carry away with us happy recollections of our excursion to this busy scene alike of British enterprise and British hospitality.

REPLY TO THE TEZPUR ADDRESS.

On the 9th March, 1900, replying to the address presented by the tea planters at Tezpur, His Excellency spoke as follows :—

Gentlemen,—I have already at Dibrugarh expressed the pleasure which it gives me as head of the Government of India to visit this important province, and if it be the fact that I am the first visitor in that capacity to this part of the Brahmaputra valley, I concur with you in thinking there is every reason why I should not be the last. I also accept the proposition that Assam is a province demanding in a peculiar de-

gree the sympathy and assistance of the Government ; but if that statement be held to imply that such sympathy and such assistance have not yet been forthcoming, I must, in justice to the Government over which I preside, deprecate what would, I think, be an unjust imputation. I have sometimes in the press observed an inclination to present Assam as a sort of abandoned garden of Eden, watered by great rivers and furnished with the fruit-trees of life, which, but for the frowns of an angry Providence, represented in this case by the Government of India, would long ago have recovered its pristine richness and beauty. Such a picture would in my opinion be both overcoloured and overdrawn. The province of Assam is indeed in a backward condition compared with some other and more highly favoured localities, but its backwardness is no more due to any indifference on the part of the Government of India than it has been to any lack of initiative on the part of the British pioneers who have come hither, and with so much courage and perseverance have sunk their capital and expended their energies in its exploitation. On the contrary, the services of these pioneers have constituted a claim for unusual consideration at the hands of Government, which for a long series of years has authorised expenditure upon Assam that the revenue of the latter has hitherto failed to balance. At the present time a larger proportion of the gross receipts of this province is expended upon administration and development than in any other province in India. In the last recorded

financial year, namely, 1898-99, the gross income, Imperial, Provincial, and Local, amounted to 147 lakhs, and the gross expenditure chargeable to revenue was 123 lakhs, which, with the additional 120 lakhs representing capital outlay on the Assam-Bengal Railway, constituted a total disbursement of 243 lakhs, or an excess of expenditure over revenue of nearly one crore of rupees. Again, so far from the railways in Assam being remunerative, there was in the same year a loss of 10 lakhs on their working expenses, exclusive of interest charges on railway capital account. It is clear, therefore, from these calculations that Assam at present is contributing nothing to the military and other general charges of the Indian empire, but that she is actually absorbing a good deal of Imperial capital. We are, in fact, engaged in the development of Assam, which may one day recoup our outlay, but for the present the balance is on the wrong side of the ledger

Gentlemen, in your address you speak of the conditions by which the efforts of the British planter have been handicapped and retarded. You point correctly to the long previous history of rapine and misgovernment in the Brahmaputra valley, to the scanty indigenous population, to the paucity of labour entailing reinforcement from outside, to the increasing cost of that importation, and to the external competition which your industry has to face. To these sources of difficulty, with which the Government has to the best of its ability helped you to cope by means of special labour laws by which your contracts are enforcible

by railway extensions, both in Assam and in Bengal, which have been planned in the interests of this province, should be added that which, in my opinion, is the main explanation, both of the backwardness of the province and of the anxieties by which you are oppressed. I allude to the climate of Assam. Lord Beaconsfield, when Mr. Disraeli, once said that the true secret of the woes of Ireland consisted in the fact that she lies under weeping skies and is surrounded by a melancholy ocean. A similar diagnosis gives the real clue to the impediments of this province; a humid and malarial atmosphere, injurious to the indigenous population, which steadily recedes in numbers, and which is fatal to the immigrants from the drier plains of Behar and Bengal, an atmosphere which is still further poisoned by exhalations from the recently upturned soil, and which carries mysterious and deadly diseases in its train. This is the real enemy of Assam, with which private enterprise and Government patronage alike find it hard to contend. When the Provincial death-rate is always greatly in excess of the birth-rate, and when a labouring population of over half a million persons requires to be imported from outside, and to be perpetually replenished, the conditions are such that expansion can scarcely pursue a natural course, and, however encouraged, is liable to the fluctuations of what is not an organic but an artificial growth.

Gentlemen, in your address you invite my special attention to the increased cost of labour importation. This is a subject to which, in connection with legisla-

tion now before the Government of India, I have necessarily given close study. The very rapid rise in cost, which is said to have nearly doubled in ten years, is no doubt partly to be attributed to the keen rivalry and to the familiar wiles of many middlemen, to whose fingers some of the money sticks at each stage of the passage of the coolie from India to Assam. In so far as the evil is to be attributed to the system of recruitment practised by these unlicensed traffickers, it will be arrested by our Bill. The increasing demand for labour here, owing to the opening of new tea gardens, is a further explanation of the enhancement of the cost, but, gentlemen, we should both of us be shutting our eyes to facts did we not realise that the main cause, which no legislation can greatly affect or altogether remove, is the increased industrial competition that prevails in the Indian labour market itself. You desire for the work of your plantations the hardy aboriginal tribesman of the jungles of Chota Nagpur, but he is also wanted for coal mines in Bengal, for work on railways, and for the tea gardens of the Duars and the Terai. Now, in those employments be it remembered that he earns higher wages than you are able to give him, that he is engaged for a shorter term that he is near to his own home, and that he can frequently return thither within a year. You have to consider whether with your lower monthly wage, your four years' contract, and your great distance from the source of recruitment, you can permanently and successfully compete with your rival employers. In the long run, a

problem of this sort will not be settled by labour commissions, or by Government bills. It will be decided by the immutable laws that regulate demand and supply. You cannot make water run up hill, and you cannot provide labour for industry below its market price. The wage question itself I need not now discuss, since the postponement of the Bill till next year will afford ample time for its re-examination.

The subject of feeder lines of railway and of a Government guarantee which figured next in your remarks, I will reserve for treatment in my reply at Gauhati, where I understand that it also occupies a prominent place in the address to which I shall be called upon to respond. I pass to the question of the waste lands of Assam and of the measures that may properly be taken for their reclamation and cultivation. Your contention is that these lands, amounting, as you say, to no less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, are suitable for the production of rice, jute, corn, and other cereals, and that as they cannot be cultivated by the overflow of time-expired labour, labour must be specially imported from elsewhere for the purpose. This is a subject upon which, as you know, the Government of India have for long been in correspondence with the Chief Commissioner, and upon which, as the question is largely hypothetical in character, differences of opinion may be expected to exist. This is not the only country which presents the spectacle of sparsely populated and unreclaimed tracts lying at no insuperable distance from congested centres of population.

Nothing is easier for the doctrinaire than to say, 'Why not bring the people from a district where there are too many to a district where there are too few;' but there are a good many intervening fences to be cleared, of which the doctrinaire is apt to take insufficient account. There is the unhealthiness of the climate, upon which I have previously touched, the reluctance of immigrants, and the novelty of the conditions. You call my attention to the Chenab canal colony, which I visited last April. There the circumstances are entirely different. The movement is merely from one part of the Punjab to another, the place is extremely healthy, there is no jungle to be cut down, and no clearing to be made. The Government have brought water, and nature may be trusted to do the rest. Finally, the applicants, instead of requiring to be coaxed by alluring offers or imported at considerable cost, jostle each other in anxiety to be taken on. In the present case, it is no doubt true that in any scheme of Government colonisation we must look in the main to external sources for recruitment. Time-expired tea coolies, I dare say, make the best settlers, because they are already acclimatised, and I should think that it would be to the interest of the planter himself to settle his coolies upon neighbouring plots of land, so as to retain a call upon their services after the expiration of the contract, but I agree that the labour supply of the gardens and the labour supply of the province are subjects which should not be confused, and which should be treated independently of each other.

As regards the particular question, whether the ryotwari or big zamindari form of tenure is more suitable to the development of a backward province, I will not here recapitulate the argument which has already covered perhaps a sufficient amount of paper. Two desiderata are unquestionably wanting, namely,—first the man or men to initiate the experiment; second, the colonists to undertake the reclamation. If Mr. Cotton can produce any of the former, I do not think that he will find the Government of India grudging or obstinate in insistence upon terms, provided always that these do not contemplate a mere commercial speculation in land, and that they include some effective guarantee that the estates will be brought under cultivation within a reasonable period of time. In my opinion, the main question at issue is not the size of the grant, that is relatively a small matter, but the capacity, stability, and aptitude of the guarantee. Perhaps, later on, when we get the connection completed between Gauhati and the main line of the Assam-Bengal Railway, we may be able to try some colonisation scheme which will appeal to the land hunger of the many, even more than to the public spirit or the enterprise of the few.

Gentlemen, in one of your later paragraphs you express a desire that the Local Boards in Assam should call upon the civil engineers of the Public Works Department not merely for advice but for the execution of public works in the province. We have already in the former respect conceded all that your Chief Com-

missioner asked, and have indeed insisted upon even more, since we have required that the opinions of inspectors of works shall not only be sought but shall not be disregarded by the local boards or their servants the district engineers. The further proposal that the Public Works Department should also be responsible for the execution of works is one that is approved neither by Mr. Cotton nor by the Government of India. The question has also arisen in Bengal, and we agree with the Lieutenant-Governor of that province in thinking that the adoption of the change would stifle the legitimate energies and independence of local self-government, since it would transfer to an official department authority and responsibility in respect of public works that ought properly to remain with the boards.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me assure you that the candid interchange of opinions between us, which the present and other occasions during the past week have afforded, cannot fail to be of much benefit to me in my future administration; that I shall always feel that I know these planters and understand their aspirations better from having met them in the homes which they have created and on the lands which their industry has reclaimed, and that Lady Curzon and myself will carry away most agreeable recollections of this beautiful valley and its adventurous and public spirited pioneers.

REPLY TO THE GAUHATI ADDRESS.

AT GAUHATI.

On the 13th March, 1900, Lord Curzon received an address of welcome from the Gauhati public, to which the following reply was given by His Excellency.

Gentlemen,—The configuration and physical features of the administrative area of the province of Assam are such that it is almost impossible for a Viceroy, within the limited space of time at his disposal, to visit the entire province, or to see more than conspicuous illustrations of its industry and life. Lord Northbrook in the famine year of 1874 visited the Surma valley, and came over the hills to Gauhati—the only previous Viceroy who has set foot in any part of Assam. My own tour on the present occasion has been confined to that which in Assam itself you regard, I believe, as Assam proper namely, the valley of this magnificent river, second to scarcely any in Asia in the volume of its water and in the productive quality of its alluvion. That a full fortnight will have been required travelling at a very high rate of speed by water, and only spending five days on land to ascend and descend this mighty current between the confines of Bengal, and a point short of that at which it pierces the Himalayan barrier and enters the plains of India, is an indication of the wide extent of your province and of the degree to which the Brahmaputra and its tribu-

taries are the vital artery of Assam. That the people of Assam, from whom I am now receiving an address, are a courageous and high spirited race may, I think, also be inferred from the fact that, although it is not yet three years since you were visited by the most appalling natural calamity that has ever befallen this part of India—I speak of the great earthquake of June 1897, which wrought widespread havoc to property and was attended with serious loss of life—there has nevertheless not been a single mention of this disaster in any of the three addresses which have been presented to me while journeying in this province, or in any of the subsidiary speeches to which it has been my good fortune to listen. The Government of India helped to the best of their ability in the heavy outlay that was entailed upon you, but the main brunt of the burden has fallen upon your own shoulders, and I congratulate you upon the patience and recuperative power that have been displayed.

Gentlemen, your address contains some observations upon the railway question in Assam. You note the long period over which the construction of the Assam-Bengal Railway has been spread, and you urge the commencement of the projected line to connect this place along the northern bank of the Brahmaputra with Eastern Bengal. I have already remarked at Dibrugarh that the Assam-Bengal Railway is the most expensive line that we have constructed for many years. I wish I could add that I think it will be one of the most promising. For many years to come I am

afraid that it will be a millstone round the neck of the Government of India, although if our loss were to be your gain, I for one should not protest against the burden. Since I spoke at Dibrugarh on the matter, I am happy to be able to state that the difficulty which I there confessed, as to the provision of funds for the railway during the ensuing year, has been removed by permission being accorded to the company to raise debentures to the extent of 75 lakhs, so that its financial requirements for the forthcoming twelve months have now been fully met, and there is no fear of that suspension of work which was apprehended in an earlier address. As regards railway connection with Bengal, with this splendid waterway at your doors, and with an efficient steamer service, I think you can afford to wait for a while, although, with such means as we possess, the line is being steadily pushed on, the Teesta and Dhurla rivers are being bridged, and the line to Moghul hat is being converted from the 2 feet 6 inches to the metre-gauge, and is being extended in the direction of Dhubri. Later on, whenever the railhead reaches the opposite shores of the Brahmaputra confronting this place, you will be able to congratulate yourselves upon offering to the scientific engineer an opportune island in the middle of the stream which I am sure will inspire him with dreams of an unprecedented mechanical triumph in the shape of a Brahmaputra bridge. You proceed to urge upon me, as also did the community by whom I had the honour to be addressed at Tezpur, the advantages of a system of light feeder lines in

Assam, ramifying from the main system and bringing into connection therewith outlying areas of culture or population. It is further represented that, while the capital for many of these railways or tramways is forthcoming—an assertion about which I do not feel in every case quite confident—they can only be successfully financed if a guarantee, or subsidy, be given by the Government. Other conditions that are asked for concerning the use of lands, roads, and timber, I need not enter into at the present moment, since it is not about these that I personally should ever wish to be stiff, or that on ordinary occasions any difficulty is apt to arise. Now, as regards the general merit of these feeder lines, I am in substantial agreement with yourselves, and I believe that if more widely extended, they would be the most effective forerunner of the prosperous future that we all hope awaits Assam. But different views may legitimately be held about the best methods of financing their construction, and when I have to consider the question of an Imperial guarantee, it is clear that I cannot look at the matter exclusively through Assamese spectacles, but that I am obliged to correlate it with the demands of other localities not less deserving, and with the inexorable limitations of our annual programme. There does not seem to be any distinction in practical finance between a Provincial guarantee and an Imperial guarantee. Of course if the Local Government can provide the money from its own resources without raising its demands upon the Imperial exchequer, and without

abandoning or neglecting other public works, a strong case is made out. But that is not the situation with which we are, as a rule, confronted, and when the proposal is made to guarantee provincially, and then to revise the provincial contract at the expense of the Imperial Government, I can see no difference between such a procedure and an Imperial guarantee pure and simple. Now if the guarantee be Imperial, the capital must be entered under the financial system to which we are bound by the Secretary of State upon the annual programme. That is a strictly limited programme which, for the ensuing year, amounts to 6½ crores. All expenditure upon railways within that sum is carefully worked out by the Government of India upon an examination of the conflicting demands and needs of the entire country. No expenditure beyond it is possible except in a year when the revenue justifies an outlay more ambitious than the original forecast. In a year such as the present, with enormous calls for famine weighing us down, any such excess is absolutely impossible. If an archangel from heaven were to come and offer me a scheme certain to be ultimately remunerative, but involving an immediate entry upon the programme of capital outlay, I should be obliged to refuse him. You may call the system inelastic and exasperating if you please, and in many respects I agree with you, and am struggling to effect a reformation, but do not quarrel with the Government of India for doing that which it has no other present alternative than to do. Once a year, at budget time, we cut our

coat, and it is a big coat, but like other tailors we cannot make it bigger than the cloth provided to us admits of, and hence it results that there are frequently parts of the body which remain for a while indifferently clad. If, however, the Local Government is unable to accept the risk of a guarantee within its existing contract, and if the Imperial Government is crippled by plague and famine, what, it may be asked, are you to do? Now it does not seem to me that the financial possibilities are by any means exhausted if in any particular case neither a Provincial nor an Imperial guarantee can be given. I own that I do not myself quite understand the position of those promoters who represent to the Government of India as pleas for an Imperial guarantee that the chances of its being called upon are so remote, the prospects of the concession for which they ask so radiant, and the capital outlay involved so small that the Government of India will not incur the faintest risk in giving the pledge, but who, nevertheless, are unable themselves either to produce the money or to persuade others to do so without it; but, even supposing their position to be explicable and sound, I would point out that other methods are still open. I was travelling only three days ago on the Tezpur-Balipara Railway, a 2 feet 6 inches line, running for 20 miles from Tezpur on the north bank of the river into the interior, and serving several important tea gardens en route. This little line was constructed for a capital expenditure, including interest during construction, of only 4 lakhs

or £26,000. In the fourth year of its existence it is already earning 5½ per cent. upon the capital outlay up to date. This itself appears to me to be a very remarkable and encouraging precedent. But the reason for which I especially notice it is that the only form of outside assistance which the promoters received was not a guarantee either from the Imperial or the Provincial Government, nor any direct financial help from the latter, but a small subsidy from the district board of Tezpur. I do not know if this subsidy was required to raise the capital for construction. But whether it operated in that direction or not does it not suggest an example worthy of imitation? In the south of India I can quote you a precedent of an even more adventurous and stimulating character. There the district board of Tanjore has set aside a special additional cess of three pies per rupee in its taxes to constitute a fund against which capital can be raised. With the money so acquired, it has succeeded in building many miles of metre gauge line upon which it is now earning substantial dividends, being joint proprietor of the lines with the Madras Government. I cannot say whether the circumstances are such as to admit of a similar plan being adopted here, but at least it is worthy of examination.

Your next petition is that a permanent seat in the Legislative Council may be allotted to Assam. I quite appreciate the naturalness of this request. But it is one that has also to be considered from the wider standpoint of Indian interests at large. When the

Council was expanded by the Act of 1892, there was not found to be within this province that substantial community of interests which would render any one delegate truly representative of the whole. A tea planter would faithfully represent the tea planting industry, and when measures affecting that industry are under discussion, we are usually able to rely upon the services of some gentleman, such as Mr. Buckingham at the present juncture, who does ample justice to his clients. But in the Native population of Assam, so widely scattered, and representing no such solidarity of opinion or counsel, while it might be possible, though it would be difficult to find some one who would duly represent such divergent elements, I doubt whether it would be possible to find any one who could represent the interests of the entire province, European and planting as well as native. The constituency is, in fact, too composite to admit of a permanent single mouthpiece. Moreover, there are wider considerations to be borne in mind. Exclusive of the five non-official members who are returned to the Legislative Council of the Governor General by the non-official members of the Councils of Bombay, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and Bengal, and by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, we only have five seats at our disposal for the whole of the rest of India. If I were to undertake permanently to allot one of these seats to Assam, I should be adopting a course that would be resented as unfair by the rest of India, and that would not necessarily conduce to the repre-

sentative character of the Council itself. You may rely upon me, and I doubt not upon my successors after me, to give you provisional representation from whatever section of the community when called for by the legislative programme of Government; but the request for a permanent seat in the Council is one which, in the present stage of development of the province, which you have yourselves described as backward, it is not possible to concede.

Your remark upon the system of land tenure in Assam, and upon the desirability of a longer term, will be carefully considered, when the new settlements are made at no great distance from the present time. Sooner or later there can be little doubt that longer settlement will come. It is a mark in every community of advancing agricultural development. But I would ask you to remember that the short term and the ryotwari tenure now prevailing were devised in strict relation to the conditions both of agriculture and population in the Brahmaputra valley. You have here a nomadic population, which reclaims the land from the waste, cultivates it for a few years, and then, when the soil begins to be impoverished, moves on. In every year, for $\frac{1}{2}$ million of acres brought into cultivation another $\frac{1}{2}$ million are thrown out, the total temporarily-settled area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres remaining comparatively stationary. It is to accommodate this tendency that annual leases have been permitted, and how faithfully they have responded to the needs of the times is shown by the fact that, though any ryot

who chooses to take a ten years' lease acquires thereby that proprietary interest in the land which you appear to advocate, only the scantiest advantage has hitherto been taken of this provision. The main reason for which cultivation does not extend in this province is that the indigenous population is stationary and the main reason for which the indigenous population is stationary is not the system of land tenure but the nature of the climate. The question of sub-letting will be taken up when the new settlement is made. As to the question of the land revenue rates, no answer can be given upon that point until the reports of the settlement officers are received. But the Government of India will assuredly approach the matter with no a priori conclusions, or prepossessions in their mind.

Gentlemen, I have been pleased to listen to the spontaneous testimony that you have borne to the labours of your Chief Commissioner. No one connected or unconnected with the Government of India can fail to recognise that his heart has been in his work, and that he has done his best to push the interests of this province with the zeal of a parent and with an enthusiasm proportionate to the magnitude of the undertaking. In the discharge of his task, to which he has applied great vigour as well as high abilities, I believe that he has earned the confidence of all sections, native as well as European, of a singularly diversified community.

There is only one observation in your address which I would at all deprecate, and that is the sentence in

which you modestly disparage the character of the welcome that you have given to Lady Curzon and myself. No such reflection has even dimly occurred to our minds. The loyalty of a people, and the warmth of their feelings, are capable of being testified in a score of other fashions than by magnificent preparations and costly displays. In Gauhati, however, we have been particularly struck by the good taste and spontaneity of your welcome. Here, as elsewhere in this province, we feel that we have met with a reception that has sprung from the hearts of those who have offered it, and in tendering to you, one and all, our thanks, let me assure you that in turning our back upon the Brahmaputra valley, its noble waterways, its expanding industries and its friendly people, we shall not banish Assam from our affections, but shall keep a tender spot therein for this enterprising and hopeful corner of the British empire.

REPLY TO KARACHI MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

On the 27th October, 1900, His Excellency the Viceroy received at Government House Karachi address of welcome from the Karachi Municipality, from the Chamber of Commerce and a deputation of a Mahomedan Zemindar. In reply to the Municipal address His Excellency said :—

Mr. President, and members of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi,—I accept with much gratification

the welcome which, on behalf of the people of this place, you have offered to Lady Curzon and myself upon the occasion of our first official visit to the capital of Sind. It is not the first visit that I have paid Karachi, since I have been here twice before, in the days of my earlier wanderings. Indeed, anyone who travels in the north-western parts of India, or upon the Afgan Frontier, or who undertakes an excursion to the Persian Gulf, must, sooner or later, find himself in Karachi,—so well placed is its port in relation to all those interesting regions. I, therefore, feel I am not quite a stranger here. I am familiar with the buildings and beauties of your town and port.

Seeing that as much as thirteen years have elapsed since my first visit, I may almost claim to trace the stages of its recent expansion. The history of India does not, I think, record an instance of more sustained and sturdy growth from a modest and unprepossessing origin. During nearly the sixty years that have elapsed since the annexation, a petty fishing-village, protected by a tumble-down mud fort, has developed into the third largest maritime outlet of India. The population has risen from 10,000 to more than ten times that number; a harbour, which, half-a-century ago, was little more than a shallow creek, has, at a total cost of nearly one and-a-quarter millions sterling, been converted into a magnificent port, which accommodates the finest ocean-steamers; Your sea borne trade has swollen from infinitesimal figures to a total, in the last recorded year, of over

eleven-and-a-half millions sterling. Finally, your Municipal revenues have, in the last forty years, risen from three-quarters of a lakh to six lakhs of rupees. These figures and facts sufficiently explain with how keen an interest the fortunes of this place must always be regarded by the Government of India, and how large a place it must occupy in the attention of the head of that administration. Most places in India that are at a distance from the head-quarters of the Government are apt, at times, to think themselves slighted or aggrieved ; but every Viceroy desires to see Karachi, which, I may remark in passing, has also a voice of its own that can be heard at a considerable distance, so that the plea of indifference or neglect is not likely to be raised here.

I observe that in your own Address, as in those to which I am about to reply from other bodies, you proceed with becoming rapidity to the point and utilise your opportunity to lay before me the various troubles and grievances from which you are suffering. I will, to the best of my ability, comment upon each, claiming precisely the same liberty in reply as you employed in the exposition. There can be no doubt that owing to the abnormal visitation of plague and cholera, Karachi has suffered much during the last few years. The figures, which you have placed before me, demonstrate both the severity of the trial through which you have passed, as measured by the actual loss of life which it has entailed, and also by the temporary paralysis that it has inflicted on your resources.

Your revenues have dwindled. and your debt has increased. You have had to increase taxation, to curtail useful but not indispensable heads of expenditure, and generally to adopt your finances to the exigencies of the time. In this plight you not unnaturally turn to the Government of India, who, if she is often denounced as a grand-mother who needlessly interferes, is still more often appealed to as a mother whose parental instincts should bring her to the rescue of her offspring. And you plead for exceptional treatment in your distress. Now, gentlemen, you will pardon me for pointing to the obvious fact that the Government is the parent of a large family, and that just at present a good many of our progeny are in a bad way. Wherever I go I find that Municipalities, or District Boards, or communities, or societies, who have been hard hit by the calamities of the past few years, are each firmly convinced that they can present an unanswerable case for exceptional relief, while their voices are but the feeble echo of louder and more insistent claims that reach us from the Local Governments. No one of these supplicants can, I think, accuse the Government of India in its present mood of having a hard heart. We have been doing, during the past year, on a large scale, exactly what the Municipality of Karachi has had to do on a smaller; *i. e.*, we have had to cut down or refuse innumerable calls upon our own purse in deference to more urgent needs. In a year which would otherwise have been one of prosperity we have stunted everything and sacrificed many things, in order

to grapple with the most serious famine of the century. Among our critics here is not one who has accused us of parsimony or meanness. If you come to us, therefore, in "forma pauperis," you approach a parent who herself knows what straitened means are, but who in proportion to her superior resources, has shown that she can deal handsomely with her destitute children. The appeal you make to me is that the Government of India should come to the help of the Karachi Municipality by relieving it of liability for all plague expenditure, past and future. This is an obligation no Government ought or would consent to assume. If we do it in one city we must do it in all. If we do it on one occasion, we cannot refuse to do it on others. Should the principle be accepted, all local visitations of a certain character or upon a certain scale are to constitute Imperial charges. I do not see how we could ever frame a forecast or draw up a budget. What we do, is out of our means. When we possess them, we proceed with an ungrudging generosity to the relief of the suffering members of the family. We did it last year in the case of Bombay. We shall doubtless be asked in future to do it again. In the case of Karachi, we have assisted you with two lakhs ; we have assumed the payment of the English doctors and nurses who were summoned here for the plague ; and I understand, the Commissioner has forwarded further proposals to the Government of Bombay, of which we shall, perhaps, in due course, hear more from them.

Now I pass to the difficult question of the terminal charges, which is also one of the items that figures in the Address from the Chamber of Commerce, but upon which I will ask leave to take the present opportunity of giving a reply. When you point out that in 1898 the Municipality, with the concurrence of the Chamber of Commerce and the sanction of the Local Government, imposed these charges, you omit to notice that this step was taken, not only without the authority of the Government of India, but also in direct opposition to its orders and those of the Secretary of State, who have over and over again laid down the inadmissibility of transit dues. That these terminal charges are transit dues, no one denies; that they are indefensible in principle, the Chamber of Commerce in their Address to me to-day concede; that they ought to be abolished, has been publicly admitted by the Commissioner himself. If there is this general concurrence as to the viciousness of these forms of taxation, it might seem superfluous labour to point further. I will only say that the main reasons, which inspire my own opposition to it, are twofold: first, it constitutes a tax upon an important branch of the general trade of the country in the interests of a single locality, and thereby weights that trade in its competition with foreign rivals; secondly, that, if allowed in one case, it sets a most alluring but pernicious example to others. It was the action of Cawnpore—although it would be easy to show that there was no parallel between the circumstances and conditions of the two cases—that first sug-

gested the expedient at Karachi. If we had permitted it in the case of Karachi, I am confident that we should forthwith have seen it pressed for in many other places. Wherever the Municipal burdens are heavy, and the means for relieving them sparse, there the Municipal conscience would have been unequal to resisting the temptation : and from lack of courage to interfere with a false step at the beginning, we should have been committed to a course of unsound and mischievous finance. I hardly think that anyone will be found to dispute these general considerations. Your reply, however, takes the form of submission that yours is an exceptional case, and of an appeal to be allowed to go on doing the wrong thing for a little while longer. I entirely sympathise with your trouble, and I understand your objection to exchanging a method of raising money, which is reasonably prompt and simple, even if economically at fault, for one which is locally unpopular, besides being fraught with some opportunities for fraud and for delay. The question is whether an erroneous departure from a correct principle should be admitted because of the hardship of an individual case, or whether the necessity of observing the principle on the widest grounds should overrule the drawbacks of the particular illustration. I will not prejudice the reply of the Government of India to the proposals for alternative taxes, which will, I suppose before long, be submitted to it. But I cannot say anything to-day that I would encourage you to think that my financial advisers will change their minds.

I have made inquiries into the subject of the annual payments, made by the Military Department for the water-supply to the troops at Karachi. There are a good many points to be considered on either side. While the Municipality rests its case for a revision of the contract upon the statement that a much larger amount of water is now consumed than was originally estimated for without any corresponding increase of payment, it is unfortunate that the resolution, in which it accepted the offer of the Government fifteen years ago, admitted an obligation to provide an unrestricted supply of water; the only condition, under which a revision of the bargain might be called for on either side, being an increase above 2,000 or diminution below 2,000 troops in the station. This arrangement, looked at from the point view of the Municipality, does not seem to me to have been composed by very wise draughtsman, and unquestionably you have been hampered by it since. I should point out, however, that the Military Department is now paying you considerably more than Rs. 8,000 for its water; since having accepted its share of the enhanced rate, recently imposed for local purposes, of three annas per thousand gallons, it is now paying you an annual contribution which will, I believe, amount in the current financial year to more than Rs. 12,000. When this arrangement, which is to last for three years, terminates, I hope means may be found of bringing the difficulty to a satisfactory solution.

In your Address you have pressed two other subjects

upon my attention, namely, increased railway communication and the institution of a direct mail service to Aden. I propose to deal with the former topic in my reply to the Chamber of Commerce, concerning the latter, I would remark that prima facie the desirability of such a connection is one which no one would be found to dispute. Karachi is the port of much more than Sind; it is the mercantile outlet of a considerable portion of the Punjab, inasmuch as every person, every letter or parcel, and every consignment of goods that passes between Karachi and Europe, must proceed by Aden. A direct service from that port is, on the face of it, preferable to a roundabout voyage and break of shipment at Bombay. But, gentlemen, have you any idea what it would cost, and when you know, will you kindly inform me who is to pay the bill? When we made the last mail contracts the companies were invited to tender for this particular service. The British India Company declined to tender at all, because they said that it could only be done at a prohibitive rate. The Peninsular and Oriental Company stated that this addition to their service would cost another £100,000 a year, which, you must remember, would not be shared with the Home Government, as in the case of the Australian and China service, but would have to be found by India alone. No other Company was willing to tender for the line by itself. There are other and smaller objections into which I need not enter, since I have said enough to show that, for the present at any rate, the cost would be prohibitive. No

doubt when the present contract expires in four years' time, the question will again be considered ; and I can only hope it may fall to the lot of some future Viceroy to inaugurate a change which, however desirable, would at this stage be premature. I will now say no more, except to thank you for the opportunity, that has been offered to me, of meeting the representatives of this important city and of exchanging friendly observations with them upon various subjects that affect most closely its present and future welfare.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

In reply to the above address His Excellency said :—

Gentlemen,—In a great mercantile city like Karachi, a Chamber of Commerce is the natural and authoritative exponent of the interests of that section of the community which it represents ; and its views are deserving of serious attention. In my political life at home I was brought a great deal into contact with Chamber of Commerce ; and I found them to be composed of men, enjoying unrivalled information, possessing definite opinions, and capable of doing full justice to any case in which their interests were concerned. It is, I think, a very valuable thing that such independent organisations should exist, both as the accredited mouthpieces of their own clients, and also to acquaint the Government with the non-official aspect

of affairs. I, at any rate, will never disparage or underrate the value of their advice.

There are two subjects in your Address, upon which I have already commented at some length in my reply to the Municipality. These are the sources and character of Municipal taxation in Karachi, and the institution of a direct mail service to Aden. I will not repeat myself here, but will pass to the other topics which you have brought under my notice. Foremost among these is the question of railway policy and railway construction. A perusal of the Addresses, that have been presented at Karachi to previous Viceroys, leads me to think that there never has been a time at which Karachi was not pleading for some fresh advantages in this respect. In the old days it was railway communication with the North that was urged; now it is connection with the East; next it will be on the South; and when all these schemes have been successfully carried into execution, I have little doubt but that your Chamber of Commerce will be ready with some fresh project for the delectation of future Viceroys, for the promotion of the trade of the port, and for the enhancement of the general welfare of Sind. If I add that the majority of the proposals, which have been urged in by-gone days, appear to have been carried out in the end, I shall at the same time be paying a compliment to the intrinsic reasonableness of those requests, and shall be suggesting to you a hopeful augury for your present demands.

Your observations upon the railway on the Eastern

side raise two questions—the one of principle, the other of detail. Karachi holds strongly to the view that the object, to be aimed at, is a standard gauge connection with Calcutta; although it is prepared to admit that connection by metre gauge will be better than no connection at all. This is I think, a sensible attitude; since I sometimes wonder if the practical nature of the obstacles to a through broad gauge connection at this stage has been thoroughly realised in this place. The existing line, as you know, has been commenced and has been pushed far across the desert on the metre gauge. The Jodhpur Darbar are not, I should think, in the least likely to wish it to be pulled up or converted. The Native States, who are concerned in the Bara-Marwar Section, to which you have called my attention, would similarly have to make their part of the railway on the broad gauge, which they do not in the least want to do, and for which we should not be able to provide the funds for many a long year to come. Finally I do not suppose that any one would suggest an independent broad gauge line across that great, unpeopled and unremunerative tract. When, therefore, a cry is raised, “Calcutta to Karachi on the broad gauge.” I venture to think that, however desirable such a consummation might be, it must be regarded as being, for the present, outside the range of practical politics, and that it is more serviceable, as you have done, to turn our attention to the best possible adaptation of existing or feasible plans. This brings me to the smaller issue, *viz.*, that of the suggested conversion of

the existing worn-out broad gauge line that runs from Hyderabad in the direction of the Nora Valley and the land irrigated by the Jamrao Canal on the east. Is the break of gauge to be at Hyderabad or at Shadipalli, or at some third spot? This is one of those points upon which I consider it desirable to provide every possible opportunity for local opinion to have its say; and I therefore propose to send here, in the forthcoming winter, the Railway Commission, which I instituted last year, and which will take evidence on the matter. I should add, however, that the Secretary of State, who is strongly in favour of the break of gauge being at Hyderabad, will require very powerful reasons to convince him of the necessity of a modification of plan as regards the Bara-Marwar line. A good deal of labour has already been expended upon the earthwork in the Rajput States through which it will pass in the course of the recent famine. The line is one which in their interests, not less than in those of the through connection of which I have been speaking, the Government of India is most anxious to prosecute without delay. The only difficulty is the usual difficulty,—that of finding the money for one scheme when so many are pressing. I am not, however, without hopes that we may before long be able to make a start with the undertaking. Your views about the management of the Rajputana-Malwa line will be borne in mind when the question of its future working comes up for decision. In the mean time, the inequality, of which you complain, appears to have been

rectified by the agreement of the Bombay-Baroda and Central India Company, to institute equal rates of fares for all goods between stations in the Company's system north of Hana (which is nearly equi-distant from the two ports) and Karachi and Bombay.

I now pass from the subject of Railways to the other matters concerning which you have addressed me. First among these is your complaint of the long delays that ensue in the hearing of suits in the Punjab courts, arising, as you allege, partly from the overcrowding of the courts, partly from the frequent transfer of officers, partly from the tendency of litigants to call crowds of witnesses; and the failure to serve summonses upon whom is declared to be a further excuse for postponements. I cannot, of course, from first-hand knowledge, say anything of the justice of these complaints, although I may remark in passing that delays in judicial procedure appear to me not to be confined to India, but to be evenly and liberally distributed wherever men are found unwise enough to go in for that most unremunerative and vexatious of all human exertions. I will, however, forward your remarks to the Punjab Government for its consideration, and it will doubtless require detailed evidence, which you will equally be prepared to provide, in support of the somewhat sweeping assertions that you have made. I am pleased to note the favourable estimate that you have formed of our Arbitration Act of last year. It was one of the first legislative measures that was placed upon the Statute-book after my assumption

of office; and I have watched keenly every sign of its successful operation. As you know the Bill was framed on the principles of the English statute-law for the treatment of mercantile cases in the Presidency Towns of Rangoon and Karachi. I cannot be certain, therefore, how far its procedure may be found suited to cases of dispute between natives, which are likely to be regulated by the customs and traditions of the community to which they belong. The Punjab Government has, however, been asked for its opinion as to an extension of the Act to certain of the large cities in that Province; while we also are in communication with Local Governments in general as to the feasibility of a wider adoption of the principles of the measure. The question is not yet ripe for decision, but it is maturing.

Finally, you call my attention to the inconvenience that is said to result from the multiplication of offices in the person of the Collector of Karachi and from his absence during a portion of the cold weather on tour. I may note in passing that the Collector is not, so far as I know, bound by law to be the Chairman of the Port Trust, and that his control of the Municipality under the provisions of the Municipal Act can hardly be so engrossing as to be seriously interfered with by his temporary absence in camp. I am informed, too, that there is likely to be a reduction of the area of his jurisdiction by an arrangement of the northern talukas of the district. The question, however, is one which concerns the Local rather than the Supreme, Government, and could perhaps be more appropriately raised

in an Address to the new Governor whom you will shortly welcome in your midst.

I have now dealt, to the best of my ability, with all the subjects that you have brought before me ; and I may add that I do not at all grudge the time that I have required for the study of these and similar cases, since it tends to familiarise me with the inner history and the local wants of the various parts of this vast Empire over which it is my good fortune to have been called upon for a few years to rule.

REPLY TO THE MAHOMEDAN DEPUTATION.

In reply to the address of the Mahomedan Zemindars the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—You have presented me with an Address which certainly does not err on the side of brevity, and cannot be accused of rendering insufficient justice to your views. If I do not deprecate its unusual length, it is because I am not anxious to deprive any section of the community, that may properly claim to address the head of the Government, of an opportunity of presenting their case in their own way, and because I know the Mohamedans of this province to be a loyal, law-abiding and worthy body of men who no longer enjoy the advantages which they once possessed, and are, perhaps, entitled to feel some disappointment, though not, I think, any despondency, when they con-

trast their present with their former position. I am so entirely with them in the strenuous exertions that they are now making to recover their old prestige and influence that I willingly listen even to so detailed a narrative of their efforts and their aspirations as that which has just been laid before me.

Into the historical part of your Address you will not expect me, gentlemen, to go. When Sind was conquered there was, I know, a prolonged discussion as to the best method of settlement to apply to the new province. It was ultimately decided to adopt the Bombay system. Whether this was or was not a right decision, I am not required to say; but when I remember that it was proposed by Sir Bartle Frere, the greatest of your Commissioners, and accepted by Sir John Lawrence, by no means the least of the Governors-General, I feel it would need no small presumption to dispute such a formidable consensus of authority.

you imply that the waste lands upon which assessments were levied under that settlement, were originally the property of the zeminders. It hardly think this was the case. Under the Amirs of Sind, as under the British Government, the waste lands have always been regarded as the property of the Crown, subject to the preferential right on the part of adjoining proprietors. Leaving the past, your principal contention now is that the settlements in Sind should be for 30 years, as in other parts of the Bombay Presidency, instead of ten. When you make this request, do you not to some extent lose sight of the peculiar conditions of land

tenure and cultivation in this province? There is no part of India where these conditions are in a more transitional state. You have to deal here both with the benefits and with the caprices of that most unstable of factors—water. On the one hand, irrigation, where successful, may convert a wilderness into a garden. On the other hand, the vagaries of the Indus may reduce a garden to a wilderness. In the one case, the continuance of a low assessment becomes obsolete: in the other case, a continuance of the high assessment is unfair, if property suddenly increases enormously in value owing to the digging of a canal. You cannot read just its contribution to public burdens by irrigation cesses, because, I understand, these expedients do not find favour in Sind. The only solution, therefore, in the present state of affairs, seems to me to be a short period of settlement. Later on, as conditions become further crystallized, a longer period will probably come. From such information as I have acquired, it does not appear to me to be true that frequent revision means a steady enhancement.

You next make a series of requests which I feel disposed to divide into two classes,—reasonable and unreasonable. In the first class I include those petitions which, even if they cannot always be granted, can, at any rate, be defended. In the second class I place those which can neither be defended nor granted. When, for instance, you propose that the Dekhan Agriculturists Relief Act should be extended to Sind, in order to prevent the extinction of the small occupier

and cultivator, you are making a demand as to which I do not know enough of the local conditions to say whether it ought to be conceded, but which, at any rate, is not inconsistent with the general principles of our agrarian policy, as testified both by the legislation which you desire to adopt and by the Bill which we passed at Simla last week to restrict the alienation of agricultural land in the Punjab. Again, when you ask that the Government should advance money for the liquidation of the liabilities of zeminders under the Encumbered Estates Act, while you are asking for what it is in all probability quite impossible to give you, because we have not got money, and what does not seem to be altogether necessary, since I am unaware of any complaint on the part of creditors of inability to recover their debts, yet you are asking for what is in principle only an extension of the existing relief which we give in the shape of takavi advances to the managers of encumbered estates. When, however, you proceed to ask that Mussulmans should, because they are Mussulmans be relieved of the payment of fines under the law for unauthorised occupation of land and of occupancy prices for new land, such an acquisition being a valuable asset which there would be nothing to prevent the individual, who had acquired it for nothing, from selling again, to his own profit but to the loss of Government, and again compulsory assessment in the fifth year on hallow lands; when, I say, you put forward these requests you are asking for preferential advantages which are unreasonable, and

which no Government would dream of giving you. Again, when you ask for a fixed proportion of appointments in the public service and promotion, regulated not by merit but by a fixed numerical standard, you must see that you are advancing an untenable claim.

I believe there has never been wanting, among the administrators of this province, a most earnest desire to give you every possible encouragement; and you have yourselves recognised in your Address that you have never had a better friend than the present Commissioner, Mr. James. With your energetic and praiseworthy efforts, by the opening of Madrassahs and otherwise, to raise the educational level of your fellow-religionists, the Government, whether it be the Local Government or the Supreme Government, entertains the sincerest sympathy. It is a cheering spectacle to see a community, once so great and prosperous and so richly endowed with stability of intellect and force of character, lifting itself again in the world by patient and conscientious endeavour. But the pleasure of the spectacle is diminished and the chances of success are reduced, if those who are pluckily engaged in climbing the ladder cry out for artificial ropes and pulleys to haul them up. The Mohamedans of Sind have a glorious and memorable past, and they have it still in their power to carve out for themselves, without any such adventitious aid, a dignified and meritorious future.

Gentlemen, it has given me great pleasure to receive your friendly welcome and your loyal assurances, and

not the least of my grounds of satisfaction in visiting Karachi at the present time has been that I have come here before the present Commissioner, Mr. James, has terminated his long and honourable career. That career has been marked by conspicuous and untiring service in the public weal. It has been surpassed in beneficent activity by those of none of his predecessors; and when Mr. James retires, as he will shortly do, he will carry away with him to his home in the mother-country the affectionate esteem of a grateful province.

REPLY TO THE SURAT MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

In the course of his Autumn tour in the Western Presidency, His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Surat on the 6th November, 1900, where, in the Municipal Hall, the Corporation presented him with an address, in replying to which His Excellency said :—

Members of the Municipality of Surat—Though, as you have pointed out to me, I am only the second Viceroy to visit Surat, I have broken my journey at this place not as my predecessor, Lord Elgin, did, in order to inaugurate some great public work, but with the simple object of seeing a locality, so famous in the records of the past. One of the commonest instincts of humanity is the desire to inspect the birth-places of great men. It is interesting to see from what humble origins they often sprang, and what were the surroundings that shaped their early lives. But in coming to Surat I am gratifying this instinct in a different and higher form,—for I am visiting the birth-place, not of

an individual or even of a nation, but of the British Empire in India. Surat was the first spot where British traders commenced that astonishing venture that was not destined to stop until it had resulted in a dominion to which history affords no parallel, and which will always remain a marvel, and, I would fain hope also, a blessing to mankind. In your address, gentlemen, you have drawn a somewhat pathetic contrast between the circumstances of the past and the present. The time was when yours was the first maritime city in India, when your population numbered nearly a million souls, and when from your crowded harbour and teeming wharves you could look down with conscious superiority upon the puny struggles of Bombay. Now the pendulum has swung back. Your population has diminished. Trade and commerce have flown elsewhere. The river has partially silted up, and, as you graphically express it, Surat is but a shadow of its former self. Simultaneously with this contraction, your city has suffered from a cumulative series of misfortunes in recent times which have been enough to damp your spirit. Surat has always, as you mention, been peculiarly liable to the opposite visitations of fire and floods :—the former due, I believe, to the very combustible material of which too many of your poorer dwellings were built ; the latter, to the ravages of high tides in the lower parts of the city. During the past three years, plague has been added to these afflictions, and even now lingers in the district. All these calamities demanded a policy, on the part of the local

Municipality, of courage and self-help. I am pleased to think that, instead of bowing to the storm, you have boldly confronted it ; and I congratulate you upon the success of your efforts. You have taken steps to mitigate the conflagrations to which I just now alluded. You have constructed protective works against abnormal floods, and you have at a considerable cost provided the city with a good water-supply. In combating the plague, I am pleased to think that the plague regulations, which have recently been issued by the Government of India, meet with the approval of a body, so qualified from experience to pronounce upon them as your Municipality. This approval is, I believe, endorsed by public opinion in general. Experience has, in fact, guided us to the happy mean between a drastic and unpalatable interference with social habits and unchecked diffusion of disease. Like many other places in India, Surat finds that its water-works now require drainage-works as a supplement. From the lessons of many Municipal addresses, I am led to think that the necessity of their combination is not always finally realised. In this country a Municipality constructs water-works at a great cost, perhaps exhausting its credit in so doing ; then when it finds that the drainage-work must follow, it turns round to Government and says : See what my virtue has brought me to ! Will you replenish my empty purse ?

Now the advice that I would give to the Surat Municipality at the present juncture is this : Follow an excellent example, namely, your own ; do what you

did with the inundations and with the water-works. Make up your minds in advance what it is that you want and propose to execute, and then bend all your energies and efforts in that direction. Do not act like the conjurer who cries to keep up three or four balls in the air at the same time. One is quite enough for a Municipal Committee in straitened circumstances.

Gentlemen, I have been informed that there are some respects in which Surat might itself lend greater support to the patriotic efforts of its Municipality. I do not know why it is that this place should consume more toddy than any other town of similar size in India, or why its inhabitants should be reputed more extravagant at one end of the scale and less laborious at the other than the people of the neighbouring localities. I am bound, however, to say that a consumption, by a city population of less than 110,000 persons, of 12½ lakhs of gallons of liquor in the year, seems to me to be exorbitant and to require explanation. I hope, therefore, gentlemen, that in prosecuting your efforts on behalf of this city you may also succeed in impressing upon your fellow-citizens the desirability of accelerating the revival of their native town by practice of the virtues of industry and self-discipline, and that the community at large may be encouraged to emulate the excellent example, set by their Municipal representatives.

At 2 o'clock they partly left for Bombay.

REPLY TO THE BIJAPUR MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

On the 10th November, 1900, Lord Curzon received an address of welcome from the Bijapur Municipality to which His Excellency's reply was as follows :—

Gentlemen,—In your interesting and well-composed address you correctly surmise that it is the desire to see the remains of the by-gone glories of Bijapur, that has brought me to this place ; and you suggest with much tact that it can only have been the difficulty of determining what to see, where so much was worthy to be seen that deterred my predecessors without exception from coming to see anything at all. I know of nothing in the wonderful history of India more astonishing or more sad than the written and the standing records of the Mahomedan dynasty of Bijapur. Founded by a Turk, who was born in Europe, it enjoyed a short-lived but brilliant existence of less than 200 years, and then fell before that prince of devastators Aurangzeb. While it still lasted, the buildings were raised, in one of which I am now speaking, which are unrivalled even in India, and which make Bijapur to the Deccan what Delhi and Agra are to the Northern Provinces. Each king spent his life-time in erecting his own tomb, feeling, I suppose, an insufficient confidence in the respect that might be entertained for him by his successors ; and the united dynasty, having perished out of existence left this extraordinary collection of remains to serve as a monument to all time of its own brief grandeur and

the fleeting character of human fortunes. I wish that I could extract any sort of philosophy from the manner in which, since Bijapur passed into British hands, we have discharged our responsibilities as heirs of the Adil Shahs. A laudable anxiety was entertained for the preservation of so remarkable a body of ruins: but this appears to have been accompanied by a lack of taste, as monumental as the ruins themselves, by a utilitarianism that makes one shudder, and by feats of desecration from which even a Goth would have shrunk. This was some time ago. Fortunately we now live in a rather less vandalistic era. Some reparation has been made for the errors of the past; and one of my objects in coming here to day has been to see whether the amendment can be carried any further. •

Your address, however, relates to the practical needs and circumstances of the present, rather than to the sentimental or æsthetic considerations, suggested by the past. Bijapur appears to be rising again with a praiseworthy vitality from the ashes of its former self, and its Municipality, during the nearly fifty years of its existence, has already witnessed and fostered an encouraging advance. I hope that you will persevere in your good work and not be tempted to try too much. If you can never revive the glories of the past when this city is said to have contained 2,000,000 people, you can in all probability make the lot of the 20,000, of whom your population now consists, happier and more secure than was the case in the days of the great Shahs. External splendour often meant internal misery, and

modern peasant or artisan, with an active Municipality and a sympathetic Local Government to look after him, is probably better off than his forerunner in the more gorgeous but also more precarious days of the past. You have made the suggestion that a model farm and an agricultural class might be attached to your High School. This is a proposal that concerns the Local rather than the Supreme Government, and that might properly be placed before them. A locality which, as you point out, has suffered from no less than three droughts in ten years, and is even now rather apprehensive of a fourth, may well be anxious to profit by the latest teaching of scientific agriculture, which, I am inclined to think, has hitherto received a somewhat inadequate attention at the hands of the Indian Government. You have made a further request with which the Local Government might feel less inclination to comply, and the object of which you have stated with refreshing candour to be that the Municipality may be placed in possession of a larger and growing income. This is the proposal that the Government should make over to you the unoccupied spaces in the town in return for your willingness to pay the cost of the city survey. But you seem to me to be rather late with this proposal, since I understand that the Government has already borne the entire cost of the survey, which was Rs. 35,000, in addition to spending Rs. 53,000 in clearing and laying out roads in the new Bazar. Not only this, but the recovered lands, over 30 acres in extent, were handed over to the Municipality at a

purely nominal rent, and you have since made a very good thing out of them, partly by sales and partly by rents. It seems to me, therefore, that you have not much to complain of, and that with a rising income and a good balance you may be complimented rather than commiserated on your position. It gives me much pleasure to think that the plague and famine policy of the Government of India have been followed with approval in this distant spot ; and I accept with equal gratification your hearty assurances of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress and of friendly welcome to myself.

REPLY TO THE PEOPLE'S ADDRESS AT SILCHAR.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in the course of his annual Autumn tour arrived at Silchar on the 7th November, 1901, and on the following day, he was presented with two addresses, one by the native Community and the other by the Surma Valley Tea Association. Replying to the address of the native Community, the Viceroy said :—

Gentlemen,—Permit me to thank you for the cordial welcome that you extended to me, yesterday and to-day. It has been a real pleasure to me to visit a locality, which, though it lies a little outside of the ordinary track, so well repays inspection. I have been struck by the beauty of your scenery, by the splendid promise of this year's crops, by the well-to-do appear-

ance of the people, and by the manifest sincerity of the reception, which you have offered to me, as the representative of our illustrious Sovereign. The only bitter drop in my cup of nectar is the absence of Lady Curzon to which you have so gracefully alluded, but which you cannot possibly deplore so much as myself. I am glad to hear you speak a good word for the Assam-Bengal Railway. I have had to say rather hard things of it in the past ; and later on, in my second reply, I may be called upon to allude to the effect that it has exercised and continues to exercise upon our general policy of railway development in Assam. However, whatever it may have cost in the jungles and hills, and whether it ought ever to have been carried through those regions or not, there cannot be a doubt that in the plains of Bengal, Sylhet and Cachar, it has been an unmixed blessing placing this part of Assam in touch with the outer world, bringing up, as you have pointed out, immense supplies of rice, at a time when famine was imminent and taking away the produce of your tea gardens and enabling the planters to obtain coolies, at a greatly reduced cost. You have alluded to the unfortunate depression in the tea industry in which I deeply sympathise with you, but, which will, perhaps, more appropriately come up for mention in reply to the succeeding Address. You have also referred to other evidences of a backward condition, such as the present state of education, and the alleged poverty of the district. In connection with the latter, you have stated, with obvious reference to the recent

re-settlement of the Cachar District, that it is a matter of grave concern that the revision of the land assessment invariably results in an enhancement of the land revenue, and that you sincerely trust, that the matter will occupy my attention. I am happy to assure you that your hopes stand in no danger of disappointment. I have spent a good many months during the past summer at Simla, where we are, sometimes, supposed to be kicking up our heels and having a good time (laughter) but, where, if I may speak for myself and the high officers of Government, we work as hard as any coal-miner, at the bottom of a shaft, or shall I say any cooly in any tea garden (loud laughter) in looking into this very question. And I hope that, before long, the Government of India may be in a position to make a broad and statesmanlike pronouncement of its views and its policy, upon the subject of land revenue and assessments indicating the principles upon which we proceed and the rules of guidance to which it is our desire to conform. I will only say here that, a rise in assessment itself is no more an improper and culpable thing, than is a rise in the rent of a house, or in the price of a house. If the article in question has gone up in value, the purchaser, or the part owner, or the essee, as the case may be, must expect to pay more when the period for making a new contract comes round. What we have to look to is that the increase in payment shall not be beyond the deserts of the case, or the capacity of the individual who has to pay it, and that it falls upon him in such a manner as to cause

the burden of a sudden enhancement. When the new settlement here was made I looked very carefully into the matter and I convinced myself that the increase in rate was neither unreasonable nor moderate. The rates here which vary from twelve annas to one rupee six annas per acre, for rice lands, are considerably lower than they are in the Assam Valley, and, if we exclude the whole of the culturable, but non-cultivated waste, and take only the cropped area, the incidence amounts only to one rupee ten annas per acre, as compared with three rupees in Sibsagore. This cannot be called a harsh assessment. Moreover the Government in pursuance of a policy, which, I hope that it will always observe, where the enhancement is relatively, though not intrinsically, high, has relinquished no small portion of its due by postponing the full levy for a number of years. As succeeding revisions occur you may be sure that the State will have no desire to pose as a hard task-master, but that it will always be ready to co-ordinate its own interests with those of the agricultural population.

You proceed to refer to the question of *begar*, and here I am in substantial agreement with what you say. *Begar* or impressed labour is a heritage from the days when the State revenue was largely paid in labour instead of in cash; but it is a system which is open to abuse and which, as communications develop, and free labour becomes available, is destined to disappear. British rule has witnessed its practical extinction, in Egypt, except for such purposes as the construction of

embankments against sudden floods. It has also been shorn of its abuses in Kashmir. Wherever the system survives, it is justified by the requirements of the public service, and the paucity of the local labour supply, and it is now everywhere free from the crowning abuse of the old-fashioned *begar*, inasmuch as it is invariably accompanied by a reasonable scale of pay. Thus in this district, after a memorial had been presented to me, by the *mirasdars* of Cachar, in 1900, a consultation between the Government of India and the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton resulted in an increase of the daily wages from six to eight annas. This increase of rate, which has, I believe, caused general satisfaction, will itself reduce the demand for *begar* labour, and in time, as you are brought into closer contract with the outside labour market, and as a larger labour population make its way into the Surma Valley, *begar* will cease to exist.

You have next referred to two subjects, which are receiving my close attention. The first is the union of judicial and executive functions, we have been in consultation with the Local Governments on the subject, and a mass of papers are awaiting my attention, which I have had not time to look at, but which I hope to take up and study in earnest next year. What conclusion they may lead to I cannot at present say. In the concrete case, to which you call my attention in this district, I understand that the difficulty arises from the fact that if the Deputy Commissioner ceased to exercise the functions of a Civil Judge, a separate officer would have to be imported for that purpose,

and that there would not be enough work for him to do. The second subject is the too rapid transfers of executive officers. The Hon'ble Mr. Cotton is not one whit behind myself in realising the injurious effects of these transfers upon the continuity and efficacy of administration. You may only rely upon him not to lose sight of these considerations in this or any other District. For my own part, I can truthfully say, that this is one of the blots upon our Indian practice—for it is no essential ingredient of the system—which, I have been doing my best, by our new leave rules, by Executive orders and otherwise, to remove. I heartily endorse the propositions that an officer, in order to do good work, must get to know the people, that he cannot get to know them, except by living among them for some time, and that he cannot do the latter if he is liable to sudden and capricious transfers. We are, I can assure you, well aware of this blemish, and our best efforts are directed to removing it. It has given me great pleasure to listen to your emphatic appreciation of the services of the Hon'ble Mr. Cotton, your present Chief Commissioner. He has never failed or wavered in his sympathy with the people of the province which he has been called upon to administer, and he will have the satisfaction of knowing, when he leaves you, that its interests have greatly prospered in his hands.

Finally you have indulged in some too generous expressions of sympathy with the task, which has been imposed upon myself. As the temporary Head of the

Government of India, I dare say, that one makes many mistakes. If I were in a quiet corner with you, instead of on a public platform, I might tell you a few of them myself (laughter). But when you say that at the bottom of one's heart there is no other desire than to do good to the people of this country, you speak the truth; and when you say this of me, you may say it, with equal truth, of the vast majority of the men of my race, who are engaged in administering the Government of India. The task is not always an easy one, for, it has to be pursued through much criticism, some misunderstanding, and occasional attack. On the other hand, in no country in the world, is there a more generous recognition of honest effort, or a more willing condonation of venial errors. That is both our encouragement and our consolation (loud cheers).

REPLY TO THE SURMA VALLEY TEA ASSOCIATION.

Replying to the address of the Surma Valley Tea Association, Lord Curzon said :—

Gentlemen,—your very temperate and well composed Address opens with a reference to the circumstance in which the only one of my predecessors, who ever visited the Surma Valley, came here as far back as 27 years ago. It may interest you to learn that, among the ex-Viceroy's of India of whom there are now five

living at Home, there is none who takes a keener or more constant interest in the welfare of the country which he once administered so conscientiously and so well than Lord Northbrook, and that he still follows with the closest vigilance everything that passes here, though it has taken his successors a quarter of a century to follow his example in visiting Silchar. I hope that the tradition may now become fixed, and that my successors will not be so unwise as to deny themselves the pleasure, which I am enjoying to-day, of meeting the inhabitants of this interesting and prosperous neighbourhood. I should not have regarded my acquaintance with Assam—circumscribed as in any case it must be—had I not been able to supplement my visit to the Brahmaputra Valley last year by a similar visit to the Surma Valley before the end of my term of office. The condition of the climate, of communications and of labour, differ to materially in the two cases, that a man would no more understand Assam, who had seen the one and not the other, than he would be able to judge of London had he only seen Bloomsbury and not Belgravia or *vice versa*. Which is Bloomsbury and which is Belgravia in the present case, I will not undertake to say (loud laughter,) perhaps neither is neither. (Renewed laughter.)

A prominent place has been given in your address to the subject of communications in this part of Assam, and to the desirability of connecting the tea-gardens by light feeder lines with the railway, or the river, and you add, that you entertain little doubt that capital

would be attracted to the District for this purpose if the Government of India could see its way to offer favourable terms and a minimum rate of interest. You are right in one respect, but, if you will allow me to say so, you are wrong in the other. The question is not one of favourable terms at all. We have never haggled about terms or if this has ever been done in the past we certainly should not do so now. We are prepared to make the conditions as favourable as is necessary. I might almost say as favourable as is desired. But that is not the question. The confidence of every promoter that I have come across, great as it is, falls short of being willing to undertake the risk without a Government guarantee. He always declares that the prospects are assured but he prefers that this should be assured by the bond of Government rather than by his own. Now I do not in the least complain of this. Businessmen are right to be cautious, and if they want to attract capital, they know that it is better to have Government behind them, than to step into the market alone. But as I explained last year at Gauhati the moment a Government guarantee is asked, the scheme passes at once into another category. It falls within the Government programme. It has to be correlated with every other railway demand that is based upon a Government guarantee, or that it involves the expenditure of Government money in every province of India.

You may say "why not, and why should not Assam have its turn to this?" The answer is very simple.

Assam is already having a good deal more than its turn. The allotment of the funds that we make annually to the Assam-Bengal Railway is greater than that to any other Railway in India with three exceptions, and two of these which are the main trunk lines not running through want, have been described to-day as backward districts but through the most populous Provinces of the Empire. Now we have to observe a certain proportion all round and we cannot out of the limited funds to our disposal, both provide large sums for the completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway—the great benefits of which to this district you have frankly admitted in your address—and, at the same time, risk it in the shape of guarantee upon a smaller local enterprises. If we did so, every other Province would clamour and scream, and my tours would be punctuated not so much by polite petitions as by angry protests. (Laughter). As soon as we have completed the Assam-Bengal Railway, then I hope, that we may have the means to help you elsewhere. Meanwhile, as I said last year, there is not the least objection to the Local Boards undertaking the matter on their own account. I should like to see an expansion given to the financing of small railways by Local Governments and their subordinate agencies, and if I were an Assam planter or a person interested in the exploitation of the country I would sit down and address myself to the problem from this point of view.

You have spoken in your address of the period of

depression through which the tea industry has been passing. I am glad to see from a careful study of the declared dividends of the various tea companies in Assam that this is not universal, but in some cases it is undoubtedly severe and generally speaking, it is widespread. Into the causes of this state of affairs it is not necessary for me now to enter. We discussed the whole matter at great length in our debates in Council at Calcutta last spring, and let me here say that I look back upon those proceedings with the most agreeable recollection. The case of the planters was stated with much ability by Mr. Buckingham and by Mr. Henderson, the latter of whom hailed from this immediate neighbourhood, and the substantial agreement at which we ultimately arrived was, I think, a proof of the advantage of frank and friendly debate. It certainly gave me a knowledge of tea which is incapable of being acquired from the inside of a tea cup (laughter), and which, I think, enables me to understand, more intelligently, the vicissitudes and troubles of the industry in which so many of you are engaged.

There is one respect in which I gather from your address that you think those troubles have been augmented, namely, by the recent revision of the land settlement in this district. I have looked into the matter, and I hardly think that the grievance is one of which much can be made. I remarked in reply to the preceding address that the rates here are much lower than those in force in the Assam Valley and find that the total enhancement upon the tea lands in Sylhet

was only Rs. 10,000 which can scarcely involve an appreciable addition to the cost of output. Moreover it has been in a large measure due to the assessment of lands which have been brought under cultivation since the last settlement, and which could not, of course, escape paying their due share. In cases where the enhancement might have involved a substantial increase in the working we have made the concession by postponement you have referred.

Gentlemen, having been twice to Assam in the course of 20 months, I do not suppose that it will ever be my good fortune to visit this province again. Let me say, therefore, that I shall always regard it as among the happiest features of my Vice-royalty that I have made the acquaintance of this most picturesque and progressive corner of His Majesty's dominions. And that if Assam ever wants a good word said for it, which I do not suppose is likely seeing that it has very well-equipped lungs of its own (loud laughter). I shall always be glad to place myself as its disposal (loud and prolonged applause.)

REPLY TO ADDRESSES AT MANIPUR.

At a Durbar held by the Viceroy at Manipur on the 16th November, 1901, two addresses were presented to His Excellency one by the Hindu and the other by the Mahomedan residents of Manipur. In reply Lord Curzon spoke as follows :—

Your Highness and the inhabitants of the Manipur State :—I have seen the question asked why should the head of the Government of India have come to

Manipur. I think that a sufficient answer might be forthcoming in the need of some change after incessant work elsewhere, or, it might be found in the magnificent scenery of the Manipur Hills, through which I have been marching for the past seven days, and in the picturesque features of this valley, capable, as it appears to me, of such immense development and of sustaining so much larger a population in the future. But neither of these is the reason that has drawn me to this distant spot. I have come here in pursuance of a definite resolution, formed, when first I was appointed to be the Viceroy of India namely, that I would, so far as health and circumstances might permit, visit all the outlying States and parts of India during my term of office, as well as the better known and the more important. My reason was twofold. In the first place I have always found it difficult clearly to understand any public question, until I have visited the locality, seen the inhabitants myself, and conversed with the local authorities on the spot. Secondly, I am, beyond all things, anxious to bring home to the minds of the people, even in the remote parts of this great Empire, that the Government knows about them, and is interested in their welfare, and that when they speak of the *sircar* they are alluding, not merely to a dim force, but to a concrete authority and to living persons. That is why I have come, so far out of my way to the little known Manipur. I wanted to see how this State has prospered, during the ten years that have passed since it was placed under British administration, and also,

what fortune is likely to await it, when, in a few years time the young Raja is gradually initiated into the administration of the State. The first thing I have to say is that the British Government does not repent of the clemency which induced it to spare the independence of Manipur, when the State and the people behaved so wickedly and so shamefully ten years ago. By these acts, the State became forfeit to the Crown, and it rested with the Government to make such disposal of it as might be thought best. The Government displayed great mercy and great consideration. It refrained from adding to the territories, under its direct administration, and it showed its desire so to manage the future of Manipur, that the people might still retain their liberties, and after passing through a period of good government might, once again be entrusted to a Native Chief, who should rule in accordance with the traditions and the laws of his race. This is the policy that has been pursued. Many evil customs have been abolished under the British administration and many good things have been introduced, and the people of Manipur are now a better governed, a more prosperous and a more peaceable community, than they were before the ten years of probation had begun. Secondly, I have to say that the Government will not recede from its decision. The *sircar* is a master, whose word, is a word that is to be obeyed. The old order of things and persons is an order that will not be allowed to come back—they are past and gone for ever. The old bad practices, that carried with them so much rebellion

and disorder in the State and so much oppression to the people will never return. They have been utterly destroyed, and persons who brought these troubles upon Manipur will never again be invested with power. The Government has selected the young Raja as the future ruler of the State. He has been given a good education and he has come back to Manipur to become familiar with the people and to learn the duties of the Raj. And so long as he is a good ruler and is just and benevolent to his people he will be supported by the British Government, and the latter will then have abundant cause to rejoice at the wise step that they have taken. Colonel Maxwell has given an account, in his speech of the changes that have passed over Manipur, during the ten years, in which he has administered the country. Consider what the British Government has done for you. The old *lallup* or forced labour has been abolished, and you are now free men and are paid good wages for your work. Domestic slavery has ceased to exist. A new system of taxation and of land revenue has been introduced, that is fair to all and is collected without hardship or oppression. Ten years ago, there was no Police to maintain order, no forest management to secure an income from the State forests, no department to look after public communication, such as bridges and roads, no education for your boys and girls. There was practically no trade in Manipur. The population was only 221,000 and the revenue was less than one lakh of rupees. Now there is a growing trade, the fisheries give an income

of about Rs. 30,000 a year, the population has grown to 2,84,000, and, under a continuation of just and tranquil rule, will greatly multiply. The revenue of the State, last year, was Rs. 3,87,000, and there is a cash balance of 3 lakhs of rupees. The hill tribes are peaceful and contented, each man is safe in his own house, and, if some old Manipuri of 50 or even 20 years ago, were to come back from the spirit world, he would say this is a new and a happier Manipur. For all these benefits, you owe much gratitude to the *sircar* and to Colonel Maxwell, who has been a prudent administrator and a true and trusted friend to Manipur. I hope that when his time comes to go, you will long hold his name in honoured remembrance.

I have received to-day two addresses from the Hindu and from the Mahomedan subjects of the Manipur State. The former number 1,72,000, out of the total population, and the latter 9,000. I will deal briefly with their respective petitions. The Hindus have expressed their gratitude that Government has restored the old *Chirap* Court and the *Imphal punchayat* and village *punchayat* Courts, and has appointed natives to be Judges in them. This is a part of the generous policy of the *sircar*, who is anxious that the people should continue to be judged by their own laws and by influential men of their own race, further they have asked that in accordance with old practice, lands should be granted free of rent to all Brahmins, shrines, Rajkumars, and Rajkumarics. I do not think that this was the old practice. Land was given rent-free to

certain of these classes, but not to all. Some of them continue to receive these privileges at present, but the policy of wholesale exemption is not one that is favoured by the British Government or that is sound, for the State. If every Brahmin and every Rajkumar and Rajkumari in Manipur were to be granted lands rent-free, there would be a considerable diminution in the public revenue, and other taxes would have to be imposed. Whether any further exemptions can be given beyond those which are now accorded is a matter which can be disposed of by the Raja when he succeeds to the administration. In praying for a reduction of the land assessment, the Hindu memorialists have also forgotten to state that if their prayer was granted, the income of the State would be reduced by one lakh or more than one quarter of the entire revenue. This would have to be made up from some other source and the memorialists might find themselves worse off at the end than they are now. I cannot follow the minute calculations which have been made in the address, but I observe that they proceed upon the assumption that the average price of *dhan* is 3 pots for a rupee. This has not been the average rate during the last eight years. It has been Rs. 2 anna 1 per pot. It should be remembered that, assessment rates must be guided, not by the circumstances of a specially cheap year, but by the average of a number of years, including the good as well as the bad. If an era of very low prices were now to begin the present scale of assessment might be found to be too high. At present it does not seem to be ex-

cessive. As regards the date of the payment, it does not much matter to the State when this takes place. It is the desire to fix it at periods, and in instalments which are fair and convenient to the cultivating classes.

The Mohamedans complain, in their address, that, they are treated like foreigners, and do not receive a fair share of Government appointments. They must remember that they are only a small minority in a Hindu State and who have but recently come to the country. The policy of the British Government is to deal out equal and proportionate treatment to all races and creeds. Native States are gradually learning to follow more and more the same ideal, and if the Mohamedans continue to be loyal subjects of the Manipur State, they will receive more liberal treatment as time passes on. The *sircar* is asked both to interfere and to leave men alone. It cannot, at the same time, do both. These are the principal subjects that have been named in the addresses that have been presented to me.

I have been glad to see this great crowd of persons the largest number that has probably ever been collected in a single building, and I have been pleased at the local reception accorded to me by the people.

In conclusion let me add that though I shall go far away and shall never see Manipur again I will not to get the Manipur people. I will, from time to time, make enquiries about them and their condition, and they may be sure that though they are very far off, the hand of the *sircar* will be over them, and they will be protected by the officers who are sent here to represent

the Government and to do the bidding of the great King (continued applause.)

REPLY TO THE PEOPLE'S ADDRESS AT KENDAT.

On the 23rd November, 1901, the Viceroy replying to an address of welcome presented by the inhabitants of Kendat, spoke as follows :—

Gentlemen,—as you are the first inhabitants of a Burmese town by whom I have been addressed, I may seize the opportunity of saying with what pleasure I visit this important province of the Indian Empire and with what interest I have approached it by a track which has enabled me to see places and persons whom I should not, in the ordinary course, have encountered. Your brief address opens with sentiments of gratifying loyalty to the throne of Great Britain and to the Sovereign who has lately ascended it in succession to his revered mother, Queen Victoria. The sympathy, which was felt for her Indian subjects by her, is equally entertained by her son, the present King-Emperor, and he receives with the keenest pleasure any tidings of the welfare of the Indian peoples. You next proceed to enumerate the advantages which the inhabitants of this part of Burma have derived from the assumption by the British Government of the administration—dacoities and lawlessness suppressed, a country tranquil and prosperous, trade remunerative and expanding, improved communications and a greater care for health—

this is the tale which you have to tell. I congratulate you on its realization and I trust that as time advances you may profit by these and similar blessings to an even greater degree.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CHIN CHIEFS.

On the 24th November, 1901, replying to an address presented by the Chin Chiefs Lord Curzon said :—

Chiefs of the Chin tribes, I am glad to see you to-day and I should have been still better pleased had I been able to visit you in your own hills. There is nothing that I enjoy more than making the acquaintance of the interesting peoples who live on the fringes of the Indian Empire and who retain customs and habits peculiar to themselves, and unlike their neighbours, my desire everywhere is not to suppress their individuality but to retain it so long as it is not used to justify violence or wrong-doing. As time however, did not permit of my coming to you in your own homes I rejoice that you have come here to see me and I have received your loyal Address with much satisfaction. Allusion has been made by you to the disarmament, which has for some time been proceeding in the Chin hills and to the more recent operations of the census and the Superintendent has represented the majority of the Chiefs as having acted faithfully and with zeal. I am pleased to hear that this is the case.

The policy of disarmament and of Government licenses for a suitable number of guns was not at first understood, but now that its consequences are seen in the peace that prevails in the hills and in the cessation of raids on the plains, its benefits are generally appreciated and the Chiefs know that they are consulting their own interests as well as those of Government in assisting to carry it out. You have been rewarded by the remission of one year's tribute in consequence. You also assure me that you will in no way be associated with the lawless acts, that are sometimes committed by your tradesmen owing to their turbulent nature, except to suppress them. I welcome the assurance. My own belief is that as the Chief is, so will the tribe tend to be, and that a good Chief means a good tribe. I shall bear in mind your promises and shall judge you by this task. It is the settled policy of Government to support the hereditary Chiefs to the uttermost, and to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of the tribes except in the interests of order and peace. For this support, Chiefs, you owe a return to Government. The census also was most important, to some of the tribes this is a novel procedure and it excited some suspicion. You should remember, however, that the desire of Government is to know your numbers in order that if they be small we may endeavour to increase them, whereas if they be large we may be conscious of the extent of your claims. Now that we have learned from the census that there are at least 95,000 Chins in this part of the country, and probably

more, we realise how large is the community for which the Government has made itself responsible. You have given me certain assurances. I will now give one to you. Do not imagine for one moment that the British Government is going to leave you or to abandon your country. As the Head of the Government I should not have come all this way to speak to you if we were going to evacuate the Chin hills. On the contrary we are going to stay with you and you will be permanently under the British Raj. You have my word for this. The knowledge of it will enable you to turn your attention to the development of your country, to the encouragement of trade, which is now in a backward state, and the exploitation of the resources of your forests, which have long been neglected. Another source of security lies in the fact that the boundaries of the Chin country between the Chin and the Lushais and between the Chins and Manipur have now been settled, so that no further difficulties on questions of jurisdiction can arise. When a country is under a firm and civilised administration and when its frontiers have been fixed there is no further excuse for disorder. And the only thing that remains for its inhabitants to do is to promote their own prosperity by turning to the act of peace. I have been pleased to see from the reports that have been laid before me, that the Officers of Government have distinguished themselves by their energy and activity in touring amid the Chin hills. This is the true secret of Government. The Officers can only get to know the Chiefs and the people by

moving about in their midst and by seeing them in their villages. Thus confidence is bred on both sides, for we trust those whom we know and we are frightened by that which is vague and unknown. For this reason also, I have marched across from Assam in order that I might make the acquaintance of the Manipuries and the Nagas and the Chins and I shall henceforward look upon the inhabitants of these regions as the people whom it will always be my desire to befriend.

PART II.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES.

ON ANCIENT BUILDINGS IN INDIA.

On the 7th February, 1900, at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held at the Society's Rooms in Park Street, Calcutta, His Excellency Lord Curzon delivered the following speech on "Ancient Buildings in India" :—

I hope that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society, a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect of ancient buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independent study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

In the course of my recent tour, during which I

visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if, indeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries. Their abundant private wealth is available for the acquisition or the conservation of that which is frequently private property. Corporations, societies, endowments, trusts, provide a vast machinery that relieves the Government of a large portion of its obligation. The historic buildings, the magnificent temples, the inestimable works of art, are invested with a publicity that to some extent saves them from the risk of desecration or the encroachments of decay. Here all is different. India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of for-

gotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are, for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out-of-the way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient buliding the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience. All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon Government in India. If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art and beauty and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmins stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mahomedan musjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look it in the eyes—these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look. Much of ancient

history, even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess-work. It is only slowly being pieced together by the efforts of scholars and by the outcome on research. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand, in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars, and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age.

Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European, monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the 3rd century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier. At that time the palaces of Chaldœa and Nineveh, the Pyramids and the rock-tombs of Egypt, were already thousands of years old. We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Mahomedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall in London, which we are far from regard-

ing as an ancient monument. As for the later glories of Arabian architecture at Delhi, at Agra, and at Lahore, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we regard in England as the last product of a dying architectural epoch, were already grey when they sprang, white and spotless, from the hands of the masons of Akbar and Shah Jehan; while the Taj Mahal was only one generation older than Wren's Renaissance fabric of modern St. Paul's.

There is another remarkable feature of the majority of Indian antiquities—of those at any rate that belong to the Mussulman epoch—that they do not represent an indigenous genius or an Indian style. They are exotics imported into this country in the train of conquerors, who had learnt their architectural lessons in Persia, in Central Asia, in Arabia, in Afghanistan. More than a thousand years earlier a foreign influence had exercised a scarcely less marked, though more transient, influence upon certain forms of Indian architecture. I allude to the Greek types which were derived from the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms, that were founded upon the remains of Alexander's conquests, and which in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era profoundly affected the art and sculpture of North West India, and the Punjab. Indian sculptures or Indian buildings, however, because they reflect a foreign influence or betray a foreign origin, are not the less, but perhaps the more interesting to ourselves, who were borne to India upon the crest of a later, but similar, wave, and who may find in their non-Indian

characteristics a reminiscence of forms which we already know in Europe, and of a process of assimilation with which our own archæological history has rendered us familiar. Indeed, a race like our own, who are themselves foreigners, are in a sense better fitted to guard, with a dispassionate and impartial zeal, the relics of different ages and of sometimes antagonistic beliefs, than might be the descendants of the warring races or the votaries of the rival creeds. To us the relics of Hindoo and Mahomedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid, and the other a weaker emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling Power.

If, however, the majority of the structural monuments of India, the topes and temples, the palaces and fortresses and tombs be of no exceeding antiquity in the chronology of architecture, and even if the greater number of those at any rate which are well known and visited, are not indigenious in origin, it remains true, on the other hand, that it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archæologist in India will in future lie. The later pages of Indian

history are known to us, and can be read by all. But a curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think the Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample.

If then the question be asked how has the British Government hitherto discharged, and how is it now discharging its task, what is the answer that must be returned? I may say in preface that were the answer unfavourable—and I will presently examine that point—we should merely be forging a fresh link in an unbroken historic chain. Every or nearly every successive religion that has permeated or overswept this country has vindicated its own fervour at the expense of the rival whom it had dethroned. When the Brahmins

went to Ellora, they hacked away the features of all the seated Buddhas in the rock-chapels and halls. When Kutub-ud-din commenced, and Altamsh continued, the majestic mosque that flanks the Kutub Minar, it was with the spoil of Hindoo temples that they reared the fabric, carefully defacing or besmearing the sculptured Jain images, as they consecrated them to their novel purpose. What part of India did not bear witness to the ruthless vandalism of the great iconoclast Aurangzeb? When we admire his great mosque with its tapering minarets, which are the chief feature of the river front at Benares, how many of us remember that he tore down the holy Hindoo temple of Vishveshwar to furnish the material and to supply the site? Nadir Shah during his short Indian inroad effected a greater spoliation that has probably ever been achieved in so brief a space of time. When the Mahratta conquerors overran Northern India, they pitilessly mutilated and wantonly destroyed. When Ranjit Singh built the Golden Temple at Umritsar, he ostentatiously rifled Mahomedan buildings and mosques. Nay, dynasties did not spare their own members, nor religions their own shrines. If a capital or fort or sanctuary was not completed in the life-time of the builder, there was small chance of its being finished, there was a very fair chance of its being despoiled, by his successor and heir. The environs of Delhi are a wilderness of deserted cities and devastated tombs. Each fresh conqueror, Hindoo or Moghul, or Pathan, marched, so to speak, to his own immortality

over his predecessor's grave. The great Akbar in a more peaceful age first removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra, and then built Fatehpur Sikri as a new capital only to be abandoned by his successor. Jehangir alternated between Delhi and Agra, but preferred Lahore to either. Shah Jehan beautified Agra, and then contemplated a final return to Delhi. Aurangzeb marched away to the south, and founded still another capital, and was himself buried in territories that now belong to Hyderabad. These successive changes, while they may have reflected little more than a despot's caprice, were yet inimical both to the completion and to the continuous existence of architectural fabrics. The British Government are fortunately exempt from any such promptings, either of religious fanaticism, of restless vanity, or of dynastic and personal pride. But in proportion as they have been unassailed by such temptations, so is their responsibility the greater for inaugurating a new era and for displaying that tolerant and enlightened respect to the treasures of all which is one of the main lessons that the returning West has been able to teach to the East.

In the domain of archæology as elsewhere, the original example of duty has been set to the Government of India by individual effort and by private enthusiasm; and only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task. The early archæological researches, conducted by the founders and pioneers of this Society, by Jones,

Colebrooke, Wilson, and Prinsep, and by many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*, were in the main literary in character. They consisted in the reconstruction of alphabets, the translation of MSS., and the decipherment of inscriptions. Sanscrit scholarship was the academic cult of the hour. How these men laboured is illustrated by the fact that Prinsep and Kittoe both died of overwork at the age of forty. Then followed an era of research in buildings and monuments ; the pen was supplemented by the spade ; and, in succession, descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings, and in later days photographs and casts gradually revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unrifled quarries of Hindoostan. In this generation of explorers and writers, special honour must be paid to two names, to James Fergusson, whose earliest work was published in 1845, and who was the first to place the examination of Indian architecture upon a scholarly basis, and to General Sir A. Cunningham, who only a few years later was engaged in the first scientific excavation of the Bhilsa topes. These and other toilers in the same field laboured with a diligence beyond praise ; but the work was too great for individual exertion, and much of it remained desultory, fragmentary, and incomplete.

Meanwhile the Government of India was concerned with laying the foundations and extending the borders of a new Empire, and thought little of the relics of old ones. From time to time a Governor-General in an access of exceptional enlightenment or generosity, spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient

monuments. Lord Minto appointed a Committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutub Minar. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction arrangements for the examination, delineation, and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities. But these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than the collection of a few drawings, and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs. How little the leaven had permeated the lump, and how strongly the barbarian still dominated the æsthetic in the official mind, may be shown by incidents that from time to time occurred.

In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra, which had been torn by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV, but had somehow never been despatched. In the same *regime* a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the Executive Engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the destruction of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mahomedan pillar, over 600 years

old, which was demolished at Aligarh, to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some bunias' shops which when built were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindoo-Mussulman mosque at Ajmere were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day was to pass. James Fergusson's books sounded one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder, and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hill-top at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldiers, and the relics, not yet entirely obliterated, of his occupation of the Palace in the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guide-books of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jehan. It is not yet thirty years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi, in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical doctrinaires appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements, in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date when picnic-parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they wiled away

the after-noon by chipping out fragments of a gate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen. Indeed when I was at Agra the other day, I found that the marble tomb of Shah Jehan in the lower vault, beneath which his body actually lies, was still destitute of much of its original inlay, of which I ordered the restoration.

That the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own. When Fergusson wrote his book, the Diwan-i-Am, or Public Hall of Audience, in the Palace at Delhi was a military arsenal, the outer colonnades of which had been built up with brick arches lightened by English windows. All this was afterwards removed. But when the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost, and a fresh coat of white-wash was plentifully bespattered over the red sandstone pillars and plinths of the Durbar-hall of Aurangzeb. This, too, I hope to get removed. When His Royal Highness was at Agra, and the various pavilions of Shah Jehan's palace were connected together for the purposes of an evening party and ball, local talent was called in to reproduce the faded paintings on marble and plaster of the Moghul artists two and-a-half centuries before. The result of their labours is still an eyesore and a regret. When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jehangir exactly three hundred years ago,

still used for the profane purpose to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, *viz.*, as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brick-work, and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen. Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mahomedan predecessors, and half-a-century of British military occupation, with its universal paint-pot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to rescue the main building of the Moghul Palace from those two insatiable enemies. At Ahmedabad I found the mosque of Sidi Sayid, the pierced stone lattice work of whose demi-lune windows is one of the glories of India, used as a tehsildar's kutcherry, and disfigured with plaster partitions, and the omnivorous white-wash. I hope to effect the reconversion of this building. After the conquest of Upper Burma in 1885 the Palace of the Kings at Mandalay which, although built for the most part of wood, is yet a noble specimen of Burmese art, was converted by our conquering battalions into a Club House, a Government Office, and a Church. By degrees I am engaged in removing these superfluous denizens, with the idea of preserving the building as the monument, not of a dynasty that has vanished never to return, but of an art that, subject to the

vicissitude of fire, earthquake, and decay, is capable of being a joy for ever. There are other sites and fabrics in India upon which I also have my eye, which I shall visit, if possible, during my time, and which I shall hope to rescue from a kindred or a worse fate.

These are the gloomy or regrettable features of the picture. On the other hand, there has been, during the last forty years, some sort of sustained effort on the part of Government to recognize its responsibilities and to purge itself of a well-merited reproach. This attempt has been accompanied, and sometimes delayed, by disputes as to the rival claims of research and of conservation, and by discussion over the legitimate spheres of action of the Central and the Local Governments. There have been periods of supineness as well as of activity. There have been moments when it has been argued that the State had exhausted its duty or that it possessed no duty at all. There have been persons who thought that when all the chief monuments were indexed and classified, we might sit down with folded hands and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that railways and irrigation did not leave even a modest $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of rupees per annum for the requisite establishment to supervise the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world. Nevertheless, with these interruptions and exceptions, which I hope may never again recur, the progress has been positive, and, on the whole, continuous. It was Lord Canning who first invested archæological work in this country with

permanent Government patronage by constituting in 1860 the Archæological Survey of Northern India and by appointing General Cunningham in 1862 to be Archæological Surveyor to Government. From that period date the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, which have at times assumed different forms, and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute, on the whole, a noble mine of information, in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil. For over twenty years General Cunningham continued his labours, of which these publications are the memorial. Meanwhile orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India, local surveys were started in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay Survey being placed in the capable hands of Mr. Burgess, who was a worthy follower in the footsteps of Cunningham, and who ultimately succeeded him as Director General of the Archæological Survey. Some of the Native States followed the example thus set to them, and either applied for the services of the Government archæologists, or established small departments of their own.

In the provinces much depended upon the individual tastes or proclivities of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor just as at headquarters the strength of the impetus varied with the attitude of successive Viceroys. Lord Northbrook, who was always a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of Local Governments; and in his Viceroyalty,

Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of renovation and repair at Agra—a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the Palace of Shah Jehan. The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of 3½ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in the North-West Provinces, and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Curator of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried by his successor, Lord Ripon. During the three years that Major Cole held this post, from 1880 to 1883, much excellent work in respect both of reports and classification was done; and large sums of money were given by the Government of India, *inter alia*, for repairs in the Gwalior Fort and at Sanchi Tope. But at the end of this time succeeded a period of some reaction, in which it appeared to be thought that the task of the Central Government, in the preparation of surveys and lists, was drawing to a close, and that Local Governments might, in future, be safely entrusted with the more modest, but I may add, not less critical, duty of conservation. More recently, under Lord Elgin's auspices the archæological work of Government has been placed upon a more definite basis. The entire country has been divided into a number of

circles, each with a surveyor of its own, and while the establishment is regarded as an Imperial charge, the work is placed under local control, and receives such financial backing as the resources of the Local Governments or the sympathies of individual Governors may be able to give it. In the North-West Provinces, where I was recently touring, I found Sir Antony MacDonnell worthily sustaining, in point of generous and discriminating sympathy, the traditions that were created by Sir John Strachey.

For my part I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archæological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the tax-payers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archæological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more

liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge.

AT THE FAMINE MEETING IN CALCUTTA.

A public meeting was held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 16th February, 1900, in connection with the Famine in India. The Viceroy presided. On being unanimously asked to the Chair on the motion of Maharajah Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Spink, His Excellency made the following opening speech :—

It is a source of much distress to me that the first occasion upon which I should have been invited to take the chair at a great meeting of the citizens of Calcutta, convened by the Sheriff in deference to a requisition from the leading members both of the European and native communities, should be of the present character. It is a sorrowful task to stand up and to speak of the sufferings of millions of our fellow-creatures who, while we are living in comfort and affluence, are enduring severe hardships and privations, and are practically only being saved from the clutches of death by the direct action of the State. And yet, on the other hand, I can imagine no occasion more loudly calling for a meeting such as this, or for the presence of the Viceroy in the chair, than one in which he should, as the head of the Government of India, as the official spokesman of society, and as the representa-

tive of Her Majesty the Queen, address that appeal to the Indian world, which he is probably only anticipating its natural instincts in making, but which, nevertheless, will derive force and concentration from the circumstances under which it is delivered. You are all aware, ladies and gentlemen, that we are confronted in India by a famine of unparalleled magnitude. Of each famine as it comes these words are apt to be used ; and I am conscious of the dangers of exaggeration. At the same time, from the figures and facts submitted to me, from the totals already on relief, and from the estimates of the probable duration and extent of the suffering that have been sent up, I entertain little doubt that, in the territories that are seriously affected, the description is literally true. I might emphasize the tragedy and the pathos of the situation by adding that in some parts of India plague co-exists with famine, and that, for instance, in Bombay city, more people are now dying in each week from plague than has ever been the case before, at the same moment that in other parts of the Bombay Presidency more people are only being saved from death from famine by Government relief. On the present occasion, however, I prefer to say nothing further about plague. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof". The picture is already sombre enough without any darkening of the colours, and it is to the situation as created by famine alone that I invite your attention this afternoon.

I have, during the past few days, received accounts, specially sent to me at my request, from every affected

province or part of India, which enable me to give you the most recent tidings. When I spoke in Council, exactly four weeks ago from today, the numbers throughout India in receipt of relief exceeded $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions. Today, in spite of the closer stringency of tests which has been applied, and which, I may say in passing, has been unanimously welcomed by the Local Governments and officers as both timely and necessary, the total exceeds $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions. No such number of persons has ever before been simultaneously relieved by any Government in the world. But I am constrained to admit that, in spite of every legitimate precaution that may be taken, these totals are not likely to prove the maximum, but that in the spring and summer months that lie before us, they will be substantially increased.

Bombay reports to us a distress that is attacking classes and strata of society hitherto exempt. The Punjab says that the loss of crops in that province has been the greatest on record, and that, whereas in 1897 the numbers on relief steadily declined from the month of February onwards, in the present year they will as surely mount up. In the Central Provinces $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons are already on relief, and the Chief Commissioner contemplates that before June this total may have swollen to two millions. The Central Provinces were the dark spot of the famine of 1896-97. But the intensity and extent of the drought are greater now, and must leave a blight upon that unhappy province for many a long year to come. In Central India, even

fertile Malwa, which has always been an asylum for famine stricken wanderers from other parts, has itself been stripped bare, and hundreds of thousands of poor fugitives who crowded over the border in the early days of scarcity, have drifted back again, to pick up a meagre substance wherever they can. Famine conditions of the worst type prevail in Western Rajputana, where Jodhpore has lost as much as 90 per cent of its stock of cattle ; other States little less ; and they are spreading towards the Eastern parts of that region.

All these circumstances will show you that there is no exaggeration in describing the present as an unprecedented emergency, and that it is with as forcible and overpowering a ground of appeal as any pleader for charity ever possessed, that I appear before you this afternoon. I think I may say with truth that, except in some Native States, which either did not possess the requisite organisation or which began rather late in the day, mortality from famine has, so far, been almost completely, if not absolutely, repressed. Such deaths as have occurred here or there have been of a character normal in any period of distress, owing to lowered physique. At such times some of the invalids and weaklings of the village inevitably die. But there has been a conspicuous absence on the present occasion of the poor emaciated wasters, the living skeletons, whose pitiful likenesses nearly broke our hearts when they appeared in the illustrated papers three years ago. When I remember that the great Duke of Wellington, who had to fight a big famine in the Deccan while in

command there at the beginning of the present century, wrote in one of his Despatches that at Ahmednagar alone fifty persons died of starvation each day, and when I contemplate the enormous numbers with which we are now dealing, I do feel some glow of honourable pride. To any who may think that the recent rains which have fallen in some parts of India and the fringe of which has even reached us in Calcutta, may sensibly alleviate the position, I must regretfully point out that, while they have been of some assistance in parts of the Punjab, even there they have produced no check upon the upward rise of the relief figures, while elsewhere in the afflicted parts of Bombay, Rajputana, Central India, and the Central Provinces, there has been no rain at all. There the ground is like an even, which, as the spring grows into summer, will become hotter and still more burning.

Ladies and gentlemen, a month ago, I hardly contemplated that, great and increasing as our sufferings were, we could expect very much practical assistance from England. Sympathy from all, help from the particular friends of India, contributions from a few. I felt certain that we should receive. But that, in the midst of all its anxieties and troubles, the British nation should open wide its purse to us seemed to me to be unlikely, and even not to be expected. I scarcely thought that the expression of my doubt would be transmitted home. But never was I more pleased than when I ascertained that I had underrated the degree of interest which many of my countrymen in England

take in India, however great their absorption in other concerns, and when the Lord Mayor came forward and offered to place the prestige and help of the Mansion House at our disposal. I felt then, and the Secretary of State shared my opinion, that to all in England who were willing to give, the opportunity should not be denied; that, whether the offerings were great or small, they would be acceptable; and that, though the old country could not do for us again what it did in 1896-97, something of value might be expected from its generosity. It is in these circumstances that a branch of the fund which we are about to inaugurate this afternoon, is being opened today in London by the Lord Mayor, to which the subscriptions of our English friends and sympathisers will be sent. Meanwhile we had already decided to open an Indian Famine Fund here, and to make our appeal to the entire country. My first step in the constitution of the requisite machinery was to ask Her Majesty the Queen-Empress if she would again consent, as in 1897, to be patron of the fund. Along with Her gracious acceptance of this post, Her Majesty generously announced a contribution of £1,000 towards the fund, only one among many examples of her noble fellow-feeling for her Indian people. In India, I have already found that a similar interest and a like generosity prevail. Before this meeting or this fund were made known, the Maharaja of Darbhanga came to me, and in that spirit of open-handed and large-hearted munificence which we have learned in a comparatively short time to associate per-

100 2ND & 3RD YEAR'S SPEECHES OF LORD CURZON.

manently with his name, he offered to inaugurate any such fund by a donation—a truly princely donation—of 1½ lakhs or £10,000. Other generous offers and promises have since followed, and already, I think, I may say that the ship that we are launching this afternoon in fairly under way.

I may mention the following additional donations :—

	Rs
Maharani of Hattwa	1,00,000
British India Steam Navigation Co. and Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co.	80,000
Nawab of Dacca	50,000
Maharaja of Burdwan	10,000
Messrs. Ralli Brothers (in addition to Rs. 20,000 given to Bombay— Rs. 30,000 in all)	10,000
„ Apcar & Co.	10,000
„ Copper Allen & Co.	10,000
„ Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co.	5,000
„ Graham & Co. (and Rs. 5,000 promised to Bombay—Rs. 10,000 in all)	5,000
„ Thomas Duff & Co.	5,000
„ Birkmyre Brothers	5,000
„ Schroder Smidt & Co.	5,000
„ Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co.	5,000
India General Steam Navigation Co. and Kilburn & Co.	5,000
Barry & Co.	5,000
Jardine, Skinner & Co.	5,000
Or in all Rs.	4,65,000

I may add that I have been fortunate enough to persuade Sir Francis Maclean, the Chief Justice of Bengal, who was Chairman of the Committee in 1897, to give us the advantage of his experience and authority in the same capacity now, and also to enlist the energies of Mr. Donald Smeaton as Secretary.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, you may expect a few words from me as to the conditions under which we appeal to your charity and the objects to which it will be applied. I am not inclined to draw any pedantic distinction between the spheres of Government duty and of private benevolence. Wide as is the scope of the former, inasmuch as it includes the whole duty of saving human life, it is not so ample as to leave no margin for outside assistance. We are not asking you to relieve Government of its due burden, or to save us from one penny of expenditure that ought properly to fall upon our shoulders. Whatever you give us will make no difference in the extent and character of our outlay. That is fixed for us by the high conception, that we entertain of our public duty. But for all that, there is an ample field for private generosity, both in supplement to that which the State can do and must do, and often in pursuit of that which the State cannot do at all. It is our task to keep the people alive, and to see them safely through the period of their sufferings. But no expert knowledge is required to recognize that there are a hundred ways in which the condition of their sufferings may be alleviated, while they still last, and a fresh start in the world

be given to the sufferers when the worst is over. The legitimate objects of private charity have, indeed, been carefully analysed and scientifically laid down both by Government during the last famine, and by the Famine Commission afterwards. We ask your money to provide warm raiment, clothes and blankets, for the poor workers, who spend their nights out of doors, either in the open air or under flimsy mats of straw. In the Punjab as you know, it is still very cold at nights. Later on, when the rains come, the same covering will be required to ward off the chills that bring fever and dysentery in their train. Think, again, of the good that may be done by the distribution of small comforts, of milk and arrowroot and cornflour, and other medicinal sustenance, to the aged and infirm, to invalids, and above all to children. My one happy experience in connection with the whole famine is my recollection of having saved the lives of two poor little children in Kathiawar, who were very nearly gone, but for whom I ordered milk to be supplied until they were quite recovered, as I have since heard with satisfactory results. A third object to which the funds subscribed by charity are devoted is the relief of orphans, although I hope that our timely measures and vast outlay may prevent there being many of this class upon the present occasion. Then there is a class who appeal peculiarly for private assistance, since they deliberately, though for the most honourable of motives, elect to stand outside of State relief. I allude to the *purda nashin* women whom our system does not touch, and to the

destitute, but respectable, persons and classes who are too proud to apply for Government help, who find it derogatory to labour, and who would sooner die than beg. In Native States these are likely to be provided for. But there is many a silent sufferer of these classes in British India for whom I would plead. Finally, there remains the great object upon which the bulk of the money that was subscribed in 1897 was spent, *viz.*, the provision of cattle, of grain, of fodder, of implements, to enable the sufferers to make a start again in life, when the time of adversity is past. Government does what it can in such cases by *taccavi* advances, by remissions of rent, and otherwise ; but it is beyond our power to cover the whole field that is open : and there is not a donor, however humble, in India or in England, of even a rupee or a shilling to our cause, who may not be honestly confident that that petty sum will bring a ray of light, a dawning of hope, into the heart of some unhappy peasant who, for months, will not have known what light or hope were. These, then, are the objects upon which will be expended such funds, whether from England or from India, as the public may be willing to give us. Let me add that, on the present occasion, we propose to make no discrimination between the claim of Native States and of British India. In the famine of 1897 organized relief was only in an experimental stage in Native territory ; relief fund committees had not been created ; the agency for distribution did not exist, and the fund was primarily raised for British India. This year, however, famine

is much more pronounced in the Native States; the distress in many of them is very acute; their recuperative power will be small; the Chiefs and Durbars have, under the initiative of Government, accepted a responsibility quite new to them, and have organized a system which has in many cases placed a severe strain upon their resources. We owe them a return for their gallant efforts, and their people deserve the public bounty just as much as do our own. In some of these Native States private charity has already come to the assistance of the Durbars. The Seths of Bikanir and Bundelkhund have been loyally and generously assisting the Chiefs. Private committees exist in Jaipur, Ajmere, Abu, and other places. As we have read in the newspapers, public committees and funds were started, some time ago, both in Bombay and in the Punjab. While native generosity is thus forthcoming in many parts, though not, I regret to say, equally in all, it is a pleasure to me to add that I know of many cases in which English officers, personally engaged in the famine fight, are setting aside no small portion of their own salaries to supplement the relief which they are already administering on behalf of Government. Similarly, many a native official is labouring manfully in the common cause.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, though I do not suppose that there is any one in this hall who would ask why Bengal and Calcutta should be asked to contribute when they are not suffering, yet should such a thought occur to any man, I would say to him

that this is the very reason why I invite him all the more to subscribe. Not merely is Indian suffering an Indian interest, irrespective of province, or district, or city, but there is in the circumstances of the present case a peculiar reason for a generous response in this part of the country. While no rain has fallen elsewhere, Bengal has enjoyed a full share. The suffering of others has even proved your gain: for the Bengal cultivators have realised for their surplus crops a price that in ordinary times they would not have touched. Apart from this, however, was there ever a case in which the rich man out of his abundance should more freely give to the poor man in his misery? If any rich man in this city is in any doubt as to whether he should subscribe, I would gladly give him a railway ticket to a famine district and take what he chose to give me on his return. He might go with a hard heart; but he would come back with a broken one. Nor need any poor man desist from offering his mite. A mite to him may be almost a fortune to the starving. To each of us, therefore, the call should come; to every one, European or native, official, merchant, or professional man, it may equally appeal. In yielding to it, we shall be obeying a summons that lies at the root of all religion, and is the consecration of our common humanity.

THE BUSINESS OF THE MEETING OVER.

Archbishop Goethals proposed a vote of thanks to the Viceroy for presiding. The Viceroy, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said :—

Your Honor, ladies and gentlemen,—Allow me to thank you very warmly for the compliment that you have paid me by passing this vote of thanks. It was specially gratifying to me that the motion should have emanated from such an old citizen of Calcutta as Archbishop Goethals. That within a year after my coming to India I should have received from his lips a tribute so warm as that which he has been kind enough to pay me is, I can assure you, a source of the utmost gratification to me. He is, I believe, before long going to leave Calcutta. I only hope that it is to return and that we shall not lose his genial and popular presence in our midst. The motion for a vote of thanks to me was very eloquently seconded by Raja Ban Behari Kapur, of Burdwan, and I thank him for the words he used, although I think I would prefer to wait till the end of my five years to see if I deserve all the good things said about me, instead of accepting them on the present occasion. It only remains for me to say that the confident hope I expressed in my former speech, that I might be able to make a further announcement, before I left the room, of contributions has not been disappointed. Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore has given Rs. 10,000 to the Fund; the Maharaja of Mymensing has given Rs. 5,000; and the Hon'ble Rajah Ranajit Singh of Nashipore, has given Rs. 20,000,

and for all those who have not yet given, whether they sit behind me or sit before, I may remark that an excellent opportunity of showing that they are actuated by the same spirit which pervades the speeches of the speakers will be afforded them. In the vestibule, where you cannot help seeing it, is a table, and on that table is a book, and by that book is a pot of ink and a pen. Therefore—it is in the power of every person here, as he passes that book, to write down in it his actual practical financial testimony to the realizing of this meeting. I may say that I propose to set an excellent example by writing in it myself. I hope that this example will be followed by others, and that the words which have fallen from more than one speaker this afternoon might come to pass, and that in its realization, this may be called a record meeting of the citizens of Calcutta. The first general meeting of the Committee will be held on the afternoon of the 19th instant in the Committee room of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

At the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held at the Senate House at 3 P. M. on Saturday the 17th February, 1900, after the usual presentation of the graduates, His Excellency the Chancellor addressed them in the following terms :—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Graduates of the Calcutta University.—Believe me that it is with no small pleasure that I have for the second time taken my seat in

this hall to-day at your annual Convocation as Chancellor of the Calcutta University. With each succeeding year my interest in my Indian work tends to increase rather than to diminish; and the recurrence of this annual anniversary brings me back with renewed ardour to the contemplation, not merely of your own academic history during the past twelve months, but of the progress of that great educational undertaking of which this University is the exemplar and head.

There have just passed before me a number of young men who have this afternoon received the degrees which the Calcutta University bestows upon those who have successfully surmounted its tests. I wonder if any of these young men have paused to ask themselves what is the object of the examination that they have so recently passed, and of the teaching that has enabled them to pass it. I hope that they do not look at the matter exclusively from the utilitarian point of view. On the face of it, it may appear that they have been acquiring knowledge which has a definite and realisable value, because it will help them to obtain a career for themselves, and sustenance for their families and belongings. It is quite a legitimate and even an honourable object to acquire such knowledge, and to use it in order to obtain such employment. But it would be an insult to knowledge to regard knowledge as a means only, or employment as the only end. The ultimate justification of our educational system, culminating as it does in the degrees of the Indian Universities, is that the character of the individual

student shall thereby be moulded into a higher moral and intellectual type. If this ideal be reached, he becomes not only a better pleader, or clerk, or journalist, or official in the Government service, or whatever his future career may be, but he becomes a finer specimen of a man. He exercises a healthy influence on his environment. He inspires others with his example. He elevates and purifies the tone of the society to which he belongs or the administration of which he forms a part.

Gentlemen, this aspect of University education is invested in India with an interest greater, I think, than in any other country. In an English University and in European Universities generally, we teach our young men to a large extent, it is true, in foreign and even in dead languages, and to some extent in subjects which are of value rather as a mental discipline than as a practical accomplishment. For instance, many a young man learns to write Greek iambs, of which he will assuredly never compose another in his life ; or he studies Euclid, though in a few years' time he will have ceased to remember a single proposition. But with all this variety and transience of subject-matter, it remains true that the thoughts, the precepts, the ideas, the framework, in fact, of knowledge which is there communicated to his mind—are, whatever the language in which they were originally expressed, or the age to which they belong—not essentially different from those of the modern world of which he is a component part. We imbibe, for instance, much the same con-

ceptions of liberty and patriotism from an oration of Demosthenes as we do from a speech of Burke. The philosophy of history is as profound in the pages of Thucydides as it is in those of Gibbon. The same problems of mental and moral science, though expressed in different formulas, are examined by Plato and Aristotle as by Berkeley and Spencer. A Greek tragedy does not set forth a paler image of the moral forces that govern the world, though it be the product of a pagan imagination, than does a Milton or a Wordsworth.

But here all is different. We teach you in your Indian Colleges, and we examine you in the Indian Universities upon subjects not merely conveyed to you in a foreign language, but representing foreign ideas and modes of thought. They are like an aerolite discharged into space from a distant planet, or like exotic plants imported from some antipodean clime. They are the outcome of an alien school of science, of philosophy, of logic, of literature, of art. Well may an intelligent observer look to see what is the issue of so remarkable an experiment, and well may he wonder whether the result of this daring alchemy will be fusion or discord. Above all, he will ask—and that is the question that I also ask, and that I want you to put to yourselves—what is the effect that is produced upon individual character, and upon that aggregate of individual characters that makes up the national character of the East, by a curriculum almost exclusively borrowed from the West. When these two

intellectual streams meet, the positive; the synthetic, the practical,—and the imaginative, the metaphysical, and the analytic—do they run side by side in the same channel, as we have sometimes seen rivers do after their confluence, one clear and bright, and the other stained and dark from the soil through which it has flowed; or do they mix their waters in a fresh and homogeneous current, with an identity and a colour of its own?

Gentlemen, I have no doubt that much might be said on both sides of this question. There will be those who urge that the speculative side of the human intellect with difficulty assimilates the positive method, and that reflectiveness is incompatible with action. They will argue that a veneer of Western learning and culture upon an Oriental sub-stratum furnishes a flimsy and unstable fabric; that you cannot amalgamate the subtlety and acumen of the East with the more robust and masculine standards of the West; and that the more complete the illusory and ephemeral success of the experiment, the more violent will be the recoil and the more disastrous the consequences. There is some truth in this pessimism. But it is far from being the whole truth. We are all of us familiar with the half-denationalised type of humanity who has lost the virtues of his own system, while only assimilating the vices of another. He is a sorrowful creature, whether he be a European or an Asiatic. We know the man who cloaks the shallowness of his intellectual equipment in a cloud of vague generalisation, or who has

acquired the phraseology of a foreign literature without so much as touching the hem of its thought. We know the student who sells his European text-books the moment he has passed his University examinations, because literature has ceased to be for him a mercantile asset. There is the popular story of the man whose pecuniary value in the native marriage market is enhanced by the possession of a degree, and who is said to study in order to become an eligible suitor. For all I know, there may be too many of all these types in this country ; and I have no doubt that analogous types are to be found in Western Universities, and that if you brought European students over here and set them down to study Indian metaphysics you would presently develop some specimens equally incongruous, equally superficial and equally absurd. But because we all know these freaks, and smile at them, when they cross our path do not let us run away with the idea that they are universal phenomena, or that they are the normal and inevitable product of the amalgamation of East and West.

My own feelings are of an exactly opposite character. I am surprised, not at the egregiousness of the failures, but at the quality and number of the successes. I am struck by the extent to which, within less than 50 years, the science and the learning of the Western world have entered into and penetrated the Oriental mind, teaching it independence of judgment and liberty of thought, and familiarising it with conceptions of politics, and law, and society to which it had for

centuries been a complete stranger. I say within less than 50 years, because I date the birth of Higher Education in India from the celebrated Education Despatch of the Court of Directors in 1854. Before that time there was not a University in India not an Educational Department in any province, not a single training college for teachers in the whole country, no inspection of Government colleges and schools, while the grant-in-aid system hardly existed. During the half century that has since elapsed the progress achieved seems to me to have been not slow but startling. Of course it may be said that the topmost layer alone is affected; and that beneath the surface-crust are to be found the same primordial elements, the old unregenerate man. But how can you expect anything else within so short a space of time? The process thus commenced can only be downward, not upwards. It is one of infiltration and of soaking in; and the surface must be saturated with the dew before its moisture can percolate to the lower sociological strata.

Anyhow, whether my views be right or wrong, and some may think me too sanguine, I see clearly that the die is cast, and that there is no going back. When Lord Macaulay wrote his famous Minute, and the British Government resolved that your Higher Education should be a European Education, whether they acted wisely or unwisely, they took an irrevocable decision, and a decision from which it would not in my judgment be politic, even if it were possible, to recede. A week ago I read in the newspapers a tele-

graphic message that could only have emanated from China, that home of the paradoxical and outworn. This is what the Reuter's message said: "Edict been issued Peking, ordering return to learning of Confucius, and rejection of depraved modern ideas." Gentlemen, the depraved modern ideas, which are anathema to the Chinese mandarin, have come to India, not to be abolished, but to stay. No Englishman is likely to propose a return to the excellent but obsolete ordinances of Manu; and I doubt, if he did, whether any Hindu pundit would be prepared unreservedly to follow.

No, I prefer to think not merely that the choice has been made, but that it has been justified. When one of the most illustrious of my predecessors, Lord Wellesley, opened his short-lived College in Fort William, and placed over its portal the inscription—

Nuncredit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit,

which, for any of you who do not know Latin, I may translate thus:—"The dayspring has returned from us, and has brought back the light to you"—I believe that he furnished a true and just motto for the cause of Higher Education in India; and I hold that substantially that is the service which we have rendered and are still endeavouring to render to you.

But, again let me say that the defence of my confidence does not lie in the intrinsic merits of the education itself, nor even in the eternal value of its truths. It consists in the effect that it is capable of producing, and that it has already produced upon character and

upon morals, upon the standards of honour, of honesty, of justice, of duty, of upright dealing between man and man. I see faults in the present system. They are manifest to all. I see abuses against which we must be on our guard. Chief among them is the tendency, inevitable, I think, wherever independence of reason is first inculcated in a community that has long been a stranger thereto, to chafe against the restraints, to question the motives, and to impugn the prestige of authority. This is a dangerous tendency, against which Young India requires particularly to be on its guard. For the admission of independence is a very different thing from the denial of authority. On the contrary, the truest independence exist where authority is least assailed; and almost the first symptom of enlightenment is the recognition of discipline. The ignorance of these conditions is a malady with which a society, still in a comparatively early stage of intellectual emancipation, is liable to be afflicted. It is a sort of measles in the body politic, of which the patient will purge himself as time goes on. It may give us cause for anxiety, but it need not, if carefully prescribed for, excite alarm. It should not close our eyes to the vastly superior range of benefits that is produced by Higher Education in the fields of which I have been speaking, and to the tolerably healthy condition of the learner as a whole. For my own part, if I did not think that Higher Education were producing satisfactory results in India, I should be ready to proscribe your examinations, to burn your diplomas, and to carry

away in some old hulk all your teaching and professional staff, your Syndicate, your Senate, your Vice-Chancellor, and even your Chancellor himself, and to scuttle it in the Bay of Bengal. It would be better to revert to the old Adam, than to inculcate a hybrid morality or to nourish a bastard civilisation.

There is another aspect of Higher Education about which I have not time to say more than a word this afternoon, and which indeed is hardly connected with the courses of an examining University such as this. I have been speaking of the objects of Higher Education as being in the main those of intellectual and moral discipline, and as affecting the character of the individual to start with, and the community in the long run. But Higher Education has other and not less noble fields of action open to it; among which I would rank none superior to the obligations of extending the range of human knowledge by original study, by experiment, and by research. A new and splendid opportunity for the gratification of these ambitions is likely before long to be afforded by the enlightened munificence of a Bombay gentleman, Mr. Tata, of whom you have all heard. It has given me the greatest pleasure to accept his offer on the part of the Government of India and to assist in the deliberations that it is to be hoped will result in giving to his generous ideas a practical form. You have, I believe, in your own midst, a society which, on a humble scale, because it is only possessed of humble means, attempts to diffuse scientific knowledge among the educated popula-

tion of Bengal. I allude to the Indian Association for the Cultivatoin of Science, to which Dr. Sircar has, I believe, devoted nearly a quarter of a century of unremitting, and only partially recognised, labour. I often wonder why the wealthy patrons of science and culture with whom Bengal abounds, do not lend a more strenuous helping hand to so worthy and indigenous an institution. I was rejoiced, however, to read in the papers only two days ago that the Bengal Government has recently instituted three post-graduate scholarships for original research.

Gentlemen, when I addressed this Convocation for the first time last year, I indicated that, in my opinion, much remained to be done in the co-ordination of our educational system in India, in the correction of admitted backslidings and abuses, and in the more vigilant discharge by the Supreme Government of the responsibilities with which it is endowed. You may be sure that the matter has not slipped from my mind since; even though in the overwhelming pre-occupations of official life, and of the scores of great questions that seem perpetually to be calling for investigation and reform, I have not yet been able to carry into full effect the view, which I then sketched in intentionally vague outline. There are two considerations by which any sensible man must be affected who attempts to handle the educational problem in India, more especially if he be, by virtue of his position and antecedents, an outsider and to some extent an amateur. The first of these is the desirability of ascertaining by consulta-

tion with those who have devoted their lives to the task, and who may fairly be called experts, what is the trend of authoritative opinion upon the subject. The reformer must carry this with him; otherwise he is impotent or, if not that, he will certainly find his work abortive. The second desideratum is a recognition of the familiar axiom about going slow. The prudent general reconnoitres his country before he delivers the assault. He ponders the respective advantage of flanking movements and of a frontal attack. Above all, he desires to clear the ground of any obstacles that may retard his advance or jeopardise his success. It is for this reason—if I may borrow a metaphor from that South African campaign that absorbs so much of our interest just now—that I have during the past year been testing the various drifts or fords in the rivers that lie between me and the enemy, and have been delivering a series of attacks upon the smaller positions that separate me from that beleaguered garrison which I desire to relieve. Various Government Resolutions that have seen the public light, will have afforded you some indication of what I mean. Though I have paid my tribute to the cause of Higher Education this afternoon, and have indicated my opinion of its essential permanence in our system, I am no friend of those who argue that Primary Education can therefore be neglected. On the contrary, I am one of those who think that as time passes by, Secondary and Higher Education should become more and more a field for private effort, and should make a decreasing demand upon Govern-

ment intervention and control. On the other hand, Primary Education can never lose its priority of claim upon the interest and support of the State. For that Government would but imperfectly discharge its duties which, while it provided for the relatively intelligent and literate minority, ignored its obligation to the vast amorphous and unlettered mass of the population and left it to lie in contented ignorance. We have recently called the attention of the Local Governments to their duty in this respect which appears, in some cases, to have been disregarded. Again, there have seemed to us to be many flaws in the system under which text-books are at present prescribed, both for the lower schools and for the higher classes of affiliated schools and colleges. Long lists of books are drawn up that are apt to encourage cramming; the catalogues are not always carefully compiled, and unsuitable works creep in. The Local Governments, and in some cases the Universities, have not very strictly interpreted their great responsibility in the matter; and Government assistance is given to the promotion of studies for which no Government authority has been invoked or supplied. I have observed traces of a similar laxity in the process of affiliation of colleges and schools, and a tendency sometimes to increase the number of the affiliated without due regard to the character of the teachers, the quality of the training, or the degree of discipline. In all these matters it appears to me that closer supervision is required, and a more effective control. Do not imagine

for a moment that I am departing from that which has always been the mainspring of the educational policy of the Government of India ever since Sir Charles Wood's celebrated Despatch in 1854, *viz.*, the substitution, where possible, of Government aid for Government management, and the encouragement of private initiative and effort. I do not want to take back the pupil and to shut him up in a Government nursery. I am no friend of leading strings particularly when they are made of red tape. But I do say emphatically that the grant-in-aid system from the start involved as its corollary a due measure of State inspection and control, and that to call upon the State to pay for education out of the public funds but to divest itself of responsibility for their proper allocation to the purposes which the State had in view in giving them, is to ignore the elementary obligations for which the State itself exists. My desire, therefore, is to re-vindicate on behalf of the State and its various Provincial agents that responsibility which there has been a tendency to abdicate, and to show to the world that our educational system in India, liberal and elastic as I would have it to remain, is yet not free to assume any promiscuous shape that accident or intention may force upon it, but must conform to a scientific and orderly scheme, for which in the last resort the Supreme Government should be held accountable whether it be for praise or for blame. } In later years I may be able to say something more to you of the realisation of these ambitions.

Gentlemen, the Vice-Chancellor is waiting to address the students who have this afternoon received their degrees from him, and who are about to go forth to the world with the *imprimature* of the Calcutta University upon them and with their future in their hands I will only stand between him and them for the additional moment that is required to impress upon them the reflection that with the receipt of a degree, their education is not exhausted. But is only just beginning, and to urge them to continue the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake in the life, be it official or professional, or private, that lies before them.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO LUMSDEN'S HORSE.

On Monday the 26th February, 1900, the Company of Indian Mounted Infantry, known as Lumsden's Horse embarked for South Africa by the Transport Steamer *Lindula* after a most enthusiastic send off given by the Citizens of Calcutta at the Kidderpore Docks. In the morning, the Corps rode down to the docks, where after having had their first meal on the Steamer they waited for the hour of their inspection by His Excellency the Viceroy and the subsequent embarkation. His Excellency arrived at 5-30 P.M., and after inspecting the Corpse addressed them as follows :—

Colonel Lumsden, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of Lumsden's Light Horse:—In bidding you good-bye this after-noon, I feel that I may claim to speak for others besides myself. I do not

appear here merely as the Honorary Colonel of your Corps, proud as I am to fill that position ; nor am I merely the spokesman of the citizens of Calcutta, European and native, amongst whom you have spent the past few weeks, and who desire to wish you all success in your patriotic enterprise. I feel that I am more than that, and that I may consider myself the mouth-piece of public opinion throughout India, which has watched the formation of this Corps with admiration, which has contributed to its equipment and comfort with no illiberal hands, and which now sends you forth with an almost parental interest in your fortunes. At a time when the stress of a common anxiety has revealed to the British Empire its almost unsuspected unity, and its illimitable resources in loyalty and men, it would have been disappointing to all of us if India had lagged behind—India which, even if it is only peopled by a small minority of our own race, is yet the noblest field of British activity and energy and devotion that the world can show. (Applause). Already the British Regiments that we have sent from this country have helped to save Natal, and many a brave native follower has borne his part in the struggle. But as soon as the electric call for volunteer help to the mother-land ran round, India responded to the summons. She has given us from the small civil population of British birth, the 250 gallant men whom I am now addressing, and she would have given us as many more as Government would have been prepared to accept. I doubt not that had we been willing to enrol

1,000 instead of 250, they would have been forthcoming; and that had not one thousand, but many thousand, volunteers been called for from the native races, who vie with us in fervent loyalty to the same sovereign, they would have sprung joyfully to arms, from the Hindoo or Mussulman Chief of ancient lineage and great possessions, to the martial Sikh or the fighting Pathan. (Applause).

You, however, are the 250 who have been chosen, the first body of volunteers from India that has ever had the chance of fighting for the Queen outside these shores; and you, Colonel Lumsden, to whose patriotic initiative this Corps owes its being, and from whom it most befittingly takes its name, are the officer who is privileged to command this pioneer body of Indian soldiers of the Empire. Officers and men, you carry a great responsibility with you; for it will fall to you, in the face of great danger, perhaps even in the face of death, to sustain the honour of the country that is now sending you forth, and of the race from which you are sprung. But you will have this consolation. You are engaged on a glorious, and, as I believe, a righteous mission, not to aggrandize an Empire, not merely to repel an unscrupulous invasion of the Queen's territories, but to plant liberty and justice and equal rights upon the soil of a South Africa, henceforward to be united under the British and no other flag. (Applause). You go out at a dramatic moment in the contest, when, owing to the skilful generalship of an old Indian soldier and Commander-in-Chief—(applause)

—and to the indomitable gallantry of our men, the tide of fortune, which has too long flowed against us, seems at last to have turned in our favour. May it carry you on its forward crest to Pretoria itself. All India applauds your bravery in going. We shall watch your deeds in the battlefield and on the march. We wish you God-speed in your undertaking; and may Providence in His mercy protect you through the perils and vicissitudes of your first contact with the dread realities of war, and bring you safely back again to this country and to your homes.

Colonel Lumsden and men, on behalf of your fellow-countrymen and your fellow-subjects throughout India, I bid you farewell. (Loud and continued applause).

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE DUFFERIN'S FUND.

His Excellency the Viceroy presided at the Annual Meeting of the Lady Dufferin held at the Calcutta Town Hall on the 27th February, 1900. After the adoption of the Annual Report, a vote of thanks to the Viceroy was proposed by His Honor, Sir John Woodburn, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and seconded by the Hon'ble Perozshah Mehta and carried unanimously. His Excellency then addressed the assembly as follows :—

Your Honor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is the first time since I have been in India on which I find myself on a public occasion in even partial disagreement with the Lieutenant-Governor. He and I often appear together on public platforms; we usually say

ditto to each other ; and if there is any want of accord between us, we skilfully and deliberately suppress it. (Laughter.) On the present occasion, however, he commenced his speech by depreciating the position of a Lieutenant-Governor and still more by depreciating himself. (Laughter.) Well, I said to myself if a Lieutenant-Governor is allowed publicly to depreciate himself, what will other people say about him—(laughter)—and I really must request His Honor, on future public occasions, in deference to that great institution of Indian Government of which he and I are jointly the pillars, to suppress these doubts by which he seems to be actuated, and only to give expression to them in the seclusion of his own abode. (Laughter.) His Honor proceeded still further to startle me by comparing himself with wax ; and not till he had advanced still further in his oration, and I had remembered that wax is the most useful and popular form of illumination, did I realise what His Honor meant. (Laughter.) For after this modest preface, and after assuring us that nobody cares to hear about local affairs—a statement which is surely conspicuously far from the facts ; since we all know that local affairs are what we squabble about most—(laughter)—; the Lieutenant-Governor then proceeded to deliver a most interesting, and, in my opinion, a most illuminating speech—(laughter)—about the affairs of his own province. It is all very well for him to say that he had nothing to tell us about Bengal. Happy is the country that has no history ; and I was rejoiced to find that those obscure stories of combats and sieges

of which he told us could not possibly relate to the pacific dominion over which he rules. But, nevertheless, be the Bengal Province a scene of peace or a scene of trouble, the Lieutenant-Governor this afternoon gave us a most interesting account of what has been passing within it; and on the present, as on past occasions, I think that he deserves the congratulations of this meeting. (Applause.) Now the vote of thanks to Lady Curzon and myself which His Honor was good enough to move was seconded in a most eloquent speech by Mr. Mehta. I understand Mr. Mehta to say that I have two veins of manner and speech—one as dry and official as parchment—(laughter)—; the other apparently of a more attractive mixture. I did not gather exactly what it was—(laughter)—; but I shall endeavour to follow the example he has set, and in that style of which he is so conspicuous a master, to address you in a tone more suitable to the object for which we are gathered together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the annual meeting of this Fund always strikes me as an occasion upon which society avenges itself upon the Viceroy for the comfortable and complimentary precedence which is, on ordinary occasions, accorded to him. At most meetings he either speaks first, or at any rate, at an early stage in the proceedings. But at this annual function he sits uninterested, and, I can assure you, an admiring, auditor of the efforts of others. One by one they steal his speech from him, here a phrase and there a thought, until he wonders whether, short of unblushing

repetition, a single word will be left for him to say at the end. (Laughter.) He is like a man standing on a little islet of sand upon which the tide is rising every minute. Each fresh wave of his predecessors' eloquence washes away a few more inches of his foothold until he is left with nothing to stand upon at all. (Laughter.) These have to a large extent been my reflections this afternoon. In the first place we have this report, of which Sir William Cunningham deprecated the brevity, but as to which I can only say that I am astounded at its length. (Laughter.) I do not suppose that anybody in this room has read it, though, if you do not care to take the trouble to do so, you will find it excellently condensed in Sir William Cunningham's speech to which we have just listened. Then, in addition to the report and the speech, we have the observations of the subsequent speakers to which I have already referred. All of these have pretty well covered the ground. But another reflection occurs to me. Is it possible to say anything at these annual meetings, I will not say that has not been said by previous speakers, but that has not been uttered at previous meetings? We were told just now that to-day is the fifteenth occasion upon which this annual gathering has been held in this hall. Year by year Viceroys, Lieutenant-Governors, Secretaries of Government, and other prominent persons have held forth, with greater or less eloquence, upon the same theme. They have said, more or less, the same thing in more or less the same language. If the pillars of this hall were porous

of sound, and could suddenly let out again all the Dufferin Fund eloquence that they have absorbed during the last fifteen years, should we not hear a perfect Babel of tautology and repetition? (Laughter and applause.) Nevertheless, Ladies and Gentlemen, I suppose that I must, with such materials as are left to me, essay the familiar task. There is one part of my duty, however, that can never pall upon any Chairman at these meetings, and that is the agreeable operation of thanking you for the kindly terms in which previous speakers have referred to the work of the Lady President during the bygone year. I can truthfully say that Lady Curzon takes in the work of this association, not merely a sympathetic, but a thoroughly business-like interest—(applause)—and I believe, though I am never admitted on those sacred occasions, that the meetings of the Committee over which she presides are conducted with a decorum that is worthy of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General—(laughter)—and I daresay often with superior practical results. (Laughter.) Her desire is not merely to keep alive or to continue an organisation that has been bequeathed to her by her predecessors, but to increase its activity, to develop the range of its influence, and to carry it several steps forward towards the attainment of the ideal which was in the mind of its original founder. In this aspiration she is greatly helped by the voluntary labours of the Committee of which she is the head. (Applause.)

Indeed the most remarkable feature of the Dufferin

Fund organisation appears to me to be the extent to which it relies upon spontaneous effort. The hospitals, the dispensaries, the nurses, the medicines, the equipment in general of the Fund, make large demands upon its income. But I doubt if the public at all realise the degree to which what I may call the administrative mechanism of the Fund is voluntary and gratuitous. The Local Committees, the Honorary Secretaries, the Political Officers of Government, and the Civil Surgeons, all of these give their services for nothing. With them it is a labour of love. But because it is a loving labour, do not let us any the less acknowledge it, or give to it our tribute of gratitude and respect. (Applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, previous speakers this afternoon have dwelt upon the objects which this institution now especially keeps in view. We learn by experience ; and in our effort to carry out the grand aim of this Fund, namely, the conveyance of the benefits of medical science to the women of India, we are wise if we adopt the line of least resistance, and if we energise where we have the greatest hopes of success. I entirely agree with what fell from the lips of the Lieutenant-Governor. None of us anticipate that all in a moment the *purda nashin* ladies and women of India will throw aside their scruples or the prejudices, and will profit by the teachings of a system which involves an apparent contradiction of all their ingrained ideas of social economy, of medicine, and of caste. Such a revolution it would be too much

to expect in any society or country in the world. But, as the old saying goes, if the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain; and accordingly, if the Indian women will not voluntarily, because of their prejudices or misunderstanding, or will only reluctantly come to the Dufferin Hospitals, which are intended solely and purely for their good, the nurses and pupils of those hospitals must go to them. (Applause.) India is a country which is very familiar with charity, and, therefore, I am only adopting a simile which will be intelligible to all, if I say that the Dufferin Fund is a vast eleemosynary undertaking, which deutes its almoners to give freely of the noblest of gifts, namely, that of health and relief from suffering to all those women, irrespective of caste or religion, or social status, who are in need. (Applause.) The more we send our female visitors, and doctors, and nurses, and midwives into the packed native quarters of Indian cities, and into country cottages and cabins, the more rapid and permanent will be our success, and the more widespread the benefit which the Dufferin Fund will carry in its train. (Hear, hear.) These reflections suggest a mention of that which is an essential feature of this undertaking, namely, the provision of medical tuition. The Dufferin Fund will, I hope, in time become the nucleus of a great training association, which will spread its schools and classes, which will grant certificates, and we send out on to the field of action an even swelling army of disciplined recruits, native, Eurasian, and European,

who will carry its influence and teaching into far distant corners, and thus slowly, but surely, overcome the inert resistance of the mass. For this work money is needed: much more than the Fund at present possesses: as much as the generosity of wealthy benefactors may be willing to give to it. Viceroy after Viceroy will doubtless stand upon this platform in ensuing years to narrate the successive stages and I hope the widening range of this human and merciful enterprise. The task will be long, and it may not be easy. But the Lady Presidents of this Fund, of whom Lady Curzon is the President, have so far shown an inclination to shrink from the effort; and she, like her predecessors, is animated by the belief that she is doing what is already a positive good, and may one day grow into a splendid and incalculable service, to the ignorant and suffering of her own sex in India. (Loud and continued applause.)

Their Excellencies then left, the band playing the National Anthem, and the gathering separated.

REPLY TO THE DEPUTATION OF THE IMPERIAL ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

On the 23rd March, 1900, a deputation of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association waited upon the Viceroy with an address, to which His Excellency replied as follows:—

Gentlemen.—Since I received an address from your association more than a year ago, shortly after I had

taken up my present office, I can truthfully say that the appeals and claims and prospects of the community which you represent have occupied a good deal of my attention. I never fail to read, or to study, anything that bears upon the subject, or to converse with those who are qualified to give me useful information. These efforts on my part to arrive at the truth, and to analyse the difficult problem of your future, rest upon the double basis of personal sympathy—since no man with a heart can fail to be touched by the misfortunes of a community, partly, if not mainly, of his own race, who appear to have fallen upon hard times—and of political interest since no Viceroy of India can be indifferent to the fortunes of a section of the population, increasing in numbers, but apparently not increasing *pari passu* in wealth, contentment, or opportunity. Every Viceroy from Lord Canning downwards has gazed at the problem, and has been left sympathetic but puzzled. Some, like Lord Lytton, have tried to do something positive. Others have felt the difficulty of State intervention. That I am receiving you today is, I hope, an evidence that I am not anxious to be included in the passive category, or to bow you out with a compliment and a smile. Nothing would have been easier for me than to acknowledge your representations, and to have returned the civil but stereotyped reply that they will receive the careful consideration of Government. Of that reception they are in any case certain. But if I go beyond, and consent, as I have consented, to meet you here today, and to listen to a

statement of your troubles from the lips of your accredited spokesmen, and if I refrain from the language of mere perfunctory politeness in reply, then I must claim the liberty to speak to you with perfect candour, conscious that you will not resent anything that is said to you in good faith and with sincerely friendly intentions, and that it is bad policy for the Government of India and the community which you represent to go on misunderstanding each other for ever, as they will continue to do if both parties evade the real issues, and show no inclination to grapple with the facts.

Now I observe that the society which you represent has recently acquired a new name, and is designated the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association. The choice of the name is the latest phase in a long contention over the question of the nomenclature that it would be best and wisest for you to adopt. In the various stages of this discussion, I find that the names Eurasians, East Indians, Indo-Britons, Statutory Natives of India, Domiciled British and Europeans, have all at one time or another been and to some extent still are, employed. Though I myself think that controversies over nomenclature are the most barren of all human disputes—since in the long run the world judges men not by what they call themselves, but by what they are—yet it would appear that this has been regarded as a most vital question by many of your number, and that almost as much energy has been expended upon it as upon the practical discussion of the future. I may be shortsighted; but I do not myself see why there should

be any deep and insidious sting—these are the words which I have found in the utterances or writings of more than one of your spokesmen—in the name Eurasian as applied to persons of mixed blood or descent—though I am far from contending that I have any right to expect my views to be shared by any one else,—nor do I understand the great and wide-spread anxiety to discover a new label. Above all, gentlemen, I am compelled to say that if I were to judge by the natural meaning of words, I should have no idea of what the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association could mean, Anglo-Indian is a phrase which is applied in popular acceptance to a particular individual and society, British as a rule in origin, which spends its life, official, professional, or otherwise, in India, and as a rule finally goes home. Thus when we speak of Anglo-Indian officials, judges, clubs, newspapers, opinion and so on, everybody understands exactly what is meant. You have a perfect right to take the same name if you please, and to some extent it covers the component elements of your society. But I am not certain that you do not rather confuse some of your friends and well-wishers by adopting a designation that in popular parlance means something else, whilst the title certainly does not become any the more, on the contrary, I think that it becomes the less intelligible by having the epithet Imperial prefixed to it. True and loyal and devoted sons of the Empire we know you, and your history has shown you, to be. But so are we all; and why your society should especially

require the adjective Imperial to describe it I have never seen explained. But there is another result of the expression of your designation and composition which is of more practical consequence I believe that you desire in the main to call attention to the claims and to focus the aspirations of what has hitherto been called the EurAsian community, although there is also the case of many English or European families domiciled, perhaps born and bred, in the country, whose blood has never been commingled with a native strain, but whose interests you desire equally to promote. But the result of this very elastic classification appears to me to be not clearness but confusion; since, when you make your demands, that which applies to your constituents at one pole, bears little or no relation to those who are at the other. The arguments from race do not, for instance apply to the domiciled Europeans; and the interests, and employment, and prospects of the latter depend upon conditions wholly apart from those that retard the advance of the man of mixed descent. Your society in fact, as at present constituted, rests upon two bases which have *a priori* little in common with each other, *vis.*, domicile and race; and the considerations that are apposite in the one case, are often irrelevant in the other. Whilst, therefore, by casting your net so wide, you no doubt envelop a larger haul of fish, I am less confident that you advance the general interests of your clients which is, after all, the main object for which you exist.

I have only one other word of advice to give before

I pass on to an examination of your specific claims. If I were one of your Directors, I almost think that in the interests of your cause I should move a motion for a withdrawal of the pamphlet in which you bring your case before the public. The case has so much to recommend it in its intrinsic features that it seems a pity that it should be weakened by exaggeration and by declamation, since such an attitude cannot but prejudice your chances. To suggest that the Government of India and the India Office are engaged in a deep and malignant conspiracy to deprive you of your birth-right, that they desire, or that any one else desires, to stamp upon you the brand of inferiority or subordination, or that as a community you are hunted down and proscribed—phrases which very fairly represent the spirit of some of your publications—is, in my judgment, very ill-judged and quite untrue. Such statements are sufficient to set people against you. Your object should be to attract, not to alienate, public support; and you will do this by sober reasoning, and not by angry rhetoric. There are pages of the pamphlet in which your claims are fairly and moderately stated. This seems to be the case when you are engaged upon a Deputation as you have been this afternoon. But when you are talking among yourselves, you seem, if I may say so without offence, to boil over in a rather superfluous fashion; and on such occasions things are said which I am afraid would hardly stand the test of a critical examination.

There is another suggestion that I would make in

passing. Who are your clients and what are their numbers? I observe that in the pamphlet they are represented by one of the speakers whose words are reported, as being over a million strong. On the other hand, in an able essay that I read the other day upon the Eurasian question by a Mr. Nundy, which I would commend to the careful attention of every one here present, I find that the total of that community was estimated by the writer as 120,000. There is a wide margin between these two extremes. Of whom does this margin consists? When you call yourselves Anglo-Indians, do you include Englishmen who are not permanently domiciled in India? Do you include domiciled foreigners of other races, and, if so, how can they be termed Anglo-Indians? And do you embrace Eurasians, of, for instance, Portuguese descent, and, if so, how can they fall into the Anglo-Indian category? Would it not be well to let the public know who, and of what numerical strength, are the various classes for whom you plead, and who are included under the common heading which you have decided to adopt?

And now I pass from these preliminary observations, which, if they have been critical in character, have assuredly not been unfriendly in intention, to an examination of the specific proposals which have from time to time been put forward by your spokesmen, and the majority of which have been repeated in the statements to which I have just listened.

The first of these is the proposal to employ Eura-

sians on a larger scale in the Indian Army by the constitution of a special regiment or regiments enlisted from that class. Of course, as it is, Eurasians are frequently accepted as recruits, a point as to which it would be well if your spokesmen in the pamphlet agreed with each other; for, whereas one of them states that thousands have been so admitted, another declares that this admission on sufferance, which he implies to be rarely exercised, is an insult to your people. Now, in this context, I frequently see mention made of the loyalty and bravery shown by Eurasians during the Mutiny—and of this fact there cannot be a shadow of a doubt—and by the Eurasian Corps that were raised in that time. But it does not follow therefrom that the Corps were a success; and as a matter of fact, they were all disbanded between 1860 and 1870, on the grounds that they were as costly as a British force, that the same confidence was not reposed in them, and that there were not sufficient recruits forthcoming (I think this a very remarkable and dispiriting reflection) to maintain a total strength of only 700 men. Nevertheless, at intervals ever since the proposal has been made or revived that the experiment in some form or another should be repeated; for there have never been wanting friends of your cause in the Government of India, who have been anxious to find what opportunity they could for the employment of a class that has so large a claim upon our sympathy. The formation of a regiment is, however, I need hardly say, in the main, a military

question ; and when I add that that the last five Commanders-in-Chief of the Army in India without exception—and I believe that the series extends unbroken to an even more distant period—have been opposed to the experiment, you will perhaps understand how it is that it has not generally prospered. It was proposed at one time that a company of garrison artillery should be raised from Eurasians ; but the first artillery soldier in India of the day, who happened to be in high office, declined to support the scheme on the ground that it would be more expensive and less efficient than a corresponding European force. When I arrived in India, these topics were still under discussion, and I am happy to have been instrumental in sending, with the assistance of some of my Colleagues who shared my desire to help you, a despatch to the Secretary of State last year in which we proposed the experimental raising of a Eurasian regiment in India. This is the first time I believe, that such a proposal has ever gone home with the assent of a majority of the Government of India. The Secretary of State, who has quite recently replied has been unable to accept to our proposal, and I see no reason why you should not be acquainted with the main reasons. The initial cost of such a regiment would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, the annual recurring cost $5\frac{1}{2}$ lacs ; and it has been felt unfair to place this increase of burden upon the Indian taxpayer, unless a responsible assurance could be given that there would be a commensurate increase in our military strength. So far this assur-

ance has not been forthcoming. There were also subsidiary difficulties about the scale of pay, not merely in the military, but also, as a probable consequence, in the Civil Services, and about the necessity for legislation, since Europeans in India cannot be enlisted for local service without the passing of a bill through the British Parliament, a fence which even friendly Secretaries of State sometimes find it difficult to surmount. Such has been the fate that has attended our proposal. I am sorry that it has not fared better. But you will do well to look facts in the face, and to realise that Governments are compelled to regard this question to a large extent from the utilitarian point of view; and that, until you can convince that a Eurasian regiment, which would cost quite as much as, if not more than, a British regiment, will be at least as efficient for military purposes, they are hardly likely to give it to you for the sake of sentiment, or even of political expediency alone. As regards the subsidiary suggestion which you have submitted this afternoon for the formation of a Eurasian Army Hospital Corps, the same difficulties apply. Eurasians could never serve for rates of pay that are now given to the native equivalent; nor could the subordinate duties such as those of bhitis bearers, and sweepers, be carried out by a Eurasian Corps. The long and short of it is that, for the present at any rate, the objections to Eurasian enlistment in the regular army are held at home to outweigh the advantages. I would gladly reverse this current of opinion if I could.

But it rests, believe me, not upon any prejudice or hostility—there is not a trace of that—but upon expert advice which it is difficult to contest, or to overturn. At the same time, if you were to submit your proposals as to an Army Hospital Corps in a definite and intelligible shape, I shall be prepared to place them before the Military Authorities, though I can give you no assurance as to the reception that they may meet with.

I pass to the question of the employment of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians upon Railways. Last year, I caused a letter to be addressed to the Presidents of the various associations throughout India that represent your cause drawing their attention to the great opening that appears to be present to your community for employment, notably in the Traffic, Locomotive, and Engineering Departments, and to the meagre advantage that has so far been taken of these facilities. The figures show that out of a total of 3,08,000 persons employed upon Railways in India, only 7,000 are Eurasians, or less than 2½ per cent. I am glad to have heard this afternoon that you have taken serious notice of this suggestion, and I hope that you will not let the matter drop. I doubt, however, if you are sufficiently aware of the possibilities. In the three Departments that I have named, there are some 1,150 posts on every thousand miles of line in India the pay ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 400 a month, or 25,000 posts in all, for which Anglo-Indians and Eurasians are free and qualified to compete. Why do you not

enter for these appointments? Why, on the contrary, do you allow the European and Native employés to increase at the rate, during the past year, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively, while your numbers have only increased at the rate of less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.? You are mistaken if you suppose that the Railway administration can ever give you a fixed proportion of these appointments for which you can qualify at leisure. Railways are commercial undertakings, and they are apt to be somewhat indifferent to sentiment. I can but point out to you the broad, and not unremunerative, avenue that is here afforded to your energies, and invite you to profit by it more materially than you appear hitherto to have done.

And now I turn to your claims as regards appointments in the Civil Service. I understand you to complain that you no longer have the share that you once enjoyed in the higher ranks of the Public Service, and that in respect of the lower ranks you are handicapped by competition with Natives of this country. You claim accordingly that a certain proportion of appointments in all ranks of the Public Service should be reserved for you, provided you can satisfy the requisite intellectual tests. Now I might remind you that the days to which you refer were times when the number of Eurasians was much less than it is at present, when the competition was smaller and when the connection between European and Eurasian was more immediate and direct. I might also point to the case of Eurasian Engineers who are even now enjoying

very high appointments and pay. But it is sufficient to note that your appeal ignores *in toto* two landmarks in recent history, which I am afraid that no amount of special pleading—I use the term in no invidious sense—can avail to submerge. The first of these was the report of the Public Service Commission, upon which the Eurasian community was represented, and which deliberately laid it down as a broad principle, subsequently accepted by the Secretary of State, and since acted upon by the Government of India, that there should be two classes of the Public Service, the Imperial Service recruited in England, though not necessarily from Englishmen, and the Provincial and Subordinate Services, recruited in India. If Indians desire to join the former service, they have to go to England, and to pass the examinations there in order to do so. The same opportunities are open to yourselves. It is simply impossible to throw over the findings of the Commission, and to ignore the entire principle upon which the Public Service is recruited by creating a special exemption in your or in any other cases.

The second landmark is the principle laid down by the Secretary of State in 1893 about Simultaneous Examinations. Under that ruling, you enjoy precisely the same opportunities, as regards the competitive test, as do any other communities in this country. You are equally eligible to employment with them. Nay, the Government have gone further, and have in practice in many of the Subordinate Departments re-

served a special proportion of places for yourselves. In the Subordinate Accounts Department, in the Provincial Branch of the Survey of India, in the Salt Department, in the Customs Department, in the Opium Department, I find that a large proportion of the appointments is either reserved to domiciled Europeans and Eurasians, or is open to them. Nor do these facilities always pass without protest, or meet with the prompt justification that might be desired. In the Opium Department, where $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the appointments are opened to your community, the Government of India have twice in the last 10 years, received protests from the Bengal Government in favour of recruitment from England, on the ground that sufficiently qualified candidates were not forthcoming out here. For a similar reason a few years ago the Government of India were obliged to ask that a larger proportion of appointments not reserved for the Indian Civil Service in the Finance Department, in the Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department, and in the Traffic Branch of the Railways, should be recruited from home. Now it is no good to represent these proceedings as an evidence of spite or unfairness on the part of Government. They are nothing of the sort. We are more than anxious to employ you. But how is it possible to create special privileges in your favour when you do not even take advantage of those which are already open to you? I am ready to select any branch of the Public service, and to scrutinise its composition, with an eye that is friendly and

even partial to your aspirations. There are some quarters in which I may be able to help you ; but if I am to do so I must at least demand some justification from those whom I am invited to favour.

The question of Education is the next upon which I will say a word. Upon this point our pamphlet, to which you have referred me, contains a number of statements which strike me as being very rash, and which I, for my part, cannot endorse. You actually say that no experienced statesman in India will deny that the time has long since arrived when the Government should abolish the Education Department and all State Colleges in India, and should devote to Primary Education the sums squandered on High Education, and leave private enterprise to carry it on. I compromise my own reputation with the author of this astonishing paragraph ; but I am afraid that I cannot accept his conclusions. Indeed I understand that you do not altogether accept them yourselves, since you have elsewhere invited my support for Hill Schools for Anglo-Indian boys, who I suppose, would hardly be content if I were only to provide them there with a primary standard of education. You say that Government treats your schools with a parsimony that is almost scandalous. When I read these words, I referred to Mr. Cotton's last Quinquennial Review of Indian Education, which was issued last year, and I found that the pupils in those schools were steadily increasing, and that the grants to them both from Provincial Revenues and from Government were largely

on the increase also. More recently I have heard a complaint as to the unsuitability of the High School and Calcutta University Examination for Anglo-Indian boys, and as to the desirability of introducing the Cambridge University Local Examinations in this country. Before pronouncing upon this suggestion, one would have to co-ordinate the value of such an examination with the examinations already established in India. The suggestion has, I think, some merit; and it is undoubtedly desirable to afford to your children the chance of passing an examination that possesses a common standard of value. But if you have a system of Universities in a country, I see some difficulty in giving them the go-by altogether and in regulating your education by the standards of a foreign institution.

When you speak about Technical Education, you employ a phrase which is on every body's lips, but which not every body takes the trouble to understand. I am quite in favour of a training which will fit a young man for industrial employment, but I do not feel at all clear that the best method of attaining that end is by introducing the teaching of special trades into the curriculum of our schools. I think that technical instruction should follow at a later stage; and, whilst we are quite willing to give State aid to encourage any such enterprise, I think that local administrations and private initiative may be expected to help Government in a matter in which we have not the means to take a big plunge ourselves. I under-

stand from your statement today that you do not substantially disagree with these views, and that you are taking step for the establishment of allied Technical institutions.

As regards the Hill Schools for colonisation, I do not know what part of the world you propose to colonise, or what sort of education you would suggest. I believe that a Eurasian agricultural colony was tried in Southern India a few years ago and proved a failure. I do not draw from this any inference as to other or larger schemes: and I am glad to hear that you propose to renew the experiment. It seems to me that Eurasians might be very useful in the peopling of many blank spaces on the map of the British Empire outside of India—say in South Africa; and that the idea is worthy of careful examination. But it is hardly in a shape to be submitted to Government until it has attained a much more definite form.

I have now dealt, Gentlemen, with all of the suggestions that you have put before me. There are many other suggestions, I dare say neither novel nor exciting, which, if I had time, I might be willing to place before yourselves. There are many forms of handicraft in India, mechanical and otherwise, for which your community seems to me to be well adapted, but all the talk about which generally ends in smoke. Why a speaker at a public meeting in Calcutta should find the greatest difficulty in getting his speech accurately reported because there are so few competent shorthand writers, why mill-owners should have to import

mechanics from the British isles, why bandmasters and bandmen should have to be imported from Europe, why the supervisors of Native labour in workshops and factories should be often of similar origin, why the higher classes of domestic servants are so commonly drawn from communities other than your own—are all problems which puzzle me considerably, but which your community might, I think, assist to solve. The fact is, I suspect, that its numbers are being gradually bisected into two classes, those who are so near to the European standard, that they have not the slightest difficulty in obtaining lucrative employment, and who, therefore, do not protest; and those who are gradually drifting away from it, and wish to preserve a superiority which they are scarcely competent to maintain. I know that there is no more unpopular philosopher to preach to any community than Self-Help; and if such a doctrine were to imply in the present case that the Government are resolved to remain apathetic while you prosecute your own fortunes, I would not for a moment endorse it. On the contrary, I am anxious to do you every good turn that I properly and legitimately can, and my action in respect of Regiments and Railways has sufficiently vindicated my intentions. But if I am to have any success, I must call upon to formulate your programme with definiteness and precision, to eschew fallacious rhetoric, to view your position in its true perspective and to convince to the Government of India that in aiding you they are aiding a community to whom they are not merely bound by

ties of race or sentiment, but who are qualified to bear their full share on the work-a-day competition of modern life.

I should like to add that, if you, Mr. Pugh, or the Society over which you preside, care to address any representations to me upon any of the points that I have raised in my reply, I shall be most happy to consider them.

FAREWELL TO MR. AND MRS. DAWKINS.

On the night of Monday, the 26th March, 1900, the Viceroy and Lady Curzon entertained the Hon'ble Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins at a farewell dinner at Government House, prior to their departure from India. After the health of the Queen had been drunk, His Excellency proposed the health of Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins in the following terms :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—I have invited you here this evening to join me in bidding farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins. I doubt if any previous Viceroy has been placed in the unhappy position of having to say good-bye to two Finance Ministers within the space of fifteen months after his first arrival in this country. It is almost exactly a year ago since we gathered at this board to offer our parting wishes and regrets to Sir James Westland. To-night we are engaged in the same function in the case of his successor. I do hope that Sir Edward Law will break the chain of continuity, and will spare me the painful honour of bowing out a third Finance Minister during my time. (Laughter) I doubt if the Government of India could

survive the shock of a third bereavement, or whether I could possibly bring myself to compose another funeral oration. (Laughter.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, on these occasions it is usual to give a short biographical sketch, dating from the earliest period, of the guest of the evening. I am sorry to be unable to conform to this respectable practice on the present occasion, because the earlier stages of Mr. Dawkins's career are buried, so far as my knowledge is concerned in a complete, though no doubt honourable, obscurity until the time when I was fortunate enough to be a fellow-student with him at Balliol College, Oxford. For all I know he may have been in childhood and youth a second Babbage, or calculating prodigy, a pride to his family and a terror to his neighbours—(Laughter)—; or the halo of future distinction may have hovered at an early period over his brow, unobserved by anybody, including himself. (Laughter.) Whichever of these two hypotheses be correct, my knowledge of Mr. Dawkins dates only from the auspicious moment when we both took our seats at the feet of our dear old Master, Jowett, and both drained to the dregs the joyous vintage of undergraduate life at the University of Oxford.

The Master, as he was universally called, took, as is now well-known from his public letters and life, a keen interest in India, to whose government the College over which he presided has now contributed three Viceroys in unbroken succession. He encouraged young men who were destined for the Indian

Service to go to Balliol and to complete their studies there; and, were he now living, nothing would, I am sure, have given him greater satisfaction than the knowledge that three of his pupils, and contemporaries of each other, had come out simultaneously to India as Viceroy, Finance Member, and last, but not least, as Private Secretary. I cannot say, however, that Jowett was responsible for turning my thoughts in the direction of India; nor, so far as I know, did he exert a similar influence on my friend Mr. Dawkins.

Nevertheless, in the dim background the image of India was all the while summoning Mr. Dawkins with inexorable finger. At one time he contemplated entering the Indian Civil Service. After passing into the Home Civil Service, almost the first post that he occupied was that of Private Secretary to Lord Cross, at that time Secretary of State for India; and although for a time the sirens' voices of other departments and occupations sang in his ears, and lured him away, his ultimate destiny was all the while secure. In the interval of which I am speaking, Mr. Dawkins was initiating himself in the study and in the practice of high finance. He excogitated taxes, and he manipulated budgets. (Laughter.) He and Sir Alfred Milner, another common Balliol friend of ours, were the young lions of the Treasury of that day. (Laughter.) They were the two champions who upheld the arms of Mr. Goschen, in his annual struggle with the Amalekites in Budget debates. (Applause.)

And now came a break in Mr. Dawkins's career in

which he was, for the first time, called upon to display his abilities on a wider and more cosmopolitan field. We all know of the pattern individual who surveyed mankind from China to Peru. (Laughter.) Mr. Dawkins, with an originality that did him infinite credit, reversed the order, and decided to commence with Peru. Egypt and India were the next stages on his eastward march, and though he is now turning his steps homewards. I should never be surprised if he were the one day to complete the parallel, and were to be heard of as a great financial mandarin in the Celestial Kingdom, clad in a yellow jacket, a peacock feather and a red button. (Laughter.) As representative of the bondholders in Peru, Mr. Dawkins had the satisfaction of placing their interests on a sound basis, and of establishing a reputation that insured his being called to Egypt by Lord Cromer when Sir Alfred Milner left that country. Assuredly there could be no better training for a future Finance Minister of India. His school was the intricate labyrinth of an Oriental administration, rendered all the more tortuous by the devices of international intrigue, but into which the clear light of day had been shed by a short generation of British finance. His master was Lord Cromer, himself an old Indian Finance Minister, and the most distinguished living public servant of England outside of her shores. It was fresh from this invaluable experience that a year ago Mr. Dawkins came out to India to take the financial tiller from the capable hands of Sir James Westland.

I will not now enter into the circumstances which have been responsible for the shortness of Mr. Dawkins' stay among us. I will only say this, that brilliant as were the prospects that were offered to him elsewhere, and that are now taking him home, prospects as brilliant as any that were ever offered to a man of his age in the world of finance, Mr. Dawkins was yet willing to sacrifice them all in the interests of the country whose service he had entered when he accepted the post of Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council in India. Bitterly as we regretted it, and we regarded it as a public as well as a private misfortune, neither the Secretary of State nor I felt that this was a sacrifice which we had any right to allow our guest of this evening to make. But it was at our instance that he consented to remain in India for a year in order to give to myself in particular, and to the Government of India in general, the benefit of the profound study that he had made of the question of Indian Currency, of his wide knowledge and experience, and his high authority in finance. (Cheers.)

How India at large and the Departments of the Government of India have profited by one short, though busy, year of Mr. Dawkins' initiative and advice is known, to all, or nearly all, of those who are seated at this table. It is as yet too early to pronounce the verdict of history upon the currency policy of the present administration : the full measure of credit, if it be earned, will not be given till later on, when the new system has had a fair trial, and when its stability has

been conclusively established by the test of time. Meanwhile, it will be conceded by all that Mr. Dawkins has launched the ship with conspicuous skill, and that it rides proudly and triumphantly on the waves. (Applause). A stable exchange, a currency responding to the needs of the Indian business and finance, but standing in a fixed and permanent relation to the currency of the Empire, and, lastly, an intimate connection between the financial systems and resources of Great Britain and India—these were the objects which Mr. Dawkins set before himself, and which, in a brief space of 12 months he has done much to achieve. He bequeaths to his successor a task not free from anxiety, and a responsibility not diminished by the initial success, but the foundations have been well and truly laid, and the superstructure ought to stand. (Cheers.) There are two other respects in which Mr. Dawkins has won in an exceptional degree the confidence of those with whom he has been brought into official connection. The first of these has been his freedom from bureaucratic prejudices, his accessibility to all, and his manifest desire not merely to conduct the business of his department, but to encourage the trade, to develop the resources, and to set free from artificial trammels the enterprise of the Empire. His attitude with regard to the financial transactions of the Presidency Banks, the taxation of imports, and telegraphic transfers, has been one of genuine and practical sympathy with the mercantile community in India ; while in the long discussion that has attended the question of the banks he

has shown a readiness to meet criticism and an anxiety only to win his point by carrying conviction that is not always found behind an official waistcoat. (Applause.) The second respect in which Mr. Dawkins has deserved the thanks of the public, and perhaps more especially of myself, has been his conduct of the business of his department, and the share he has borne in the work of the Government of India. The machinery by which this country is ruled is a wonderful piece of mechanism. It is the result of a century of scientific elaboration, and it is worked by the most upright and highly trained body of engineers in the world. But I may be pardoned for saying that it has so many wheels that they sometimes retard each other's progress, so vast a weight that the elasticity of the parts is apt to be lost in the ponderousness of the whole; so many written rules for observance that the spirit is sometimes sacrificed to the letter; so fixed a groove of operation that it may almost be said to start and swerve at any novel departure. Now, I am one of those who hold that the man should be the master of the machine, not the machine master of the man. Administration should be cautious and reasoned, but that is no ground why it should not be firm and prompt. We are a government who write much, but that is no reason why we should do nothing but write. (Laughter.) Lord Wellesley remarked of the Secretaries of the Government of India that they combined the industry of clerks with the talents of statesmen. Yes, but I should like to eliminate the clerk and to exalt the

statesman. (Cheers.) *Non est scribendum sed gubernandum* is the motto that I should like to fix over the doors of every Government office. If the choice is between settling a matter in six weeks or in six months, I would sooner take the six weeks, if between six months and six years, I would prefer not to take the six years. I cannot see why dilatoriness should be regarded as an equal virtue with despatch, or why the departments of Government should practice a different economy from that which prevails in the farmyard, and should sit contentedly upon eggs that have long since been addled. (Laughter and applause.) I mention these views, ladies and gentlemen, because in putting them into practice I have had the unfailing sympathy and co-operation of Mr. Dawkins. He has brought to the task of the Indian Government a mind keen and alert, an intelligence trained in the best of schools, a natural capacity for business dislike equal to my own of procrastination and shams, and a keen desire in the short space that has been available to him, to be up and doing. I can hardly say how much I shall miss such a colleague, or to what extent virtue will have gone out of the Government of India by his departure. There is perhaps a third respect, which I should not omit to mention, in which Mr. Dawkins has during the year that he has been among us, won the regard of all, and in which he has been largely assisted by the lady who sits by my side. (Applause.) I allude to the zest with which he and she have entered into all the interests and pursuits of life at Simla and

Calcutta, and have endeared themselves by many acts of kindness and hospitality to a wide circle of friends. From all these many quarters will come equal regrets at their impending departure, and equal hopes for their success and happiness in life that lies before them. What the fates may have in store for Mr. Dawkins I cannot tell. He may live to sway the Counsels of a Senate, and to control the finances of a larger Empire even than that of India. However that may be, I hope that in his new occupations he may sometimes turn a thought to the country which he has served so faithfully for a year, to the colleagues who mourn his departure, and to that vast charge of Empire—the noblest burden that can be laid upon the shoulders of any Englishman—to which he has, for a short period, lent so strenuous a helping hand.” (Loud cheers).

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to charge your glasses and to drink to the long life, success, and prosperity of Mr. and Mrs. Dawkins. (Loud cheers).

SPEECH AT THE QUETTA DURBAR.

On Thursday the 12th April, 1900, a public durbar was held in Sandeman Hall, Quetta, in connection with the Viceroy's visit. The Khan of Khelat, the Jam of Las Boyla and about 150 Khans and Sirdars were present, besides the Civil and Military officials and ladies of Quetta. His Excellency thus addressed the Durbar :—

Your Highness, Khans and Sirdars,—I am sorry not to be able to speak to you in your own language, but my words will presently be translated and will

thus reach your ears. However, though I cannot myself address you in a form that you will understand, I feel that I may claim to know something of your history, your customs and your country, for many years before I was appointed by Her Majesty the Queen to be Her representative in India, I had spent much of my time in travelling upon the Indian frontier, and in neighbouring countries. I have met most of the tribes, and I know the principal chieftains along 1,000 miles of that frontier, from the Pamirs to Quetta, and I take a warm interest in these people, and I am attached to their rulers. Years ago I devoted some time to travelling through Persia, a country with which many of you have close relations. On another occasion I stayed in Chitral with Mehta Nizam-ul-Mulk, just before he was murdered by his brother, who is now a prisoner in British India, and on the last occasion that I was in Quetta more than five years ago, I had ridden down to Chaman by Ghuzni and Kandahar.

From Kabul where I had been for a fortnight as the guest of the Amir, seven years before that time I was also here with Sir Robert Sandeman, when the Khojak Tunnel had not even been commenced, and we rode over the mountains to Chaman by the Old Road. All these experiences have taught me to know and to love the frontier, and to take no common interest in the Baluch and the Pathan. The reason for which I have been drawn to these regions and have acquired this attachment is a simple one. I admire the manly spirit and the courage of the Border tribesmen. I dislike war

with them, and desire to maintain an honourable peace. In many cases, as for instance formerly in Baluchistan, they are constantly quarrelling with each other and are accordingly weak and disunited. I want them to unite with the British Raj in the settlement of their feuds, and in the defence of their own country. Anyone who attacks should be regarded as a common foe. I want them to become as many of them do, the trusted soldiers and the loyal feudatories of the great Queen, and to realise that while there is no use in fighting us, because we are so strong as always to defeat them in the end, their religion, their traditions, even their independence are most safe, when they enter into friendly relation with the British Government, and receive from us those guarantees which we are always ready to give in return for faithful service and good behaviour. I believe in speaking the truth boldly to the men of the frontier as to all other men, and in telling them frankly where in their own interests they will do well and where they will do ill. The Sirdars of Baluchistan have learned this lesson from a long and successful experience, and the history of this country for the past 20 years, with its change from perpetual anarchy to peace, its steady progress, and its growth in population, wealth and contentment, is an evidence of the truth of my saying.

I am addressing to-day, in this Durbar, different classes of chiefs and persons, to each of whom I will say a few words. There are present here the Khan of Khelat and the Jam of Lus Beyla. They possess anci-

ent titles and they rule over famous or interesting territories. Among the ancestors of the Khan was Nasir Khan, the first who was beloved as a just and upright ruler. The example of great ancestors should never be forgotten by their descendants. If a State declines in interest or importance, it is the ruler who is rightly held to blame. Rulers are invested with a supreme responsibility to their subjects. These may be difficult to exercise when their own position is insecure, and when they are exposed to political danger or to personal risk ; but what excuse can there be for their not taking an active interest in the welfare of their people, and showing liberality and enlightenment in administration when they are secured against any external danger by the protection of the British power? The Sirkar gives with a generous hand, but he also expects in return, and this obligation must be paid. Secondly, I see present here the Sirdars of the Beluch confederacy : Sirdars, you owe to the British Government the reconciliation of your old disputes and the general tranquillity which you now enjoy. I know your traditional loyalty I remember the help that you rendered in the Afghan war ; but, Sirdars, it is not only in times of crisis that you have a duty to the Government. We rely upon your swords when fighting begins, but peace has its service not less than war, and I call upon you to perform this service.

I have been shocked to hear of the too frequent outrages against Government in recent years, in which the Marris and Brahuis have been engaged. They are

a disgrace to the tribes and a discredit to the chiefs. I believe that it is possible for the Sirdars, if they are resolute and united, to prevent these outrages. I am certain that in many cases it is possible for them to capture and to punish the criminals. I say to you, therefore, Sirdars, that the Government does not give to your pay and service for nothing, and that I expect you to put a stop to these lawless proceedings and to purge your tribal honour from this tarnish. When I see good service rendered I am quick to recognise it, and it is with pleasure, therefore, that I have learned from my Agent, Mr. Barnes, that in giving warning of a robber gang, Khan Saheb Baha-ud-din Bazai, and in attacking and dispersing a body of raiders, the Rustamzai levies of Nushki have recently rendered valuable help to the Government. I am pleased to acknowledge the conduct of these men, and I hold it up as an example. Thirdly, there are here present the Sirdars and Khans of districts under British Administration. You also, Sirdars and Khans, are mostly in receipt of pay, or *muafi* allowances, from the Government, and you also have your corresponding duties to perform.

There have recently taken place in British Beluchistan a number of murderous attacks upon Englishmen and Europeans by those who are sometimes called or miscalled *ghaza*. Believe me, Sirdars, that the idea that any one can earn the favour of Almighty God by killing some one else against whom he bears no grudge, and who has done him no

wrong, simply because he follows another religion, which is only another way of worshipping the same God, is one of the stupidest notions that ever entered into the brain of a human being. If we could lift the *pardah* of the future world, and see what fate has attended these wretched murderers. I do not think that there would be many future Ghazis on the Pathar border or in Beluchistan. However, it is enough for me deal with the attitude of the Government, and about this I wish you to cherish no illusions. I am determined, so far as lies in the power of the Government, to put a stop to these abominable crimes. I shall prohibit the carrying of all arms if I find that to be necessary, and I shall hold those responsible who are to blame. The leaders of the people can co-operate with the Government in two ways: they can throw the whole weight of their influence and authority against the perpetrators of these vile outrages, and they can assist the Government to capture the offenders. I shall not be slow to reward those who render good and faithful service, but I also shall not be quick to pardon those who are satisfied with doing nothing and who openly neglect their duty.

Sirdars and Khans, as you are aware, a great famine is prevailing in many parts of India. How great it is, and with what efforts the Government of India is endeavouring to cope with it, is shown by the fact that nearly fifty lakhs of persons are being kept alive by the powerful hand of the Sirkar. We wish none of the People to die, and we spend the money of the Govern-

ment in giving them work and in saving them from starvation. In Beluchistan you never have a famine as terrible as this, but I know that for three years past there has been a deficient rainfall and considerable distress in certain parts of this country, particularly in the Mari and Bugti hills, and a great mortality of cattle here too. The Sirkar has not been behind hand in relief. A grant of one and-a-half lakhs has been made for the construction of roads by those who are in need ; a quarter of a lakh is being spent in the distribution of grain among the Marris and Bugtis, and the Famine Relief Fund has recently made to Beluchistan a special grant of Rs. 10,000, I hope that these efforts may tide over the remaining period of scarcity, and that you will have good rains in the forthcoming summer.

And now, your Highness and Sirdars, let me say in conclusion what is pleasure it is to me to inaugurate with this important durbar the memorial hall to my old friend, Sir Robert Sandeman, in which I am now speaking. 'Sinneman saheb,' as you all call and knew him, has now been dead for eight years, but his name is not forgotten, and his work will go on living, as I hope, for ever. For what was Sir Robert Sandeman's work for which we honour and remember his name ? It was the building up of the powerful and peaceful frontier province of Beluchistan with the good-will and acquiescence of its ruler, its Sirdars, and its people. When he first came to Khelat in 1875, the Beluchistan State was a prey to civil war, the tribes were disorganised, and fighting ; Peshin and Sibi were under

Afghan governors ; there was no British administration in the country, and the passes were either closed to trade or were infested by marauding gangs. Contrast the present position, when we see a Beluchistan that is pacified and prosperous from the Arabian Sea to the Registan Desert, and from the Persian border to the Suleiman and the Gomul ; I do not say that there are never troubles or disorders or disputes, but there is no civil war ; there is a growing trade ; justice is dispensed ; property is increasingly safe ; the population is multiplying ; every man who does right knows that he is certain of the protection of the British Raj. This is Sir Robert Sandeman's work, and for this he will always be remembered. It also seems to me a right thing that his memorial should be a jirga hall ; for, above all else, he carried through his policy by his use of tribal methods of which the jirga is the foremost, by his knowledge of tribal character, and by his conciliation of tribal feelings. He was a strong and independent man, but he never coerced by force where he could lead by free will. He had the power of character to dictate. But he also had the tact and good humour to persuade. It was for this that he was trusted by all men and was beloved by the people. I am proud to come here to-day as Viceroy of India and to open this memorial hall to one who was not merely my friend, but a noble-minded son of Great Britain. Since I was here with him, his successor with whom I stayed later on Sir James Browne, has also passed away. He too had wonderful influence with the tribes, and was trusted by

every Pathan on the border. The frontier is a hard master ; it is greedy of the lifeblood of its servants ; and both these brave and able men died at their posts. No more competent successor to them could have been found than my present Agent, Mr. Barnes. He learned his lessons in the school of Sir Robert Sandeman ; and with energy and ability and a high sense of duty, he has pursued the same path and carried on the same work. I rejoice to think that Beluchistan, the apple of the frontier eye, has been well guarded by a series of such devoted and capable officers of the Queen, and in such hands may it long continue to prosper (Applause).

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET AT BHUJ.

On the 31st October, 1900, His Excellency the Viceroy was entertained at a banquet at His Highness Rao Lakhputji's palace at Bhuj. His Excellency in reply to the toast of his health proposed by His Highness spoke as follows :—

Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen,—In the two speeches to which we have just listened, and to the second of which I am now called upon to reply, His Highness the Rao has shown that to his other accomplishments he adds that of being a talented and graceful speaker. His Highness, in bidding me welcome, has alluded to the fact that I am the first Viceroy of India to visit his State. It has given me pleasure to set an example, for which no justification seems to be required. Any Ruler of India might be glad to visit a State with which the British Government has so long

enjoyed treaty relations, and a capital where has been maintained, for as much as 80 years, a regiment of the Indian Army. I must add to these sources of interests the pleasure of making the acquaintance of a young Chief, well-educated, well-gifted, and devoted to the interest of his people.

The name of Cutch has been carried far and wide in the Eastern world by the enterprise of its merchants and the excellence of its products and manufactures. The Cutchee trader is an equally well-known figure in the markets, and on the wharves of Zanzibar, Aden and Bombay. I saw some evidence of the commercial prosperity of the State in the port of Mandvi, at which I landed this morning, and which, I was told, contained quite a considerable number of wealthy men. As I advanced further into the interior, I could not fail to be struck by the thriving and healthy appearance of the people. I did not see a single emaciated form. I observed no shrunken features. When I remembered that this country had been sorely afflicted by drought during the past year, and that only two years ago the plague was so bad that it is said to have carried off 10,000 persons, I thought that what I saw spoke well for the natural vigour and the recuperative power of the people ; but I thought that it spoke even better for the generosity and patriotism of the Chief who spent from his own resources over 20 lakhs of rupees upon relief work for the employment of his subjects, and who, thereby, showed himself what it is the highest ambition of any ruler to be, namely, the saviour of his

people. (Cheers). I remember once reading in a book that there was a famine in Cutch in the year 1812, which carried off one-half of its inhabitants. In the past year there has been poverty and inanition, but, I believe, no starvation. Think of what a difference this means. When, therefore, His Highness pays me the compliment, as he has done, of flattering reference to the famine administration of the Government of India during the past year, I feel at liberty to return him the compliment, and to say that we could desire no better tribute to the success of our own system than that it has found so worthy a disciple. (cheers). His Highness is still young, and has, I trust, before him a life of service and utility and distinction. There is no standing still in the development of peoples ; and there will be plenty to occupy his energies for many a long year to come. For instance, if he were to lay a light railway along the road from Mandvi to Bhuj, would he not greatly facilitate the export trade from Cutch, and might he not even persuade some future Viceroy to emulate my example (laughter) and to travel by an even easier road than I have done to the capital of the State ? It only remains for me to thank the Rao for his bountiful hospitality and to express a hope that long after I have left India and am forgotten, he may continue to devote his talents and capacities to the welfare of his people. When we think of all the hundreds and thousands of Princes who have ruled in this world of ours, and when we ponder over the infinitesimal number whose names even are remembered

beyond their own States or kingdoms, we shall soon see that it is virtue alone that has given to this small minority its immortality of fame. May it fall to the lot of the present Rao of Cutch to be loved by his people now, and to be long remembered by them hereafter. Before resuming my seat I must thank His Highness for his courtly allusions to Lady Curzon, whose absence from this visit, due to the fatigue of a long journey, she and I equally with our host deplore. It is a great disappointment to her, when so many preparations had been made for her reception, to have been compelled to stay behind on the ship. I now give you, ladies and gentlemen, the health of our generous host, His Highness the Rao of Cutch.

OPENING OF THE ARTS COLLEGE AT JUNAGADH.

On the 5th November, 1900, His Excellency Lord Curzon performed the opening ceremony of the Arts College at Junagadh at the special invitation of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh. His Highness's son Sher, Juma Khan read an address on behalf of his father welcoming His Excellency after which the latter spoke as follows :—

Your Highness, Colonel Hunter, and gentlemen,—His Highness in his opening remarks, which have been read to us so clearly by his Highness's son and heir, the Nawab Zadeh, thereby testifying to the excellent education which he has received at the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, has alluded to the fact that I am the

first Viceroy of India to visit Kathiawar. We have a proverb in England which says that "it never rains but it pours," and on the same principle it would seem that, while I am about it, I also am giving you a good dose, since this is the second year in succession in which I have spent the opening days of the month of November in this province. Last year I was unable to come to Junagadh, but my desire to see as much of Kathiawar as possible was heightened by the knowledge that if I came to this State I should have an opportunity of visiting the far-famed and sacred hill of Girnar, with its sculptured shrines, the ancient temple of Somnath, and the granite rock that has preserved till modern times the precious edicts of the Emperor Asoka. His Highness in his speech has alluded to these relics of bygone ages, the possession of which alone would distinguish his State from its neighbours; while the fact of a Mahomedan dynasty and people surviving among the Hindu principalities by which they are surrounded is itself an interesting connecting link with the warlike and tempestuous days that have now faded into the past. A more convincing proof of the changes through which Junagadh has passed, and of the milder times in which we now live, could not be found than the fact that, under the shadow of the historic fort which has so often been besieged and stormed, and in a State which was for centuries the prey of warring armies and which even after active warfare had ceased was until a recent date the last refuge of lawless and inveterate dacoits. we are met

together to-day to inaugurate the opening of a college for the study of the arts and sciences and of a school for the revival of the handicrafts for which the artificers of India were once so renowned. (Applause.) These buildings are being erected in honour of the worthy Wazir who is present here to-day and who for nearly half a century has served the State. Two centuries ago, had a Wazir of Janagadh been commemorated in public fashion, we may conjecture that there would have been built over his remains a magnificent tomb which would promptly have been allowed to crumble to pieces by his successors. Now we know the arts and sciences can never die, even though they are sometimes for a while submerged ; and, therefore, we may hope that in this State, when he dies, not only will the Wazir's mausoleum perpetuate his name, but that the Bahauddin College also may never lack pupils, may never cease to turn out scholars and may hand down to a more lasting fame the memory of the Minister in whose honour it was founded. I trust that the college when opened may attract to its classes, and may send on to the Bombay University, a number of young students who, when they have taken their degrees, will return to the land of their birth, and will supply this and other Native States with the good material for which there is always an opening in the ranks of the public service. (Applause.) His Highness has further requested me to allow my name to be connected with the irrigation works of the Sharni Canal which were started during the recent famine, and which, I under-

stand, are not yet completed. I hardly think that I deserve this compliment, but as the Nawab wishes it I have pleasure in acceding to his request. (Applause.) I understand the famine administration of Junagadh, both in its financial and in its relief aspects, to have been ably and creditably conducted. It has also been accompanied, owing to the capable exertions of Colonel Sealy, by an alienation settlement which has been composed in an amicable fashion; and with the general acceptance of this very complex question of internal politics, that has long been a thorn in the side of the State, Junagadh has henceforward, I believe, an era of assured peace and prosperity, before it; and, standing as I do upon the threshold of this hopeful future, I have great pleasure in indicating my own sympathy and good wishes for its success by declaring this college and school open. (Applause.) If my words are not understood by all those whom I have been addressing now, though I think, from the recognition which at times they have accorded that they have been understood by a considerable number of those present, I trust that they may be translated and communicated to them afterwards. (Applause.)

SPEECH AT THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE AT RAJKOTE.

On the 6th November, 1900, Lord Curzon visited the Rajumar College at Rajkote, and there delivered the following peech :—

Your Highness, Chiefs, ladies and gentlemen,—
Between two and three years ago before I came out to India as Viceroy, there was placed in my hands a book, containing the addresses that had been delivered by an English Principal to his pupils in an Indian College. The College was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, in which I am now speaking. The author of the addresses was the late Mr. Chester Macnaghton. I had not till that time been aware either of the existence of the College or of the name of the Principal ; but from what I have read I formed the opinion that here was an institution which, in spite of some discouragement at the start, and amid many drawbacks and obstacles, was doing a noble work for the rising generation of the princely and aristocratic families of Kathiawar and Guzerat ; and that it had in its first Principal a man of high character, of lofty ideals and with a peculiar gift for exciting enthusiasm. Mr. Macnaghton, has since died after a service of 26 years as the head of this College with which his name will always be associated, where now before the entrance his statue stands, and which his ideals may, I hope, for long continue to inspire ; but he has found a worthy successor in Mr. Waddington, to whose interesting address we have just listened, and who carries on

the work of the College upon the same liberal and progressive lines. In such hands its future should be as secure as its past has already been fruitful. Gentlemen, a year ago when I was at Rajkot I visited this place, and was shown over the buildings by Mr. Waddington. Unfortunately the College was then in vacation, and only a few of the Kumars were in residence; still I was enabled to understand the internal economy of the College and to grasp the principles which regulate both the physical and the mental tuition of the boys. You may judge what a pleasure it is to me, who am an old public school boy and college man myself, to see you all here to-day upon the occasion of your annual prize distribution or commemoration day, to have listened to your recitations, which seemed to me to be most excellently done, to be invited to hand the prizes to the successful competitors of the past year, and to say a few words to the assembled Kumars. One feature of these functions I will, however, spare you. I do not propose to tell the boys, who have not won prizes on the present occasion, that they are just as clever and as good as the boys who have, though this is the customary form of encouragement to administer, because it is obviously not the case. Neither will I tell you that your education, when you leave this College, is not ended, but is only just beginning, because I assume that you are sufficiently intelligent to know that already. Nor will I say that you should henceforward act in a manner, worthy of the traditions of the College, because if this institution has existed for

30 years without producing in its students the *esprit de corps* of which I speak, nothing that I can say would now inculcate it, while it would be doubtful whether in such a case the place itself was worthy to exist at all. I prefer to make a few observations to you, connected both with the present position of the College and with the future that lies before those who have passed through its courses.

To me it is quite clear that the Rajkumar College demands, just as I think that it also deserves, the continued support and confidence of the Chiefs. It was by their contributions and princely endowments that this institution was started. By their donations were built the lecturer rooms and living-quarters and halls. They have given the prizes and medals which it has been my good fortune to distribute to-day. No assistance was rendered by Government either in the construction or in the maintenance of these buildings. The Political Agent in Kathiawar is, I believe, the Chairman of the governing Council; and undoubtedly the advice, which an experienced officer like Colonel Hunter is in a position to give you, must be invaluable indeed. But for the exertions of one of his predecessors, Colonel Keatings, in all probability the College would never have sprung into being; while later incumbents of the post, such as that capable and sympathetic administrator, Sir James Peile, have sedulously watched and encouraged its growth. On the other hand, while you cannot dispense with this form of aid and guidance, it is upon the continuous interest and

liberality of the Chiefs themselves that the future of the College must in the main depend. If they continue to give their support, it will flourish. If they are apathetic or indifferent or hostile, it will dwindle and pine. From this point of view I was very pleased to hear of the wise step by which a number of the ruling Chiefs, most of whom have themselves been educated in the College, have lately been associated with its government by being placed upon the Council. They are bound to its interests by the double tie of old fellowship and of responsibility as members of the ruling order ; and in their hands, if they do their duty, its future should be safe. At the present moment I believe that no fewer than 12 out of the 32 ruling Chiefs of Kathiawar have been educated at the Rajkumar College ; and I am not paying either them or the College any undue compliment when I add that they are among the most enlightened and capable of their class. (Applause.) Of course, we cannot compel every Chief or "Thakur" to send his son or the cadets of his family here. There were a large number who resented the apparent wrench to social habits and native traditions at the beginning. Some have never yet quite relinquished this suspicion. There will also always be a certain number of parents who will prefer private tuition for their sons, or education at the hands of native teachers, or a course of study abroad. I would not interfere with their discretion. Each parent has his own ideas about the bringing-up of his boys ; and I can conceive nothing worse than to force all fathers

or all sons into the same mould. You would get a very dismal and flattened-out type of character as the result. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, I would appeal to the ruling families of Guzerat and Kathiawar, and, indeed, of the Bombay Presidency as a whole, to continue their support to this institution, and to send their sons and grandsons here, both because I think that the system itself is sufficiently elastic to escape the dangers of stereotyping a particular form or cast of character of which I have spoken, and because I do not entertain a doubt that the general influence of the College has been and is of inestimable value in its influence upon the well-being and good government of the province.

And now a few words to the young men and boys whom I see before me. Mr. Waddington used what seemed to me to be wise words when he spoke of the difficulty of transplanting the best in Western thought and tradition without impairing the Indian's love for his home and his country. That is, and has been, and will continue to be the difficulty all along. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that because in this and the other Chiefs' College in Northern and Central India the boys are given the nearest equivalent, of which India admits, to an English public school education, the aim is, therefore, to turn them outright into English boys. If this College were to emancipate its students from old-fashioned prejudices or superstitions at the cost of denationalisation, I for one should think the price too heavy. The Anglicised Indian is not a

more attractive spectacle in my eyes than the Indianised Englishman. Both are hybrids of an unnatural type. No ; we want the young Chiefs, who are educated here to learn the English language and to become sufficiently familiar with English customs, literature, science, modes of thought, standards of truth and honour, and, I may add, with manly English sports and games, to be able to hold their own in the world in which their lot will be cast, without appearing to be dullards or clowns ; and to give to their people, if they subsequently become rulers, the benefit of enlightened and pure administration. Beyond that we do not press to go. After all, those Kumars, who become Chiefs, are called upon to rule, not an English but an Indian people ; and, as a Prince, who is to have any influence and to justify his own existence, must be on good terms with his own subjects, it is clear that it is not by English models alone but by an adaptation of Eastern prescriptions to the Western standard that he can hope to succeed. Chiefs are not, as is sometimes imagined, a privileged body of persons. God Almighty has not presented them with a *sunnud* to do nothing in perpetuity. The State is not their private property. Its revenues are not their privy purse. They are intended by Providence to be the working bees and not the drones of the hive. They exist for the benefit of their people. Their people do not exist for them. They are intended to be types and leaders and examples. A Chief, at whom any one of his subjects can point the finger of scorn, is not fit to be a Chief. If these views

are correct, it is clear that this College has a great and responsible work devolved upon it, since it ought to be, not merely a school of men, but a nursery of statesmen ; and that the worst way of discharging its trust, would be to rob its pupils of their surest claim to the confidence of their countrymen, which is this : that, though educated in a Western curriculum, they should still remain Indians, true to their own beliefs, their own traditions and their own people. Therefore Chiefs and Pupils of the Rajkumar College, I say to you and it is my parting word : be loyal to this College, spread its name abroad, and see to it that in your own persons it is justified before men. While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles and Indian princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption, and recollect that you will be remembered in history, if you earn remembrance, not because you copied the habits of an alien country but because you benefited the inhabitants of your own. If I could feel that my poor words were, likely to waken in any of the young men, whom I am addressing and who may be destined to high responsibility in the future, a keener and fresher sense of duty than has perhaps hitherto occurred to his mind, the pleasure, which I have experienced in coming here to-day, which is already great, would be tenfold, nay, a hundred-fold greater. (Loud and prolonged applause)

SPEECH AT THE RAJKOTE DURBAR.

On the 7th November, 1901, the Viceroy held a great Durbar in the Connaught Hall of the Memorial Institute at Rajkote. After the chiefs and notables were introduced to His Excellency, Lord Curzon addressed the assembly as follows :—

Chiefs and Durbaris of Kathiawar.—Since I have been in India nothing has surprised me more than that none of my predecessors ever found time or interest to visit Kathiawar. When I came here last year for the first time to show my sympathy with the Chiefs and people in their misfortunes, and acquire some personal knowledge of the manner in which they were combating the great famine, I was much struck with the peculiar characteristics of this province. It seemed to me to present, in an unusual and attractive combination, the features of an old territorial nobility, standing midway between the paramount Power and its own subjects, and bound by solemn obligations to both, with abundant evidences of modern enlightenment and civilization. It is a country that possesses sites of ancient and historic sanctity, which are yearly visited by thousands, of pilgrims. It contains a number of small but flourishing cities and ports. It is intersected by a net-work of railways, having indeed nearly as many miles of railroad as it has of first class roads. It is well endowed with hospitals, schools, dispensaries, and the latest symptoms of progress ; and it can boast of some of the most cultivated Chiefs on the western side of India. My visit last year was a short one ; but I resolved that I would take the first opportunity

of returning, in order to improve my acquaintance with Kathiawar at a more favourable moment in its fortunes.

That is the object, Chiefs and Durbaris, with which I have invited you here to-day. I desire to convince you that though you live in a somewhat unfrequented corner of the Indian continent, which is away from the principal lines of movement and travel, your welfare and your concerns are very dear to the Government of India, and that the head of that Government takes a personal interest in your well-being. (Applause.) It is an object of ambition that I should meet and make the acquaintance of as many of the Chiefs and Nobles of India as may be possible during my time. I like to know them in order to realise their position,—its advantages and its difficulties,—for it is attended by both,—and to appreciate their work. For this reason I make longer tours and wider diversions from the beaten tracks than some of my predecessors have done. I have spoken of the benefits that result to myself in the shape of increased knowledge, of greater sympathy, and of more intelligent discrimination. I trust it is not a vain hope that they may be in some measure reciprocal. (Applause.) Many of the Chiefs and Thakurs, residing in out-of-the-way parts, and only brought into contact with the Agents of the Local Government, the Government of India in all likelihood appears to be a mysterious force that is seldom materialised into positive existence. To all such I should like to invest it with greater near-

ness and actuality. I wish them all to realize that the Viceroy is not merely a figure-head of Imperial authority, but also their counsellor and friend. (Applause.) If he comes and sees them and speaks to them in their own homes, they may realize that they are not overlooked or forgotten, but that they play their part,—and it is no mean part—in the collective administration of the Empire. (Renewed applause.)

Chiefs, the feature in Kathiawar, that struck me most last year, was the recognition among you, in spite of the minute sub-division of territory, jurisdiction and of many possible causes of disunion, of common interests and corporate life. The Chiefs in this province reminded me, in fact, of a sort of medieval guild, constituted for the purposes of co-operation in matters where the interests of all coincide, or that can best be advanced by common action. You have your annual meeting of Parbharis,—a species of local Diet or Parliament—to discuss the administration of corporate funds. You have a fund known as the States General Fund, contributed in fixed proportions by all. You have a system of railways, owned by different States and managed by a body upon which various proprietors are represented. Recently a convention has been concluded to facilitate the administration of justice between several States, each enjoying separate jurisdiction of its own, at Rajkote. This corporate existence is typified by the existence of a number of admirable buildings or institutions, designed for the welfare, not of one State only but of all. There is

the Rajkumar College, where I spoke yesterday ; there is the Training College School for teachers ; there is the Hospital for Women and Chemical Laboratory. These institutions have been founded by the liberality of individual Chiefs or donors, and they are administered out of joint funds I had the advantage of visiting the majority of them last November.

During the past year you have had presented to you an opportunity of displaying both collective energy and individual zeal in your encounter with the most serious famine that has afflicted Kathiawar since the famous visitation of 1812-13. Two days ago I was inspecting the celebrated inscriptions of Emperor Asoka on the great rock that lies at the foot of the holy hill of Girnar. In those edicts were enjoined, upon the people of the Emperor's vast dominions, lessons of charity, piety and the sparing of animal life. It is gratifying to me to think that these precepts were not forgotten in the recent distress by the Chieftains of Kathiawar. They have, with rare exceptions, risen to and fulfilled their obligations under the able leadership and subject to constant advice of Colonel Hunter (applause), in whom the Kathiawar States are about to lose a firm friend and the Government of India a most valued officer. All the machinery of famine works and famine relief, with which we are now so sorrowfully familiar, have been forthcoming in this province ; works and poor-houses and hospitals have everywhere been opened throughout the past twelve months ; the infirm and the destitute have been cared for, and means of liveli-

hood have been offered to every man, woman and child who had hands with which to work. Advances have been made to help ruined cultivators to start again in the world; and in generous interpretation of their obligations, several of the Darbars have not shrunk from incurring heavy debts. Here as elsewhere the famine has taught us lessons which should be valuable for the future. It is sometimes disputed whether railways of irrigation are of greater service in the prevention of drought. This is a very barren and senseless controversy, since it may fairly be said that neither is a preventive at all. On the present occasion, famine struck a great many areas in India, where there were excellent railway communications and abundance of tanks; but the water dried up in the tanks just when it was most wanted; while railways, though they could bring grain to the famished peasant, could not make it germinate in parched and moistureless soil. But I venture to say that if there is a part of India where both railways and tanks efficiently demonstrated their value in time of famine, it was here. The railways poured in grain from distant markets with a regularity that kept prices at a point, consistently lower than in the dearth of 1897; and if there was any Chief in Kathiawar, who was diffident about forward railway policy, I think that his doubts must have been removed during the past summer. He has only to look up the records of the great famine of 1813, when Kathiawar parents sold their children and men killed and devoured each other, to realize the full meaning and the value

of a constant and cheap supply of grain. As regards irrigation, the experience of the past year should also have taught you the necessity of storing rain-water in irrigation tanks wherever contours of land are favourable. Such works will not obviate famine, but they will greatly mitigate its intensity. There is another lesson which, I hope, that the famine has taught you, and that is the positive necessity of laying by a portion of your incomes in every year, as an emergency fund, to meet these sudden and terrible straits. The fascination of living up to one's income is well known in all classes and countries. That of living in excess of it, is also not without its votaries among Native Chiefs ; but when famine ensues, a rude awakening comes ; for, an exhausted treasury is powerless to meet the demands that fall thick and fast upon it, and the State is thereupon burdened with debt that may hamper its development for years to come. On the present occasion there has necessarily been considerable recourse to loans. The finances of some of the States, greatly to their credit, were able to weather the storm without any recourse to outside assistance ; but they were in the minority. In these circumstances the Government of India has rendered you every possible assistance in its power. I have myself kept a most careful watch upon the requisitions of Native States in all parts of India where there has been famine ; and I think it will be conceded without demur that, while avoiding prodigality or slackness, we have neither grudged nor stinted our help. (Ap-

plaus.) Apart from loans, made by local funds in the Kathiawar Agency, which amounted to nearly 11 lakhs and the private loans, guaranteed by the Agency, which amounted to 40½ lakhs more, the Imperial Exchequer has lent to Kathiawar Chiefs sums of money which, excluding such loans as have already been repaid, represent still an outstanding debt of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. I think, therefore, it may truly be said that we have all pulled heartily together in the peril the Supreme Government, the Local Government, Chiefs and people, in order to tide the province over its dark hour of misfortune. And in this loyal co-operation in the cause of suffering humanity, I find a solace in contemplating the trials of the last year as well as a hopeful augury for the future. Chiefs of Kathiawar, I should not come here as Viceroy of India, were I not confident that my message to you was one of sympathy and encouragement. You are representatives, in this part of India, of a system of which no one is a more convinced supporter than myself. I am a firm believer in the policy which has guaranteed the integrity, has insured the succession and has built up the fortunes of Native States. I regard the advantage accruing from the secure existence of those States, as mutual in the case of Chiefs and States. It is obvious since old families and traditions are thereby preserved, that a link is maintained with the past that is greatly cherished by the people and an opening is given for the employment of native talent which the British system does not always or equally provide. But to us also the

gain is indubitable, since the strain of the Government is thereby lessened. Full scope is provided for the exercise of the energies that might otherwise be lost to the Government. The perils of excessive uniformity and undue centralisation are avoided and greater administrative flexibility ensues. So long as these views are held,—and I doubt if any of my successors will ever repudiate them—Native States should find, in the consciousness of their security, a stimulus to energy and to well-doing. They should fortify the sympathies of the Government by deserving them. To weaken this support, would be to commit a suicidal crime. If Native States, however, are to accept this standard, it is obvious that they must keep pace with the age. They cannot dawdle behind and act as a drag upon inevitable progress. They are links in the chain of Imperial administration. It would never do for British links to be strong and native links weak, or vice versa. As the chain goes on lengthening and the strains put upon every part of it increases, so is uniformity of quality and fibre essential ; otherwise unsound links will snap. I therefore think, and I lose no opportunity of impressing upon Indian Chiefs that a very clear and positive duty devolves upon them. It is not limited to the perpetuation of their dynasties or the maintenance of their Raj—they must not rest content with keeping things going in their time. Their duty is one, not of passive acceptance of an established place in the Imperial system, but of an active and vigorous co-operation in the discharge of its onerous responsibilities. When

wrong things go on in British India, the light of public criticism beats fiercely upon the offending person or spot. Native States have no right to claim any immunity from the same process. It is no defence to say that the standards there are lower and that as censors we must be less exacting. That would be an admission of the inferiority of the part, played by the States in the Imperial scheme, whereas the whole of my contention rests upon its equality, and the whole of my desire is to make it endure. In Kathiawar it is gratifying to me to think that these propositions, which I regard as fundamental principles of Indian statescraft, are generally accepted; and that the majority of the Chiefs and Thakurs, whom I am addressing, are already engaged in putting them into operation. (Applause.)

Holding the views that I do, I welcome nothing more than the opportunity of giving such encouragement, as lies in my power as the head of Government, to those who have it in their power so greatly to help and encourage me. I hope that I have not been remiss in this direction. There has never been a year in the Indian history when the loyalty of the Indian Princes and people has been more triumphantly vindicated and aroused by the stirring events that were passing in foreign lands and thrilled by a sense of partnership in the British Empire. They have freely offered their troops, their resources, and their own swords for the service of the Queen both in Africa and in Asia. (Applause.) It has not been possible

to accept all these offers ; and indeed, in South Africa it was not possible to accept many ; but the war in China has presented me with an opportunity of showing how greatly Her Majesty and Her Majesty's Government have valued these demonstrations of loyalty which I was not slow to seize. It will always remain a source of pride to me to have been instrumental in persuading them for the first time to send the Imperial Service Troops outside of these shores. I frankly admit that it is not the purpose for which those contingents were originally raised. They were offered by the Chiefs and accepted by Government to take part in the defence of India ; but opportunities that we can furnish for their employment in India or upon the Indian frontiers are few and far between ; and when the Chiefs came forward and begged to be allowed to share the larger responsibilities of the Empire and to vindicate their loyalty upon a wider field, he would, I think, have been a cold and narrow-minded pedant who, on such an occasion, would have damped their enthusiasm or waved aside the offer. It was, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I urged Her Majesty's Government to accept the offers, so spontaneously and generously made, and that I have since superintended the despatch to China of picked Contingents from the Imperial Service Forces.

Kathiawar did not take part in this particular contribution (Applause) ; but in the South African War the Chiefs had already shown the spirit by which they were animated. From the relatively small force of

the Imperial Service Cavalry that are maintained by the Chiefs of this province, Junagadh gave 15 horses for South Africa; Bhavnagar contributed 100 horses, as well as 50 to Lumsden's Horse, and the Indian Government borrowed 35 horses from Jamnagar. You have, therefore, not been left outside of the great movement that has throughout the past year swept like a mighty tide from one end of the British Empire to the other. (Applause.) You have contributed your share to its volume and its strength. I am now arranging for a despatch to Australia of a selected Contingent of 100 Officers and Non-commissioned officers of the Native Army and the Imperial Service Troops who have been invited by the Colonial authorities as guests of the new Federal Government of Australia, to assist on the 1st of January at the inauguration of the new Commonwealth. It will be a fitting thing that on the day when the new off-shoot of the British Empire is to start into official being, the festival should be graced by the presence of those who will symbolise the part that has been played in the consolidation of the parent fabric by Indian swords and by India's sons. (Applause.) It is, therefore, in a memorable year, Chiefs and Nobles of Kathiawar, that I have come hither to address you—the year that has been one of anxiety and suffering, but that has also been one of noble devotion and recognition of higher aims. If it has been sorrow to me to observe pain and anguish, it has also been a comfort to note the spirit which they have engendered, and to have touched the instrument whose

chords have thrilled to so sublime a tune. I take this opportunity, therefore, through you, of thanking the Chiefs of India for the part that they have played in a year that fitly marks the passing away of an old century and the opening of a new. A hundred years hence may it be in the power of some successor of mine to speak to the Indian Princes and people in the language of similar good cheer and congratulation (Loud applause.)

UNVEILING OF THE QUEEN'S STATUE AT RAJKOTE.

On the 7th November, 1900, the Viceroy performed the ceremony of unveiling the Queen's Statue at Rajkote. His Excellency said :—

Chiefs and Nobles,—Before we separate I have been invited to perform one further and most agreeable task. It is that of unveiling the statue of her most gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress—(applause)—which stands in the apse of this hall that already takes its name from one of Her Majesty's sons. The statue is the work of Mr. Alfred Gilbert, one of the most gifted of British sculptors, and is a replica of the original effigy which I have seen in England, and which is now, I think, at Winchester. It is a noble work of art, and is, I venture to assert, the finest sculptured representation of Her Majesty outside the shores of Great Britain. I have spoken in the address that I have just delivered, of the loyalty that pervades the Chiefs of

this Province and of the spontaneous shape that those feelings have taken during the past year ; but already in the Diamond Jubilee year of 1897 the Chiefs of Kathiawar had decided to testify their reverence for the Queen by some special commemoration, and the order for this statue was the result. It is, I venture to think, a remarkable and gratifying thing that in remote Kathiawar the ruler of the vast dominions of the British Empire should be honoured by her Feudatories in so conspicuous and enduring a fashion.

Chiefs and Nobles, there has been no sovereign of the British or any other Empire, who has so won the affections of her subjects as Queen Victoria. (Applause.) No great Mogul at the height of his power commanded one-half of the personal devotion from the Indian people, that is aroused by their English Queen. Every one of the Indian Princes, when he goes to England, is inspired by the desire to pay his homage to Her Majesty, to receive her wise counsels, and to profit by her gracious advice. To all of them, whether they have seen her or not, she is not merely Queen, but mother ; and they are bound to her by ties not only of political allegiance but of filial respect. It is, therefore, a right and befitting thing that in this hall, where you meet on ceremonial occasions, and where to-day, as Her Majesty's representative I have been privileged to address you, there should always be present to the eyes of the Chiefs of Kathiawar the image of the first ruler of the British Empire who has appealed to the imagination as well as the loyalty of her world-wide Empire. (Applause.)

May her pure and benign and gracious example long continue to inspire us ! May the memory of the Sovereign, who cared more deeply for her Indian subjects than any of her predecessors, and who was one with her people in their sorrows not less than in their joys, remain bright through the long vista of future years, binding the Indian Chiefs and races with indissoluble ties to the British throne ! Chiefs and Nobles, I now declare unveiled this statue of her Majesty the Queen. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE BOMBAY CORPORATION.

On the 8th November, 1900, Lord Curzon received a highly complimentary address from the Municipal Corporation of Bombay to which His Excellency replied as follows :—

When I landed at the Apollo Bunder in December, 1898, I little thought that within less than two years' time I should twice again visit this great city. Still less could I have anticipated that within so short a period of my assuming office, I should be deemed worthy of the honour of such a ceremony as that of this morning. It is, as you know, the trials and the sufferings through which Bombay has been passing, that have brought me back into this Presidency upon the two occasions to which I have referred. It is your gracious recognition of the motive that actuated these visits,—a recognition very characteristic of the warm-

hearted Indian people (applause)—that has brought me to this Town Hall to day and has made me the recipient of the exquisite and sumptuous gift in which the Address, that has just been read from the Bombay Corporation, will henceforward be enclosed.

You have said with truth in this Address that the troubles by which India in general and this Presidency perhaps more particularly, have been afflicted, have gone on increasing and multiplying during the past two years. Lord Elgin thought that he had coped with the worst famine of the century. We have now gone through a worse. It was hoped that plague would soon be extirpated from your midst; but it has grown into an annual visitor, whom, in spite of all our efforts, we can neither altogether elude nor defeat. True, there is one calamity which we have been fortunate enough to escape during our time of trial, and that is warfare in our own territory or upon our frontiers. Indeed, the most striking incident in recent Indian history,—the most conclusive testimony to the loyalty of her Princes and people, and the most absolute demonstration of the reality of the peace that we have enjoyed—is the fact that we have spared between 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers from the Indian Army, for the wars being waged elsewhere by the forces of the Queen, and have thus not unhandsomely borne our share in that great outburst of Imperial sentiment that has marked the disappearance of the old century and the opening of the new. (Applause.)

You have been good enough to speak in terms of

praise of the manner in which we have met our misfortunes. I do not take this praise to myself. For instance, in our struggle with plague and famine, the Captain can do little but frame his orders, see closely to their execution, keep an eye upon every part of the field and encourage his men. When, therefore, I see or hear the Head of the Government praised for the efficiency or liberality of the measures that have been taken, or given the credit for their success, I feel almost a sense of shame ; for, I think of all the accumulated advice and experience that have been freely placed at his disposal by those who know so much more than he ; and I remember the brave men who, with no reward to hope for and no public applause to urge them on, have for month after month, whether in the scorching heat or through the soaking rains, spent their energy and life-blood and strength in fighting the real battle wherever the enemy threatened or the worst danger lay. Theirs is the true credit ; and it is only on their behalf and as their official head that I can accept with contentment what I could not, without injustice, appropriate to myself. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, before I pass on to the larger aspects of British policy and rule upon which you have touched, I will refer to the local questions which you have submitted to my notice. They have taken the customary form of an appeal to the Government of India for more funds (Laughter.) Indeed, I some time wonder if a Viceroy, as he goes round on tour, were at each place, at which he halts and is addressed by an impoverished

and unfortunate Municipality to accede to only one-half of the petitions for financial assistance that he receives, what sort of welcome he could meet with from his colleagues in the Government when he got back to Calcutta. (Laughter) The first event, I take it, would be the arrival of a letter from his Finance Minister, handing in his resignation. (Laughter.) The second would be the receipt of a telegram from the Secretary of State to say that a Royal Commission was about to sail from England to investigate the straits to which the Government of India had been reduced by a too blind philanthropy on the part of its Chief. (Laughter.) Inasmuch as I desire to escape both these forms of rebuke, and as you, gentlemen, having expressed your interest in the continuance of my Administration, cannot possibly wish that I should incur them, you will understand how it is that even the most tender-hearted of Viceroys on tour is perhaps more often compelled to refuse petitions than he is able to grant them. The first of the particular requests that you have placed before me on the present occasion, is that the whole of the plague expenditure, direct and indirect, of the city of Bombay—and I presume that the same argument would apply to Poona, Belgaum, Dharwar and any other spot that is similarly afflicted—shall be taken over by the Imperial Government. I think that this proposition has only to be frankly stated for it to be seen, that under no system of finance and with no succession of surpluses, that it is possible to conceive, could such an obligation be accepted in advance by the

Supreme Government. When a terrible calamity such as plague befalls, drying up resources and arresting progress all round, it is emphatically a case for generous and open-handed treatment, but it is not necessarily a case for wholesale exemption. Such generosity, I venture to assert, that the Bombay Government received from the Government of India when we made up our last Budget, is to a greater extent than has ever before been shown by the Government of India to a Local Government. We took over the whole of the direct plague expenditure of the Bombay Presidency for the past financial year, and we framed our estimates for taking over the whole again in this, the charge in the two years amounting to over 25 lakhs of rupees. In addition, we assumed the whole charge for the Research Laboratory at Parel, amounting to 2½ lakhs in the two years. More than this,—we made up to the Bombay Government the entire excess of all financial expenditure over the Provincial Balance. Why, when we had our debate at Calcutta, the Bombay representatives,—and my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, was one of them,—were almost clamorous in our praises. (Laughter.) We were the most liberal Government of the century; but now I come here and I find that the grateful children of the Government of India are already beginning to ask for more, and that they are not above squeezing the parent who has shown such overwhelming proofs of her affection (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, your request is one with which I most cordially sympathise, but which it is out of my power to concede.

The next respect in which you hint, not obscurely, at assistance from the Government of India, is the contemplated purchase of the tramways of Bombay by the Municipality. This is a subject with which I do not feel competent to deal adequately; but it occurs to me that before the point is reached at which it may be necessary to discuss the 'question of borrowing powers or the methods of a loan, there are a number of questions to which it is desirable that a reply should first be given. They are, firstly, whether the purchase is desirable in the interests of the city and its inhabitants; secondly, if so, what would be the probable cost; thirdly, whether the borrowing powers, enjoyed by the Corporation, would be best exercised for such an object; fourthly, whether the citizens of Bombay would be prepared to submit to additional taxation for the pleasure of owning their tramways; and, fifthly, whether the administration of these lines would be most efficiently and economically conducted by the Corporation. When an answer has been given to these questions, we shall all be in a better position to discuss the financial expedient that may be required.

There is a third matter of local interest for which you bespeak my attention, without, as I understand, at the present juncture, formulating any request. This is the carrying-out of your great scheme for the improvement of the city in which I take the deepest interest, both from what I heard of it from Lord Sandhurst and from the part that I was permitted to play in the inaugural function at Agripada last year. I was not myself

aware until I received your Address that the Act was taken in hand at a time of panic or was passed into law in a hurry. On the contrary, I thought that few measures had been longer on the anvil or had been more anxiously considered both by the Local Government and by the Government of India. I do not, of course, know in what direction amendments may be required ; but it will be the natural inclination of the Local Government to minimise all chances of friction between the Municipality and the Trust ; while municipal interests are already so largely represented upon the latter that they should not fail to secure becoming attention. In any case the solution of such matters may safely be left in the hands of your present Governor—(loud applause)—to whom you have paid so high and deserved a tribute in your Address, and who in a marvellously short time has established an enduring hold upon the esteem and affection of all classes in the Presidency. (Renewed applause)

This, gentlemen, exhausts the list of local topics to which you have called my attention. I now pass to the wider field of thought that has been opened by the terms of your Address. You have spoken of the impartial administration of justice,—not so much in the law courts, since they are independent of official control—as in the exercise of executive and administrative authority, as having been the guiding principle which I have borne in view. It is that I have tried never to lose sight of the motto which I set before myself when I landed here, namely, to hold the scales even. (Ap-

plause.) Experience has shown me that it is not always an easy task ; but experience has also convinced me that it is always the right one. (Applause.) If a man intends carrying it out, he must expect sometimes to be abused and frequently to be misunderstood. By one party he will be suspected of disloyalty to the rights of his countrymen ; by the other, of imperfect sympathy with its aspirations or aims. Every one appreciates the advantages of an umpire. But there are always some players of the game who think that the main duty of that functionary is to give their own side in. I sometimes note symptoms of this tendency in India. One man interprets an act of justice as a concession to clamour ; the other laments that he does not straight away secure all the articles of an impossible character. These little drawbacks may sometimes worry and sometimes impede, but they do not for one moment affect the conviction with which I started two years ago, and which I now hold, if possible, more strongly still—that it is by the natives, confidence in British justice that the loyalty of the Indian peoples is assured. (Applause.) Any man, who either by force or by fraud shakes that confidence, is dealing a blow at the British dominion in India (Applause.) If to justice we can add that form of mercy, which is best expressed by the word “consideration” and which is capable of showing itself in almost every act and incident of life, we have, I think, a key that will open most Indian hearts. A century ago there was a very intelligent and observant French priest,—the Albey Dubois,—who spent thirty years of

his life in India and who wrote a most admirable book upon the manners and customs and feelings of the people. I quote him because, as a foreigner and a Catholic Missionary, he could not be suspected of any undue partiality to the British Government, and because, as a Frenchman, with the memory of the French dominion in India, of which the British arms had only recently robbed his countrymen, fresh in his mind, he could hardly be expected to bless the conquerors. This was what he wrote ; " The justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make these people less unhappy than they have hitherto been—the anxiety which they manifest in increasing their material comfort,—above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the custom and religious beliefs of the country, and lastly the protection which they afford to the weak, as well as to the strong,—all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests" (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the era of victories and conquests is now over ; but the other and more abiding source of strength remains ; and an English Viceroy may safely repeat at the dawn of the 20th century what the French Abbe said on the opening of the 19th as to the character and motives of British rule in this country.

I was asked the other day whether after two years of Indian experience I had at all changed the views, to which I have often given expression, regarding the importance of the part that is played by India in the

structure of the British Empire. My answer was that they have not been changed, but confirmed. In the writing of a political philosopher, I recently came across the astounding utterance that "there is more true greatness within a two miles' radius of the British museum than in the whole of Asia." In my judgment this was a very arrogant and a very foolish remark. It is a proposition to which history is every day giving the lie. It is the Eastern and not the Western problems that continue to agitate the world; and Asia has still to be disposed of before the intellect of the West can exclusively concentrate itself upon Western concerns. The past year has, moreover, been one which has conspicuously demonstrated the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. It was the prompt despatch of a contingent of the Indian army a year ago that saved the Colony of Natal. (Applause.) They were Indian regiments who accomplished the rescue of the Legations at Peking. We have rendered this service to the Empire in a year when we have been distracted by famine and plague and weighed down by our own troubles. (Applause.) If our arm reaches as far as China in the East and South Africa in the West, who can doubt the range of our influence and of the share of India in Imperial destinies? (Renewed Applause.)

I have also been asked since I came to India whether I was at all disillusioned with my work and whether my love for the country had at all diminished. Again my answer has been in the negative. The work

to be done, seems to me just as important,—the opportunities for doing it to be even more numerous. More than a century ago the orator Burke remarked that the British Empire in India was an “awful thing.” He had not seen it,—he had only studied it from a distance of 10,000 miles, and the Empire of which he spoke was but a fraction of that which now acknowledges the sway of the British Crown. If it was awful a hundred years ago, what is it now? Is not the custody of the lives and fortunes of 300 millions of human beings, between one-fourth and one-fifth of the entire human race, a responsibility that might daunt the boldest energy and sober the flightiest imagination? Moreover they are not members of one race or even of a few races, but of a swarm of races. As I go about on tour and see the people in the street, the difference to the eye is enormous. A street crowd in Lahore does not present the smallest resemblance to one in Bombay. Bombay is utterly unlike Calcutta, and what is this external difference, compared with that within.—the difference of feature as compared with that of character and creed? And, again, what are any of these differences, compared with those that separate the huge Indian majority from the microscopic British minority? These are the common-place every-day reflections that are borne in upon me every hour that I spend in this country. How can a man be anything but absorbed—anything but enthusiastic—about such a work? Every day some fresh thing seems to require doing,—some new subject demands to be taken up.

There is, I know, a school who say "leave well alone ; you are in the unchanging East ; don't worry yourself unduly about reforms ; no one ever wanted to be reformed in Asia" Gentlemen, do you remember the answer of the economist Foiget in the reign of Louis XVI. of France? He was always pushing fresh reforms. Perhaps if he had pushed even more, there would have no French Revolution. When his friends came to him and said that he was going ahead too quickly, he replied "you forget that in my family we do not live beyond fifty" If this was the defence of the French statesman, may not a Viceroy of India reply to a similar charge "you forget that I only have five years—(Applause)—five years within which to effect the movement or to influence the outturn of this mighty machine For such a task every year seems a minute, every minute a second." One might almost say that there is hardly time to begin. There is one respect in which it has been my constant endeavour to infuse an element of the modern spirit into Indian Administration. I can see no reason why in India as elsewhere the official hierarchy should not benefit by public opinion. (Applause.) Official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to this form of stimulus and guidance. Indeed, my inclination where the Government is attacked, is not to assume that the critic must inevitably be wrong, but that it is quite conceivable that he may be right. In any case, I enquire. Of course, it is easy to disparage public opinion in a continent like India,—to

say that it is either the opinion of the merchants or the Civil Service or of amateurs in general, or if it be native public opinion, that it only represents the views of the infinitesimal fraction who are educated, no doubt. This is true; but all these are the various sections upon whose intelligent co-operation the Government depends. (Applause.) To the masses we can give little more than security and material comfort in their humble lives; they have not reached a fit state of development at which they can lend us anything more than a passive support; but the opinion of the educated classes is one that it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise. (Applause.) I do not say that one should always defer to it. If a ruler of India were to adopt all the wild suggestions that are made to him by the various organs of public opinion he would bring the fabric of the Indian Government toppling down in a month. (Applause.) Neither must he carry deference to the pitch of subordination; for, I can conceive nothing more unfortunate or more calamitous than that Government should abrogate one jot or title of its own responsibilities. A benevolent despotism that yielded to agitation would find that in sacrificing its despotism it had also lost its benevolence. All these are truisms which no one will dispute; but there remain a multitude of ways in which the Government may endeavour, and in my opinion, should endeavour, to enlist public opinion upon its side. It can harken to both sides of a case; it can take the public into its confidence by explaining what to the official

mind seems simple enough but to the outside public it may appear quite obscure. In framing its legislation it can profit by external advice instead of relying solely upon the arcana of official wisdom ; it can look sympathetically into grievances instead of arbitrarily snuffing them out. These, at any rate, are the principles upon which I have tried during the past two years to conduct the administration of India ; They seem to have been so far successful as to win approval at your hands.

Gentlemen, let me add in conclusion that it is in the power of public opinion in this country to repay the compliment. It can very materially strengthen the hands and lighten the task of the head of the Government, if he is so fortunate as to possess its support. There are many things which he can undertake, which he would otherwise be tempted to leave on one side. A Prime Minister in England is strong in proportion to the Parliamentary strength of his party. A member of Parliament is strong in his constituency in proportion to the size of his majority. In this country, if the analogy may be pursued, all India are the constituents of the Viceroy ; and his strength is proportionate to their allegiance. (Applause.) I gladly welcome this opportunity of conveying my thanks to those who have so ungrudgingly given me their confidence during the short time that I have held my present post ; and I hope that it may be continued to me, easing my burden and invigorating my spirits, until the end. (Loud and continued applause.)

SPEECH AT GOA.

On 13th November, 1900, at a banquet at Goa, Lord Curzon in replying to the toast of his own health and that of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, proposed by His Excellency the Governor of Goa said :—

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,—I am distressed not to be able to address you in the Portuguese tongue; but the acquisition of that language is, I regret to say, a part of my education that was neglected. I desire on my own behalf and on behalf of Lady Curzon, and still more on behalf of the gracious sovereign whom I am privileged to represent, to acknowledge the complimentary terms in which His Excellency the Governor-General has just spoken. He has proposed the toast of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and that toast has been received with enthusiasm by all. But in the course of his remarks His Excellency has touched upon the old and historic friendship between Portugal and Great Britain, of which my visit to Goa, as the Queen's representative in India, and the honourable reception that has been given to me by the Governor-General as representative of his august sovereign, is a fresh proof. It is true, as he has said, that those two nations have severally and successively been the pioneers of Western civilisation in the East. It was Portugal who opened the way; and when we read of the famous names, that adorned her annals three and four centuries ago, of Vasco da Gama, of Alfonso de Albuquerque, of Prince Henry, the navigator, and of that holy and intrepid missionary St.

Francis Xavier, whose body is preserved in this spot,—we feel that great must have been the people that could produce such men and lofty and inspiring the mission that sent them forth to their fields of labour. Since those days amid many vicissitudes of fate and fortune, the friendship of the two pioneer nations—the Portuguese and the British, has remained steadfast. They have felt the link of common traditions and the incentive of a glorious history; and although the international sky has sometimes been obscure by passing clouds it is scarcely possible that, with such antecedents in the past and such a community of present aims, it should ever break into a serious storm. In this great continent, where the Portuguese dominions are still scattered in different parts, it is a pleasure to think that there has always been presented a perfect reflection of the relations that animate the central Governments in Europe. More than one Viceroy of India has visited Goa, and 25 years ago the Portuguese Government entertained here His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I have greatly enjoyed my visit which the courtesy of the Governor-General and the welcome extended to us by the people have combined to render very agreeable to Lady Curzon and myself. Descending the ghats by the beautiful line of the West of India Portuguese railway I was enabled to observe the advantages of the harbour of Mormugao which seems to possess many advantages, and before which, I hope, that there may lie a future of increasing prosperity and development. At old Goa I have inspected the

venerable and historical remains of the past ; and here at new Goa or Panjim. I have seen a picturesque and cleanly town, where we have received a truly Portuguese welcome.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, I have to congratulate this colony and the Portuguese possessions in India in general upon possessing a Governor who bears so well-known a name as Colonel Galhardo. His Excellency has the double reputation of a brave and talented soldier who has led the arms of his country to victory, and of a capable administrator who has served his sovereign in many parts of the world. It adds to my pleasure in visiting Goa that I should have been the guest of so gallant and distinguished an officer. With renewed thanks for the generous entertainment that we have met at his hands and in those of his high officials, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to join with me in drinking the toast of His Excellency the Governor-General, Colonel Galhardo.

SPEECH AT THE MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE. IRIVANDRUM.

His Excellency Lord Curzon visited Irivandrum in the course of his autumn tour, and delivered the following speech at the Maharaja's College :—

Your Highness, students, past and present. of this college,—I am sure that we have all heard with the utmost pleasure the announcement that has just been

made by the Dewan of the gracious and liberal manner in which His Highness desires to commemorate my visit to this place. (Cheers.) It is very characteristic of the enlightenment and generosity of His Highness (Cheers), and the opening which will thus be afforded to the accomplishments and abilities of the young men who have studied in this College, even though it does not serve to remind them in the future of the occasion of the foundation of the prize will at any rate be a valuable incentive to their own studies. Nothing gives me greater pleasure in my tours through India than to visit those institutions where the young men are being educated, who in the next generation will have the fortunes of the country to so large an extent in their hands. Whether the college be one that is training up young chiefs and nobles who will one day be called upon to manage estates or to govern peoples, or whether it is qualifying young men who, although not of such exalted birth, will yet supply the officials and administrators and public servants of the future, the spectacle is equally interesting and equally inspiring. When we are at school or college ourselves, we hardly appreciate what a work is going on among us; we are absorbed in the friendly rivalry of passing examinations or winning prizes, or excelling in games. Our horizon seems somewhat limited because it is so full, but all the while every minute of the time that we spend in the school or the college is leaving its mark on our character; we are being influenced from day to day by the boys we associate with by the masters who

teach us, by the books that we read, by the half-unconscious effect of our surroundings, and almost before we have realised it, we are turned out into the world with a stamp fixed upon us which remains with us for life and models all our conduct and actions as much as the face of a monarch is minted for all time upon the surface of a coin. I think it is a good thing, therefore now and then for boys and young men while at school to pause and to question themselves as to the die that is being stamped upon them and as to the sort of currency, whether of gold or silver or copper, or some less pure alloy of which they are going to be turned out.

A WORD OF ADVICE.

Pupils of this college, if there is one word of advice that I might offer to you it would be this, do not all fall into the same mould, do not passively accept the same metal. Take as a stimulus to your imaginations the singular variety and interest of the State to which you belong. Do not suppose that in the whole of India there is a State with greater fertility of resources, with more picturesque surroundings, with ampler opportunities for work, with richer prospects of development (cheers); it is also a very patriotic State (cheers.) Every good Travancorean thinks that there is no place like Travancore, no college like the Trivandrum College, no Prince like His Highness the Maharaja. (Loud cheers.) Well, with this fund of patriotism to start with which should supply you with the initial impetus I say look about you while you are still young, test your own aptitudes and

make up your mind as to the manner in which, when your academic education is over, you are going to serve the State. Do not follow each other like a flock of sheep who always go through the same hole in a hedge, and that of public duty is capable of being pierced in a great many places and the man who wants to get to the other side will waste a lot of precious time if he waits for his turn in the crowd that is trying to scramble through a single aperture. Think, therefore, of the number of openings that lie before you in this interesting country. I believe that there is scarcely a single branch of scientific or technical education which is not capable of practical and remunerative pursuit in Travancore. There are minerals to be unearthed, there is an abundant water supply capable of being converted into different forms of energy and productiveness, there is an infinite richness, of plants and timbers and trees, there are manifold varieties of animals and birds and insects, there are all sorts of experiments that might be made in agriculture, there are numerous openings for public works, and there is ample scope both for the student who prefers the laboratory and for the out of door explorer or engineer. In all these pursuits I am sure that you will meet with the warmest encouragement from the European Professors of this college, and not less from His Highness the Maharaja himself. The Maharajas of Travancore have always been distinguished for their patronage of learning. His Highness takes the keenest interest in the welfare of this college, and I have heard with pleasure with reference to one of

the fields of study that I mentioned just now, viz., that of scientific forestry, that he is sending four pupils to study in the Forest School of the Government of India at Dehra Dun. (Cheers.) Let me urge you, therefore, students of this college, to remember that your patriotism, which is an excellent thing, should not stop at thinking or saying that there is no such place as Travancore, otherwise it would be a rather cheap and tawdry sentiment, but should proceed to the discovery of independent channels by which you may each of you render service to the State. You have a great many advantages offered to you in this institution, you have admirable tuition, you have, I believe, the second best library in the whole of the south of India, you have a generous and paternal government, you are, in fact, a very highly favoured and rather a spoiled body of young men. (Laughter.) For all that you owe some return ; take, therefore, the line for yourselves, get out of the rut the whole of life is not summed up in the office or in the law courts. Remember that while the opportunities for a career can be, and are here, provided for you by others, the career itself will be what the individual makes it, and let the ambition of each of you be to say when his time is nearing its end that whether in a small or in a great way he has rendered an appreciable service to his native country. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

AT THE QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL
MEETING IN CALCUTTA.

On the 6th February, 1901, His Excellency presided at a public meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, for the institution of a National Indian Memorial to Queen Victoria. The Viceroy spoke as follows :—

Your Honour, Mr. Sheriff and Citizens of Calcutta,—
We are met to-day upon a great and solemn occasion. For we are assembled to express, in the language, not of exaggeration or of compliment, but of the simple truth, the feelings that lie deep in the hearts of all of us. They are feelings of a three-fold character, of sorrow at the death of our beloved Queen, of loyalty to her successor the new King-Emperor, Edward VII, and of our desire to commemorate the name and virtues of the deceased Sovereign by some enduring monument that shall hand down to later ages a visible memorial of our veneration and of her wonderful and glorious reign. I accept, therefore, with a mournful pride the honour which has been conferred upon me of presiding upon this historic occasion, and I will proceed to deal with the first resolution which has been committed to my care.

I have already had occasion to speak elsewhere of the character and life of the late Queen, and I need not now either repeat what I then said or encroach upon the ground of subsequent speakers. We all feel the same about her, whether we are Europeans or Indians. Our hearts are swelling with gratitude that we were fortunate enough to live under such a Sover-

eign, with an answering love for the great love that she bore to all of us alike, and with eagerness to preserve her memory imperishable for all time.

In India I venture to assert that there are special reasons why we should feel strongly, and act independently and of our own initiative, in the matter. Queen Victoria loved India, as no other monarch, certainly no other monarch from another land, has done. The fifteen Governors-General who served her, and of whom I shall always feel it a sad honour to have been the last, could one and all testify to her abounding regard for this country. She wrote regularly to each of them with her own hand, during the more than 60 years of her reign, words of wise counsel and of tender sympathy for the people whom she had charged them to rule. As we know, she learned the Indian language when already advanced in years. She was never unattended by Indian servants, and we have read that they were entrusted with the last sorrowful office of watching over her body after death. In her two Jubilee processions she claimed that the Indian Princes, and the pick of her Indian soldiers, should ride in her train. There are many of those Princes who could testify to the interest she showed in them, to the gracious welcome which she always extended to them when in England, and to the messages of congratulation or sympathy which they often received from her own hand. But it was not to the rich or the titled alone that she was gracious. She was equally a mother to the humble and the poor, Hindu and Mahamedan, man

and woman, the orphan and the widow, the outcaste and the destitute. She spoke to them all in simple language that came straight from her heart and went straight to theirs. And these are the reasons why all India is in mourning to-day, and why I claim that there are special grounds for which we should meet together, with no loss of time, to determine what we shall do to perpetuate this precious memory and this beneficent reign.

It is not without much anxious forethought and deliberation that I venture to put before this meeting, and before the Princes and peoples of India, a definite Memorial scheme. We are all of us naturally attracted by the idea of charity. It fits in so well with what we know of Her Majesty's character, of the warmth of her heart, and the gentle sympathy that she always showed to the suffering and distressed. There is, God knows, enough of poverty and affliction in India—as indeed there must be in any great aggregation of so many millions of human beings—to appeal to any heart, and to absorb any number of lakhs of rupees. But, amid all the possible claimants to our support, how should we select the favoured recipients? I have seen in the press a great number of suggestions made. Some have said that we should add a great sum to the Famine Relief Trust that was started last year by that munificent Prince, the Maharaja of Jaipur. Others have recommended the claims of Hindu widows, of female education, of travelling students, of the poor raiyat, of the sick and infirm, of Technical or Industrial

Schools, of Higher Research. In fact, there is not a philanthropic or educational object, or institution in India, that will not have its advocates for some share in the bounty that may be evoked on behalf of an Indian Memorial to Queen Victoria. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am the last to deny that all of these are admirable objects fully worthy of our interest and support. I am confident that any one of them individually would have appealed to the heart of the late Queen. But it is quite clear that we cannot give to them all, and that we are not in a position to select any one of their number upon which to concentrate the affectionate tributes of the people. Some of them would appeal to Hindus, but not at all to Mahomedans; others would gratify the educated classes, but not the unlettered; others, again, would be confined to a single, though numerically the largest, class of the population.

Nor, again, would it do to pause in our appeals while we were disputing among ourselves upon which of these objects we should all unite. We should find that, before we had come to an agreement, we had wasted precious time and frittered away a golden opportunity, and that we had disappointed the eager hopes and the bursting generosity of the people. Therefore it is that I have ventured to come forward, and, in consultation with a number of experienced and representative gentlemen, both European and Indian, have formulated the scheme which has appeared in the Press. I dare to think that the conception is a not ignoble

one, and that it will not be unworthy of the great Sovereign whom we desire to commemorate, of all the Princes who are emulous to do her honour, and of this wonderful country which has felt for her a loyalty aroused by no other human being. Posterity is apt to forget in whose honour charities were originally founded, or endowments named. Some day in the future the endowment itself is converted to another purpose, and the design of the original contributors is forgotten. Who, for instance, when Queen Anne's Bounty is annually distributed in England to augment the incomes of the smaller clergy, spares a thought for poor Queen Anne? On the other hand, it is different with a concrete memorial. It remains a visible and speaking monument to the individual or the period that is so commemorated. I venture to say that more good has been done in arousing public interest in the Navy in England, and in developing the lesson of patriotism in young Englishmen by the spectacle of the heroic figure of Nelson standing on the summit of the great column in Trafalgar Square than would have been the case had the nation founded a hundred training ships, or endowed a score of naval hospitals in his honour. But I can give you an even higher authority, namely, the authority of Her Majesty the Queen herself. When her husband, the Prince Consort, died in 1861, and a large sum was raised by public subscription for the foundation of a National Memorial to the deceased Prince, the Queen herself was asked what form she would prefer the memorial

to take. I will read to you the terms of her reply. She wrote as follows to the Lord Mayor of London.

“It would be more in accordance with the feelings of the Queen, and she believes with those of the country in general, that the monument should be directly personal to its object. After giving the subject her maturest consideration, Her Majesty had come to the conclusion that nothing would be more appropriate, provided it was on a scale of sufficient grandeur, than a personal memorial to be erected in Hyde Park.”

These, Ladies and Gentlemen, were the Queen's own words ; and this was the origin of that noble Albert Memorial, which no one ever goes to London without seeing, which is one of the glories of the metropolis, and which will perpetuate to hundreds of thousands of persons who will never have heard of the Albert Orphan Asylum, or the Albert Medals, or the Albert Institute, the memory of the beloved and virtuous Consort of the British Queen.

And so I ask why should we not do for the Queen herself in the capital of India what she asked to have done for her husband in the capital of Great Britain? Shall we not be carrying out what we are justified in saying would have been in accordance with her own sentiments? Let us, therefore, have a building, stately, spacious, monumental and grand, to which every new-comer in Calcutta will turn, to which all the resident population, European and Native, will flock, where all classes will learn the lessons of history, and see revived before their eyes the marvels of the past ; and

where father shall say to son and mother to daughter—“ This Statue and this great Hall were erected in the memory of the greatest and best Sovereign whom India has ever known. She lived far away over the seas, but her heart was with her subjects in India, both of her own race, and of all others. She loved them both the same. In her time, and before it, great men lived, and great deeds were done. Here are their memorials. This is her monument.” Gentlemen, a nation that is not aware that it has had a past will never care to possess a future ; and I believe that, if we raise such a building as has been sketched, and surround it with an exquisite garden, we shall most truly, in the words of Shakespeare, find a tongue in the trees, and a sermon in the sculptured stones, that will proclaim to later generations the glory of an unequalled epoch, and the beauty of a spotless name.

I must add that I would be the last person to desire that the erection of a national memorial here should stand in the way of the dedication of funds, should it be so desired, to local objects elsewhere. We do not want to coerce, or to dictate to anybody. A donor is entitled to a free choice of the object for which he contributes. There may be a strong desire expressed in different parts of India for a provincial or local memorial, quite independently of ours. This seems to me quite natural. I do not see why any Presidency or Province should not please itself. They have their local standpoint and interests. They may want their memorial whatever form it may take, all to themselves.

There must be no jealousy in the matter. At the mouth of the grave all petty feelings must be extinguished ; and charity which, as our great Christian Apostle has told us " envieth not, vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up " must quarrel with nobody, but must be permitted to seek and find its own outlet. Even in such cases, however, I hope that the local Committees may decide to transmit to us a certain proportion of their funds so that they may have their share in the monument of the nation. But I really think that I may go further and may put it to these various communities whether, except in cases where there is an obvious opening for local commemoration they will not be acting wisely and reasonably in contributing to the Central Fund. And I say so for two reasons : partly because I want everyone—all the Princes, and all the Provinces, and all the States, to have their part and portion in this National Memorial, and partly because if they respond to the appeal on at all the scale that seems to me not unlikely, it is possible that not merely may we have funds for the erection, and equipment, and endowment of this building, but we may have a balance that may appropriately be dedicated to some object of national charity or beneficence. What it should be I cannot now say. Indeed, it would be premature to discuss an object before we have collected the money. But I make these observations in order to indicate that philanthropy is by no means excluded from our purview, and that the wider the response to our appeal, the more likely we are to be able to supple-

ment the Victoria Hall by some object that may gratify those who have a charitable or moral purpose at heart.

Now, may I just say one word about the selection of Calcutta as a site? It is quite true that Calcutta is not the gate of India. But neither is Washington the gate of America, or Ottawa the gate of Canada, or Rome the gate of Italy; and yet no one would dream, or has dreamed, of erecting a great American, or Canadian, or Italian, National Memorial except at those capitals. For instance the Washington obelisk was erected, not at New York, a city of 2 millions of people; but at the capital, a city of $\frac{1}{4}$ million. Calcutta, in the same way quite apart from being the most populous, is also the capital city of India. This generation did not make it so: but so it is, and it is now too late for the present or for succeeding generations to unmake it. The seat of Government inevitably tends to acquire a metropolitan character. The presence of the Supreme Government here for 5 months out of every 12 cannot be gainsaid. It was from the banks of the Hugli that the orders of the Governor General in Council were issued that bore the names of Warren Hastings, and Dalhousie; and the same process will, I suppose, go on in the future.

I merely make these remarks in order to argue that if a National Monument is a desirable thing, I think that Calcutta is the inevitable site. It is said that we are rather out of the way. Perhaps we are: and yet sooner or later, just because this is the seat of Government, everybody finds his way here, whether he be an

Indian Prince, or a European traveller, or an English merchant. Of course there are other cities with magnificent associations : Bombay with its splendid appearance, Delhi with its imperial memories, Agra with its majestic monuments, Madras with its historic renown. But the two seaports will probably have their own memorials : Agra is consecrated to a vanished dynasty and *regime* ; while it is now too late, I sometimes wish it were not, to turn Delhi again into an imperial capital. No one will, I think, contend that we could possibly place a building of this character in a place, however famous its past, or however central its position, where the Government of India is never found, which is not even the capital of a Local Government, and where there is neither a European civil nor military population of any size. This building, if it is to be a great success, and if its contents are to be worthy of its name, will probably require the keen personal interest of the Viceroy for a number of years to come. I think that the making of the collection will thereby be a good deal facilitated. This interest, I am quite prepared, and I am sure that my successors will equally be prepared, to give to it. But I doubt very much whether we could do it as well, or at all, at a distance.

Gentlemen, I am glad to be able to say that I think the prospects of a remarkable, and indeed unexampled, response to our appeal, are encouraging. Since the scheme which I ventured to propound has been put forward, it has met with a most gratifying support at the hands of all the representative organs of the Press,

both European and Native, in Calcutta. I am very grateful to them for their discriminating and reasoned support. It has been communicated to the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of British India, who are about to hold meetings at which its merits will be discussed. It has excited the warm sympathy of the mercantile community in Calcutta, who have come forward with their accustomed liberality, and to whose contributions I shall presently refer. And, finally, it has appealed to the enthusiastic devotion, and the boundless generosity, of the Princes of India, who have lost in the Queen a Sovereign whom they all worshipped, a mother whom they revered, and who, I prophesy, will be found to vie with each other in their desire to contribute to the immortality of her name. One of these Princes is with us to-day—His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, who, if I may say so before his face, has, at a comparatively early age, displayed exceptional capacities, and has already testified, with a splendid and princely munificence, his loyalty to the British Crown. It is in keeping with the generous instincts of His Highness that he should have sent me a telegram, as soon as he heard of the institution of this fund, offering me the regal donation of 10 lakhs. From the Maharaja of Kashmir I have had the splendid offer of 15 lakhs. The Maharaja of Jeypur has expressed a desire to increase his magnificent endowment of the Famine Trust by another 4 lakhs, and to give 5 lakhs in addition to the Memorial Fund. From the Mysore Durbar I have received the preliminary

offer, to be increased, should the necessity arise, of one lakh. Now these offers have placed me in a position of some little embarrassment. For, while they testify to the noble instincts of their donors, they may yet be held to set a standard to which others may find it difficult to conform, and they may result in our receiving a sum largely in excess of our maximum ambitions. I have, therefore, decided to leave the matter in this way. It is too early at present to form any idea either of the sum that this National Memorial will cost—or of the extent of the contributions that are likely to be offered. I do not want at the start to stint the liberality of any man. But if a little later, we find that we are receiving sums in excess of those which we can properly spend, then I think that it will be a reasonable thing to fix a maximum, perhaps, of 1 lakh of rupees, beyond which we should not be willing to profit by the generosity of any individual donor, and to which we should limit our acceptance of the larger offers that had been made. There is a sort of emulation in giving for a noble object ; and it rests, I think, with those of us who are responsible for the management of this fund not to allow these instincts, however praiseworthy or honourable, to place too severe a strain upon the income of an individual or the revenues of a State.

And now I pass from the contributions of the Princes to those of the public at large. Here I rejoice to say that already the offers that have reached me have been splendid in their scale of munificence. Although the fund has not yet been opened for more than

two days, I am able to announce the following handsome subscriptions :—

	Rs.
Anonymous	3,000
The Nawab of Dacca	50,000
The Jute Mills of Bengal	90,020
The Coal Companies of Bengal	14 500
Mahdi Hossain Khan, Zemindar of Patna	5,000
Monomatha Nath Ray Chowdhury	3,000
Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nundy of Cossimbazar	25,060
H. H. Nawab Begum of Murshidabad	7,500
Raja Ranjit Singha, of Nashipur	10,000
Nawab, Shahar Begum, and Khan Baha- dur Mirza Shujat Ali Beg	2,500
Nawab Syed Badshah	5,000
Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore	50,000

I think, therefore, Gentlemen, that I may fairly claim that we have launched the ship under good auspices, and that she is sailing with a fair wind behind her.

It only remains for me to conclude my remarks with the business portion of my motion. We hope, in a very short time, to constitute a General Committee, of which it will be my privilege to act as patron, and of which I propose that the vice-patrons should be the Governors and Lieutenant Governors of Provinces, and other Heads of Administrations, certain high officials, the leading Native Princes, and any other Prince or Chief or private donor who contributes to the fund the sum of 1 lakh of rupees ; while the General Committee

will itself, I hope, be composed of representative men from all parts of the country. Then we shall also require a provisional Executive Committee to receive and take custody of the funds as they pour in, and inasmuch as we cannot draw here upon the inhabitants of other Provinces or States, it is inevitable that this Committee should be composed, in the main, of gentlemen resident in Calcutta, or in Bengal. We have endeavoured to constitute this Committee in a manner representative of all classes and interests in this Presidency, and Sir Patrick Playfair, who has much experience in these matters, has very kindly consented to act as *pro-tem*. Chairman of this body.

At a later date, when the money has been received, and the subscription list has been closed and when we are aware of the different quarters from which we have received support, we shall probably require to constitute some body or bodies representative of the entire Indian community to carry the scheme in its various sections into execution.

I have now, I think, Ladies and Gentlemen dealt with all the topics that fall under the motion assigned to me, and I will only, in conclusion, urge you in accepting it, to give the rein to a generosity that shall be worthy of the revered and illustrious memory which we desire to honour, of Bengal and Calcutta, the capital Presidency, and the capital city of this country; and lastly of India itself, the mightiest and the most loyal dependency of the British Crown.

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CON-
VOCATION.

The following speech was delivered by Lord Curzon as Chancellor of the Calcutta University at the Annual Convocation held on the 16th February, 1901 :—

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On both of the two occasions on which it has been my privilege to address you as your Chancellor, I have indicated my belief that changes are required in our system to enable both the Government and the Universities to play their respective parts in the scheme of Indian Education more efficiently than is now the case.

I have led my hearers to hope that the Government of India had in view a more diligent discharge of its own responsibilities, as well as a reconciliation, if possible, of the singularly heterogeneous and conflicting shapes which Education, as at present managed in this country, is allowed to assume. At the same time I indicated in my Convocation Address of last year that I proposed to go slowly. Gentlemen, I have been compelled to go even more slowly than I anticipated, a result that has been due not so much to the complexities of the subject, though these are great, as it has been to other pre-occupations. I had hoped to be able to meet you this winter, and to discuss with you the outlines of a new plan: and I think that these hopes would have been realised, had I not found my attention diverted, and my time taken up, by great and absorbing administrative questions, such as those of Famine and Frontier Policy, and many other calls,

which have not left the time either to my colleagues or to myself to carry to completion the views which we have formed of our responsibilities in respect of Education. Nor that we have been idle. This is far from having been the case. Our Education Resolution of October 1899 was an indication of our desire to secure greater unity of local action, and to see that the policy laid down by the Education Commission of 1882 was not evaded or ignored. I might specify other administrative acts and orders which have testified to a similar resolve. I merely refer to them now in order to say that deferred execution does not mean either disappointed hope or dropped intention; and that next year, when I meet you for the fourth time at this annual celebration, I hope to be able to take you more fully into my confidence than is possible on the present occasion.

There is, however, an additional reason why, even if I had a tale of interest to unfold, I should be reluctant to seize the present opportunity to do it. When our late Vice-Chancellor, Sir F. Maclean, retired after five years of faithful and strenuous service to this University—for which I am confident that I am only speaking both for the Senate, the Syndicate, and the various Faculties in expressing to him our warmest thanks (applause)—I was fortunate enough to persuade my Hon'ble colleague, Mr. Raleigh, to take his place. (applause.) I use the word fortunate with great deliberation; not merely because I am privileged to count Mr. Raleigh among my colleagues, or because of his

very uncommon intellectual and literary attainments, but because of his almost unique familiarity with University life and his profound inoculation with what I may call the academic serum (applause.) I am naturally rather inclined to think that to have been an under-graduate and a graduate of Balliol, under Professor Jowett, and then to have been a Fellow of All Souls, under Sir William Anson, is not a bad academic hallmark to bear upon one's person, since I am lucky enough to share both those advantages with Mr. Raleigh. (Applause.) But he had the leisure, as well as the inclination, to devote himself more exclusively to University affairs than is open to any man who has been swept off his in the mill-race of English politics. He became an Oxford Lecturer and Professor; and I venture to assert that, in the long line of eminent men who have served as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, you have never had any one better qualified, both by aptitude and by learning, to guide your proceedings than the new incumbent of that post (applause). I have been rejoiced, therefore, to have so little to say to you to day, because I knew that I should thereby provide you with the treat of listening to the discourse which at my special request he has undertaken to deliver.

I will only intrude between him and you for the further time that is required to offer an explanation upon a single but not unimportant point. It is known that I have not so far, in the present year, invited the graduates of this University to proceed, according to

an experimental custom time either to Mr Lansdowne in 1891. to the election of a Fellowth Fellows: and it has been assumed in consequence that I have extinguished a privilege to which I believe that some value is not unreasonably attached. This is an incorrect assumption. I have merely imposed upon the graduates who have till lately exercised the privilege, a self-denial similar to, though much less than, that which I have temporarily accepted myself. During the two years since I became Chancellor 21 vacancies have occurred in the list of Fellows which it was open to me to fill, but of which I have only filled 7 by nomination and have given 2 to election. I have, therefore, refrained from utilising my own prerogative of nomination in as many as 12 cases; and my reason has been this. On the one hand, I have not a doubt that the present list of the Senate, which commenced in 1857 with only 40 Fellows, but which in 1890 touched a maximum figure of 220 Fellows, has been allowed to grow to immoderate dimensions. Even now, with as many as 180 Fellows, many of whom live far away from Calcutta, and never come near to our meetings or proceedings, the list is overswollen. But I am even more impressed with the manner in which the Fellowships have hitherto been filled both by nomination and by election. Now I speak as an old University man, who, like my friend, Mr. Raleigh, has been the Fellow of a distinguished Oxford College. If I may be allowed to quote my personal experience, I had to satisfy certain high academic standards before I could

stand as a fellow at all. I was not merely appointed *honoris causa*, still less because I had canvassed the votes of the electors. I was not given a distinction that endured for a lifetime, irrespective of whether I took any interest in the work or not. My honour was in fact academic, terminable, and charged with a definite obligation. It was not titular, perpetual, and irresponsible. It seems to me that, different as our circumstances are, we may derive some useful lessons from our English forerunners and models. There are certain propositions to which I think that none of us will hesitate to subscribe. The first is that a University is an institution which exists primarily for the encouragement of learning, and that educational standards should, therefore, be allowed a predominant influence in its administration and its awards. The second is that a Fellowship, unless it be an honorary Fellowship, which is quite a different thing, is a duty as well as a distinction, and that those who are unable to discharge the duty are not well qualified to retain the distinction. The third is that a stream of fresh life should, as far as possible, be perpetually passing through the veins of the University organism; in other words that, like the Fellowship which I myself held, our Fellowships should probably, in future, be held for a fixed period, capable of renewal. The fourth is that, just as at Oxford the graduate influence of the University is represented by those who choose to take the trouble to come up to Oxford and there to discharge their functions, while those who drift

away to a distance or into other occupations cannot exercise their powers by paper or by proxy, so is the system of outvoting, with all the wirepulling and canvassing that it engenders, a source not of strength, but of weakness, to an institution.

Gentlemen, I do not believe that there is one of these propositions which your reasons and your consciences will not equally endorse. They are the considerations which I have for some time been pondering; and although I am far from having definitely made up my mind on the matter, I think it desirable to present them to you as the ideas which are in my mind.

My one ambition is to make this University worthy of its position as the premier University in India (applause), to set before it a high ideal, and to render it capable of following in the footsteps of its European prototypes. Indeed, I should like to open up before it vistas of future expansion and influence such as have not yet dawned upon its vision. But these it will only realise if it remembers that its primary aim is the dissemination of knowledge, and the training for life; and that its powers and resources are given to it, not to satisfy the ambitions of individuals or the designs of cliques, but to promote the intellectual service of the community at large.

I have now great pleasure in calling upon your Vice-Chancellor to address you.—(Loud and continued applause)

CONTENTS OF THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL
HALL.

On the 26th February, 1901, there was a large gathering at the Dalhousie Institute to hear His Excellency explain the contents of the Victoria Memorial Hall. His Honour Sir John Woodburn, the President, invited His Excellency to speak. Lord Curzon delivered the following speech :—

I do not think it necessary to say much about the general question of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. A good deal of the doubt or misconception that at first existed arose from ignorance of the real nature of the plan. This has been in the main dissipated by the publication of the full text of the original Memorandum and of the proceedings at our meeting of February 6th in the Calcutta Town Hall. There only remain a few points, in this connection upon which something may be added. It is quite clear, and as I have before said, very natural and proper, that different parts of India and different localities should institute their own Memorials although it is not always easy to determine what they shall be. The question before us, and before me in particular, was whether there should be a National Memorial as well. Now, gentlemen, my view was that this was an occasion on which India would desire not merely to express its deep devotion to the late Queen's memory, but also to demonstrate to the world, in some striking manner, the truth of that Imperial unity which was so largely the creation of her personality and reign. Had each province been left exclusively to erect its town memori-

al, and had no effort been made to concentrate the public sentiment in some grander conception, we should doubtless have had, as we shall have, a number of excellent funds, and institutions, and buildings. They would have presented the feelings and the generosity of the individual province or locality, but they would not have condensed or typified the emotions of the nation. Visitors to India and posterity in general, would hear or know little about this fund or that trust, however considerable the original endowment subscribed; the income derived from it, whether applied to charitable objects, or to the advancement of education or research, could benefit but a small number of persons out of the population even of the province or district; and so, in time, the name and memory of the Great and Good Queen would have faded out of the public mind, because there was no visible object to bring it perpetually under the eye of future generations.

The case, therefore, for a National Memorial seemed to me to be a very strong one and nothing that I have read, or that has occurred since, has done anything to shake it. The question next arose whether, an all-Indian Memorial being accepted, it should or should not have assumed a concrete shape. There is much, I think, to be said on both sides to this question; and we ourselves felt this so strongly that we decided to pronounce for neither to the exclusion of the other. All that we did was to give priority to the concrete Memorial, or in other words, to ensure its execution as a first charge upon the Fund. No one could say, none

of us can yet tell, what will be the total sum that we shall collect, or whether it would have been adequate to the constitution of a capital fund the income accruing from which could be devoted to an object of really national service. Moreover, amid all the multiplicity of opinions, no one could inform us, and no one has yet been able to decide, what should be the non-concrete object to which an all-Indian contribution should be applied. And, if this difficulty has been felt by smaller communities, who are only called upon to express the desires or to provide for the needs of restricted areas, how much more does it apply, and on a hundredfold scale of magnitude, to the entire continent ! I think, therefore, it will be conceded that given the desirability of a National, Memorial, we acted not unwisely in allowing priority to the concrete monument, leaving to subsequent discussion the allocation of the surplus funds that we may receive. Though I should not like to be too sanguine at the present stage, it seems to me to be not at all improbable that we may be presented with a total sum large enough to enable us, after building the hall to do something substantial in the interests of charity ; and no one will be better pleased than myself if this is the result. I have devoted much anxious thought to a consideration of the numerous suggestions that have been made. I have read many scores, if not hundreds of these, and have been struck by the fact that, meritorious as many of them are, no two are identical. In other words, there is no sort of national unanimity on the subject. For the present I am disposed to think

—if there be surplus—that we shall find it difficult to fix upon a better object to which to devote it than the Indian people's Famine Trust, which was inaugurated by that splendid donation from the Maharaja of Jaipur last year. Famine is the one great calamity that is capable of attacking the whole country. Its relief is the one great charitable boon that will affect not isolated units, or even hundreds or thousands, but millions. Moreover, the objects of the Famine Relief Trust are outside of, and do not conflict with, the proper sphere of Government duty. These, however, are only my own ideas ; and I give them for what they may be worth.

As regards Technical Education, I have not a word to say against an object in itself so admirable. It is in many ways the need of the future in India. But I have this to say about it at the present stage. The interest of no fund that might be accumulated could possibly provide for more than the education of an infinitesimal minority, per annum, among the youths of India. The principles upon which they are to be trained, and the openings that might be found for their professional abilities and attainments, are not yet determined, and even in England, after 15 years of struggle and discussion, are still in a fluid state. Finally, I hardly think it fair to connect the desire to commemorate the Queen's name with a task that has no definite association with her memory, and that is so pre-eminently the duty of the Government and of the community in combination, as that of providing for the education of a

particular section of the population. Some people talk and write as though technical instruction were going to solve the Indian agrarian problem, and to convert millions of needy peasants into flourishing artisans. Gentlemen, long after every one in this room has mouldered into dust, the economic problem will confront the rulers of India. It is not to be solved by a batch of Institutes or a cluster of Polytechnics. They will scarcely produce a ripple in the great ocean of social and industrial forces. Indeed, if they were to fail or to remain empty, as might conceivably be the case at this stage of our evolution, and as has been the case with some of the premature experiments already made, where would the memory and honour of Queen Victoria be? Technical education is a problem that must be met by the patient and combined efforts of the Supreme Government, the Local Governments, Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, mercantile firms, and philanthropic and enterprising men. Let us all give to it that attention but do not let us use the Queen's name to absolve us from our legitimate responsibilities.

It seems to me, therefore, that if we succeed in raising a great National Fund which is partly devoted to the building of the Victoria Hall, and partly to the still further endowment of the Famine Trust, we shall at the same time, have erected an impressive and enduring memorial to the name of Queen Victoria, and shall have consecrated the feelings aroused by her death to the service of the people in a manner that will bene-

officially affect the largest number. In the meantime, however, I have no desire to pronounce with finality upon the secondary or utilitarian object; and, while our funds are accumulating, I shall be very glad to profit by the advice that will doubtless continue to reach me from many influential quarters.

Next I come to the question whether, presuming an all-Indian Memorial to be desirable it was for the Viceroy to place himself at the head of the movement. I must leave this delicate question to be decided by the voice of others, not by my own. Perhaps after all the result will be the most conclusive answer. All I would say at this moment is that, if the position of the Viceroy is to be what in my opinion it ought to be, the opportunity of fusing and giving expression to the aspirations of the entire community is one that he should be proud to seize, and that, if in some quarters it be said that he should have left the movement to ferment and to come to a head as best it could, I suspect that, had this advice been followed, it would have been said in a good many other quarters that he had signally failed to realise the unique opportunities of his position, and had allowed a golden occasion to slip by of vindicating the loyalty and the devotion of the Indian Empire to the British throne.

I pass to another of the preliminary questions which it has seemed desirable to discuss. It appears to have been thought in some quarters that the scheme for a Victoria Hall in Calcutta has been snatched up, so to speak, in precipitate haste, and foisted almost without

consideration upon the notice of the public. This is far from having been the case. This scheme was not for the first time conceived or matured during the fortnight that elapsed between the death of Her Majesty the Queen and the Town Hall Meeting. On the contrary, it has rarely been out of my mind during the two years in which I have been in India. I had been collecting information, consulting individuals, working out all the possible ramifications of the proposal, long before the Queen was smitten by her last fatal illness. I had, of course, no idea at that time of proposing such a building as a permanent Memorial to the Queen, because so marvellous was her vitality that such an idea as her early decease had never entered into our minds. But I had hoped, before leaving India, to carry the idea into execution as a fulfilment of what I regard as a great Imperial duty, viz, the handing down to posterity of what the past has failed to provide for us, that is, a standing record of our wonderful history, a visible monument of Indian glories, and an illustration, more eloquent than any spoken address or printed page, of the lessons of public patriotism and civic duty. I had even gone so far as to talk over this scheme with friends, to prepare designs for a building, and to think of where it might be placed. Then came the death of the Queen : and then it was that, not merely in my own mind, but in that of the representative persons whom I consulted, the idea took shape that we were already in possession of the germ of a great Imperial Memorial, worthy of Queen Victoria and worthy of

India. It was, therefore, no sudden or incoherent project that was submitted to the Calcutta Meeting. On the contrary how complete it was, the information that I shall presently place before you will enable you to judge.

There is only one other prefatory question to which it is necessary to advert. I have seen it asked why, instead of suggesting a scheme to others, I did not write to all the Princes and Governors, and leading men, and ask them to suggest one to me, and then decide according to the nature of their replies. Gentlemen, I invite you soberly to consider what the contents of such a post bag would have been. It needs no intuition to discern that I should have received not the scheme but one hundred, and I dare say as many more. And then a representative Committee would have had to be convened in order to discuss these schemes. It would have taken some weeks to assemble. Its deliberation would probably have taken as many months and meanwhile where would the enthusiasm and the liberality of the people have been? We all know that even the noblest emotions are apt to dwindle or to be chilled if an outlet is not provided for them while they are still warm and a course more likely to freeze the heart of the generous Indian public than that which has been suggested, I cannot imagine.

From this brief discussion of what I have called preliminary questions, I now pass on to a more detailed examination of the scheme of a Victoria Hall as it exists in the minds of those who have originated it.

And the first subject to which I shall address myself is this. What will be the contents of the building when raised? I shall next ask where and how can they be procured; and having attempted to answer both these questions I shall, I trust, have left a clear impression in the mind of the public both as to what the scheme is and as to what is not. Even among those who have warmly supported the idea, some doubts have been expressed on these points. "You are going to build a magnificent hall which will only be a second-class museum or an empty shell. You talk of collecting Indian relics and trophies, where are they? You want to commemorate great men and great events, who and what are they?" These are the sort of questions—and I do not regard them as unreasonable—that have been addressed to me. Indeed in some quarters there has been an attempt to throw ridicule upon the entire scheme. I shall, I hope, be able to show these critics that there is no ground for their unfriendly suspicions; and that all India may legitimately be asked to co-operate in a movement which, if its help be given, may easily be endowed with a truly cosmopolitan character, which will have a most practical as well as a sentimental side, and will contain not trash but treasures.

The building will be called the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will therefore, I think, be befitting that a central hall or a central space should be devoted to the mementoes of Her Majesty the Queen. Whether or not the statue of the Queen that has already been

executed shall be erected inside or outside this building, is a matter that will remain over for subsequent decision. Probably it will remain outside. A separate representation of Her Majesty might perhaps be placed inside the hall. Around it might be grouped memorials of her reign. It might be possible to secure autograph letters from her to the various Governors-General and Viceroys who have had the honour to serve her. I, at any rate, shall be prepared to contribute, as the last. Some other personal relics we may be so fortunate as to secure. Upon the walls of this hall might be inscribed in letters of gold upon marble or upon bronze, both in English and in the different vernaculars, the famous Proclamation of 1858, and such other messages as the Queen has, at various times, addressed to the Indian people. If the original are procurable they might be placed in glass-cases below. The Emperor Asoka has spoken to posterity for 2,200 years, through his inscriptions on rock and on stone. Why should not Queen Victoria do the same?

I have, on a previous occasion, observed that the Memorial Hall would be devoted to the commemoration of notable events and remarkable men, both Indian and European, in the history of this country. I will now proceed to indicate the character of the incidents and the personality of the individuals, who may perhaps be held worthy of this honour, and the manner in which it may be conferred. At the beginning it is almost necessary to draw a line which shall be the starting point of our historical procession. I

may say at once that the idea is not to convert this Hall into an Archæological Museum, or to compete with the various institutions of that character that already exist in different parts of the country. I conceive it to be impracticable in a single building to convey a synopsis of all Indian history from the time of the Aryan immigration to the days of electric tramways and motor cars. I have not the slightest desire to accumulate here Buddhistic sculptures, or implements of the bronze and stone ages. They will find their home more fitly in the Imperial and Provincial Museums. Similarly, I do not think that we can include representations of the legendary and quasi-mythological epochs of Indian history, the period in fact of the epics. Anything that dates from those days can only be a copy of originals existing elsewhere, or can have what is in the main an antiquarian rather than a historical interest. In practice it will I think, be found that the earliest date from which it will be possible to accumulate any sort of original record, will be the foundation of the Mogul dynasty. We may begin with Baber, and from then we may continue to the present date. Throughout the world progress seems to have taken a definite leap forward at about the same epoch: and the situation will be much the same as though in England we began to make a collection with the Tudors, in Russia with Ivan the Terrible, in France with Francis I. in Germany with Charles V, in Turkey with Solyman the Magnificent, in Persia with the Sefavi dynasty, in Japan with Iyeyasu.

I will first take Indian history. It ought, I think, to be possible to obtain some records of every period and every dynasty from the Moguls to the present day. These records would take the form of paintings, enamels, sculptures, manuscripts, and personal relics and belongings. I have heard of their being offered for sale in India in recent years the headdress of Akbar and the armour of Jehangir. Passing to the Mahratta ascendancy, we should procure portraits of Sivaji and the leading Mahratta princes, generals, and statesmen. Then, if we turn to the Sikhs, we should have similar memorials of the leading Gurus from Nanak to Guru Govind, of Maharajas Runjit Singh, Sher Singh, and Glap Singh of Jumu and Kashmir. All of these are, I believe, procurable. From Rajputana we should collect memorials of Rana Pertab of Mewar, Raja Man Singh and Siwai Jai Singh, the astronomer, of Jaipur, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. From Gwalior we should desire to commemorate Mahadaji Rao Scindia and Dowlat Rao Scindia; from Bhopal the Nawab Sikandra Begum, from Hyderabad Asaf Jah, the first Nizam. For my own part I should not hesitate for a moment to include those who have fought against the British provided their memories are not sullied with dishonour or crime. I would not admit so much as the fringe of the pagri of a ruffian alike the Nana Sahib. But I would gladly include memorials of the brave Rani of Jhansi, and of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. There is, I believe, a very interesting picture of the death of Tippu at Seringapatam

in the palace of the Nawab of Murshidabad. If we come to more modern times, I have already collected, with the aid of those gentlemen who have been good enough to advise me, a list of the names of eminent Indian statesmen, writers, poets, administrators, judges, religious reformers and philanthropists who might be entitled to commemoration in such a Valhalla. I will mention a few typical names alone. Omichund the great Bengal banker in the days of Lord Clive, Ali Verdi Khan, Raja Naba Kissen, Mir Jafar, Chaitanya, the founder of Vishnuism, Dwarkanath Tagore, Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj, who died in England, Keshub Chunder Sen, whose portrait is in the Town Hall, Rajendra Lala Mitra, the antiquarian, Raja Krishna Chandra, Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligar College, Romesh Chunder Mitra, the distinguished Judge. To these might be added the more eminent of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, and of the Talukdars of Oudh. In the memorandum previously issued were mentioned the names of well-known statesmen or public characters, such as Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy.

I now pass to British History. Here we shall endeavour to secure portraits, or busts, or mementoes—and where the originals are not forthcoming reproductions may perhaps be available—of the long line of distinguished men who have made the British Empire in India. They will fall into several categories; the pioneers of commerce and empire—such as Sir

T. Roc, Job Charnock. Sir Josiah Child ; Governors, Governors-General, and Viceroys from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times ; famous personages, such as Sir Philip Francis and Sir Elijah Impey ; eminent Governors or Lieutenant-Governors or administrators of the provinces—such names, for instance, as Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of Lord Chatham, Sir Thomas Munro, and Streynsham Master from Madras ; Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Richard Temple from Bombay ; Sir Henry Lawrence, James Thomason, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Henry Ramsay from other provinces. There will be a category of great Generals and soldiers of whom I may instance a few—Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, Lord Lake ; Lord Harris, Lord Keane, Sir David Ochterlony, Sir Charles Napier, Sir James Outram, Lord Gough, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Colin Campbell, (Lord Clyde), Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), Lord Roberts. There will be frontier heroes ; such as Sir Herbert Edwards, Colonel James Skinner, Colonel John Jacob, and General John Nicholson : military adventurers such as the famous George Thomas who rose from being a sailor and a cavalry leader to be Raja of Hansi, and the cluster of foreigners who entered the service of Mysore, the Maharattas, and Ranjit Singh. There will be the men of letters, and science ; historians, such as Orme, Tod, Sleeman, Elliot, James Mill, Lord Macaulay, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Hunter ; students or scholars or antiquarians, such as Sir William

Jones, James Rennell, H. H. Wilson, H. T. Colebrooke, James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham. Professor MaxMuller, Professor Monier Williams, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Yule ; financiers such as James Wilson ; jurists such as Sir Henry Maine and Sir James Stephen ; explorers and pioneers, such as Capt. John Wood, Alexander Burnes, Moorcro Hayward, Sir Joseph Hooker ; reformers and philanthropists, churchmen and missionaries, such as John Clark Marshman Carey, David Hare, Dr. Duff, Bishops Heber and Cotton. These are only a few of the names that have occurred to me, and are neither a complete nor an exhaustive list. They are merely typical instances of the service and the character that have helped to build up the fabric of British dominion in India and that seem to me to be entitled to the honour of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity.

And now having specified the type of persons whom it is proposed to honour let me pass on to the methods by which it may be done. One or more of the galleries of the Victoria Hall will doubtless be devoted to sculpture. Here will be collected the life-size figures, or the busts and medallions, of great men. A large number of these memorials, as I shall show presently, are already in existence, and will, it is hoped, be available for our purpose. I shall indicate methods by which others may be procured. Cases will arise in the future in which a desire to commemorate some eminent person may not justify, either in the scope of the services rendered or in the extent of the money sub-

scribed, the crowning honour of a statue on the maidan. The busts of such persons will appropriately be placed in the sculpture gallery of the Victoria Hall.

A second gallery or galleries will be devoted to paintings, engravings, prints, and pictorial representations in general both of persons and of scenes. Here will be hung original pictures and likenesses ; or where these are not procurable, copies of such. There are still scattered about in Calcutta and Bengal, and I dare say in other parts of India, quite a number of oil paintings, dating from the end of the last century and the beginning of this, commemorative of interesting persons and events. Now and then these find their way into the auction-room. More commonly they rot into decay. It is possible, in mezzotints and stipple and line engravings to recover almost a continuous history of Anglo-Indian worthies, battles, sieges, landscapes, buildings, forts, and scenes during the last 200 years.

While speaking of pictorial representation, it has been suggested to me that around the open corridors of the inner courts and quadrangles of the building might be depicted frescoes of memorable incidents or events. Fresco-painting is an art in which the Indian craftsman once excelled. Witness the pictured caves of Ajunta, the painted walls and ceilings of Fatehpur Sikri, the decorated pavilions of Agra and Delhi, the brilliant Summer-house of Tippu at Seringapatam. This art is not extinct in India, and is being fostered and revived in Institutes and Schools of Art. I do

not see why great historic scenes such as the three battles of Panipat or the battles of Plassey, Sobraon, Assaye, Miani, the self-immolation of Rani Pudmin, and the women of Chitor, the Rahtor Queen closing the city gates against her husband when he returned defeated, the first audience of British factors with the Great Mogul, the relief of the Residency at Lucknow, the Proclamation of the Queen at Allahabad in 1858, the Delhi Durbar of 1877 should not be thus commemorated. Precautions would have to be taken for the proper conservation of the frescoes during the rains. If pigments were found to be an unsuitable medium, however applied, resource might be had to mosaics. Should more durable memorials still be preferred, it might be decided to fix bronze or copper plates in panels on the inner walls, containing inscriptions or bas-reliefs, dedicated to memorable scenes.

In the centre of the galleries that are occupied by paintings, or in adjoining rooms, I suggest that there should be placed stands and cases, with glass lids, containing the correspondence and hand-writing, the personal relics and trophies and belongings of great men. It ought to be possible to procure autograph letters of all the Governors-General and Viceroys of India, and of the majority of those whose names have already been mentioned. Miniatures, articles of costume, objects that belonged in life-time to the deceased, and that recall his personality or his career—all of these will fitly appear in such a collection. I may mention as an illustration the objects that are exhibited in the

King's Library at the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in many kindred institutions.

A wider extension of the same principle may be applied to the commemoration of historical events. I should like to exhibit the originals, or where these cannot be procured, copies of Treaties, and Sanads, and Charters. I fancy that the original Charter of Queen Elizabeth of 31st December 1600 to the merchants of the East India Company is no longer extant, and that the earliest surviving grant is that of Charles II in 1661. Excellent facsimiles have been made in England of several of these documents. It may be noted in passing that the copy of Magna Charta which is exhibited in the British Museum is not the original, but only a reproduction. The oldest extant MS., which is itself not the original, is kept under lock and key in a fire-proof safe elsewhere. A great many original documents are, however, in the possession of the Government of India or of the India Office at home ; and a selection of the more interesting or important might be made from these. As regards earlier Indian history we may perhaps be so fortunate as to come into possession, or may be favoured with the loan, of Oriental manuscripts of which there are still a great many in this country, though, from lack of care and of means for collecting them, the majority have either perished or are fast leaving the country.

From documents or manuscripts it is a natural transition to maps and plans, both Native and European. It should not be difficult to collect, either in

original or in duplicate a complete set of the all maps of Calcutta from the beginning of the 18th century to the present day. Similar plans should be procurable of Fort St. George at Madras and of Bombay, and of many other factories, cities, and forts throughout the country. There is no means of studying local history and topography to compare with that of maps, and I should hope that we might acquire and exhibit a first rate collection.

Side by side with maps I should be inclined to place newspapers. We could not hope to make any complete collection. That is the function of a library or of a museum. But a careful selection of some of the rarer or more interesting specimens might throw valuable sidelights upon the past. Coins might also be very properly included. Here we might make an exception and penetrate even further back than the Mogul days. A Microcosm of the history of India through all the ages might be constructed from a classified exhibit of the different coins that have been current in India, Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Hindu, Afghan, Mogul, and finally British, including a specimen of every coin that has been struck in India during the Queen's reign. From the contents of a few cases we might grasp the outlines of history more vividly than from a library of books.

Among other objects that have occurred to have been suggested to me, I may mention musical instruments and porcelain. To some extent these are rather on the line between a historical gallery, which the

Victoria Hall is intended to be, and a museum of the arts. Both, however, have a definite historical bearing. In a country where music has reached such a high pitch of development as in India, a collection of native instruments is in a certain sense a page of history. In the case of China it may be even more so. For instance, there is no more interesting record than the few surviving pieces of the magnificent dinner services that were used in the time of the old East India Company. We have only a few specimens left in Government House, the bulk having long ago perished. There used to be a great deal at Madras, but what little of this was left has, I believe, drifted to London.

And now I pass to what I hope may be a leading feature of the Victoria Hall. Several of Indian Princes have already subscribed to the Central Memorial Fund. I have little doubt that many more will do so. I have observed in those organs of the Press which have addressed themselves to belittling this scheme, the suggestion that pressure has been, or will be, brought upon Princes or Durbars to contribute. This insinuation is both ungenerous and unjust. No solicitation has been or will be made. It is open to a Native Chief to join or to stand aloof as he pleases. He is not likely to set before himself any other standard than the measure of his own desire to join in a National Memorial to the Queen. That their contributions will not be devoted to an object in which they will bear no part or share will be evident from what I am about to say. The wonderful history of the Native States, the splen-

dour of their courts, the achievement of their great men. can only fitfully be gathered by the visitor to India or even by the resident in the country, from visits to their capitals and courts. I should like to constitute a Princes' Court or Gallery in the Victoria Hall, where such memorials should be collected as the Princes were willing to contribute or to lend. We might collect pictures of leading Princes and Chiefs. We might commemorate notable events in their dynasties and lives. They might be willing in some cases to present us from their armouries with duplicates of the large collections that are there contained, Spears and battle-axes, and swords, shields and horse-trappings and coats of mail—these are the abundant relics, in India and elsewhere, of an age of chivalry. Where gifts are not found possible, the Chiefs might be prepared, as is so often done by the Royal Family, by noblemen, and by rich collectors in England, to allow a portion of their collections to appear on temporary loan, the lender being, of course, put to no expense, and his possessions being returned to him at the termination of such period as he himself desired.

Whatever be our success as regards native arms, I entertain no doubt of being able to amass a first-rate collection of British specimens. I would propose to devote one gallery to a chronological illustration of the history of British Arms in this country. I would present in cases a complete collection of British uniforms from the days of the earliest sepoy of the Company to modern times. From the various arsenals it

will be a matter of case to collect specimens of the muskets, carbines and rifles, the powder flasks and pistols, the swords and lances, the cannon and guns of the various phases of military fashion in this country. An enclosed verandah in the fort at Lahore is so packed at present with Sikh trophies that everything cannot be got inside. Elsewhere military trophies are lying scattered about unhonoured and unknown. In the same gallery I would place a complete collection of British medals that have been granted for service in this country and on its borders; and here too I should hope will repose the tattered regimental banners that tell the tale of glory won, and pass on an inspiration to successors.

Another very proper adjunct of the Victoria Hall would be a collection of models. There are many objects of immense historic interest which we either cannot procure, because they have vanished, or could not introduce into our galleries because of their size and unsuitability. These may very fitly be represented by models. Such models might, for instance, be made of the ships that have brought European merchants and adventurers to India, from the vessel in which Vasco da Gama first cast anchor in the Harbour of Calicut on May 20th, 1498, to the pioneer sloops, a century later, of Captain James Lancaster and Sir Henry Middleton; and from them to the four-masted sailing ships that still lift their spars against the sunset on the Hugli, and the ocean liners whose smoking funnels bear the colours of the British India and the

P. and O. Nor need models be confined to ships. Nothing brings home more closely the stories of battle-fields, and sieges, and assaults at well-designed models. The storming of Chitor or Gwalior, of Bhurtpur or Seringapatam, becomes a different thing to all of us, when we have the actual scene reproduced in miniature before our eyes. I shall certainly have placed in the Gallery a model of old Fort William in Calcutta, of which I am at present engaged in identifying and demarcating the outlines. I remember when at Oxford seeing in the Bodleian Library a white marble model of the Calcutta Cathedral according to the original and uncompleted design. But why it should repose at Oxford instead of Calcutta I do not know.

I have now dealt to the best of my ability with the principal categories of objects that appear to be suitable for inclusion in the Victoria Hall. Perhaps my hearers will be inclined to agree with the friend who after I had unbosomed myself to him on the matter, exclaimed to me. "Why, the danger is that you will have, not too little, but too much!" I will now proceed to point out the sources from which these and similar objects may be procured.

Two main channels of collection I have already indicated, namely, gift and loan. Many persons who would not be willing to part with cherished possessions might consent to lend them: and as in the Bethnal Green and other museums, we might perhaps hope for a succession of such favours. Nevertheless, for the bulk of our exhibits we must look to gift or purchase.

Fortunately we already possess the admirable nucleus of such a collection as I have described in this place. Who can doubt that the fine marble statue of Warren Hastings by Westmacott, which is now effectually concealed from public view in the southern portico of the Town Hall—a building which is itself condemned—must find its way to the Victoria Hall? The same may be said of Becon's great marble figure of Lord Cornwallis in the ground floor of the same building, a masterpiece that is now strangely out of place amid dusty records and scribbling clerks. If the Town Hall be, as alleged, condemned, there are other portraits and busts that might very well be transferred to the new building. There are the pictures of Her Majesty Queen Victoria herself and the Prince Consort, which I believed that she presented to the Town of Calcutta. There are portraits of Lords Clive and Lake now hanging on dark corners of the staircase, of Dr. Duff and Dwarkanath Tagore. There are busts of James Prinsep and the Duke of Wellington. In the High Court are two pictures of Sir Elijah Impey, one by Kettie, the other by Zoffany. Perhaps the learned Judges might spare us one. The Asiatic Society, whom I am addressing to-night, in their plethora of treasures, possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder, Sir William Jones. They might like to diffuse his name. Similarly they own portraits of four Governors-General, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, which are now only seen by a few scores of persons,

and which they might be willing to place on loan for the edification of a larger public. I may next turn to the building in which I am now speaking, and which was originally erected with very much the same object, *viz.*, a National Valhalla, as the new Hall which we are about to raise. I do not think that any one will claim that it has quite succeeded in vindicating its initial claim. Lord Dalhousie's Statue, which I see opposite me, originally belonged to Government House, and surrendered by Sir John Lawrence to this building, after its completion in 1866. Separate funds were raised for the commemoration of Havelock and Nicholson and resulted in the busts of those two great men that we see before us. Chantrey's beautiful statue of Lord Hastings which stands in the entrance by which we all came in, has nothing to do with this building at all for the portico in which it was placed was raised in Lord Amherst's time to hold the statue and the Dalhousie Institute was subsequently tacked on behind it. It will, I think, be generally conceded that all these memorials will find a more appropriate and a more worthy home in the Victoria Hall. I may carry the same line of argument and illustration further. We have three busts of Sir T Metcalfe in the Metcalfe Hall. Having bought the place for Government, I shall be very glad to hand over one of them to the Victoria Hall. Metcalfe, the founder of a Free Press in India, ought to be commemorated there. Perhaps, too, we may appeal, for some friendly assistance to the Bar Library. There, I believe, are to be found, unless

they have already perished 14 volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the hand-writing of Mr. Justice Hyde. There is his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nuncomar, and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person. I believe that there is also in the High Court the original bond given by Bolagi Das to Nuncomar, which was pronounced a forgery at the trial. Speaking of Warren Hastings, I have been told that some years ago, and I dare say still, unless they have been devoured by white ants, there were contained in the Collector's Office at Chittagong, of all places in the world, quite a number of official documents in the writing of that great man and bearing his signature, with those of Francis, Barwell, Clavering, and Monson. Similar documents are, I doubt not, to be found in the almirahs or cupboards of many a district officer throughout the country and could, with a little search, be recovered from an oblivion which in a climate such as this is sooner or later synonymous with total destruction. I noticed a short time ago a cry of pain from a Madras paper at the idea that I might be going to indent upon Madras for the letters of Sir Thomas Munro. Well and how does Madras show its reverence for that most interesting correspondence? By allowing it to repose in a dingy cupboard in the Collector's Office at Salem. I have no desire to rob any place, or any society, or any individual, of that which may be dear to them. But I submit that we should at least treat Sir Thomas Munro better for it would be difficult

to treat him worse, than his own Presidency has done.

I have said enough, I think, to indicate that in this country, in record-rooms, in offices, and in kutcheries will be found a plentiful mine of documentary richness. From the Imperial Library, and from the Foreign Office here we may be able to make a substantial contribution. Appeals in the newspapers will doubtless bring to our knowledge the existence of many objects at present lost to the public view. In England I should make similar appeals. The India Office might be willing to restore to us some of the objects belonging to the old East India Company which are in their possession, or to present us with copies or duplicates. I would myself undertake to write to the families or descendants or living representatives of the remarkable men whom we may desire to commemorate. Learned Societies might be willing to contribute something to us from their abundance. Finally, there is perpetually passing through the hands of the London dealers and auctioneers a stream of interesting memorials of the Anglo-Indian past, which attract no notice because they do not belong to celebrated collections, or because their owners are not known to fame, but upon which a careful watch might be kept by experts, appointed for the purpose.

I entertain no shadow of a doubt that within ten years of the date upon which the doors of the Victoria Hall are opened there will, unless there be some grave inexplicable relapse in public interest or in competent supervision in the interim, be collected therein an ex-

hibition that will be the pride of all India, and that will attract visitors to this place from all parts of the World. I should add that if sufficient means are forthcoming, I would certainly propose adequately to endow the building, so that a sum may be annually available for adding to the contents, and maintaining them at a high standard of excellence.

I have now, I trust, said enough to show both what the Victoria Hall will be, and what it will not be. It will not be a museum of antiquities, filled with undeciphered inscriptions and bronze idols and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum, stocked with samples of grains, and timbers, and manufactures. It will not be an art museum, crowded with metal ware of every description, with muslins, and kinkobs, and silks, with pottery, and lacquer ware, and Kashmir shawls. It will not be a geological, or ethnographical, or anthropological or architectural museum. All these objects are served by existing institutions; and I do not want to compete with or to denude any such fabric. The central idea of the Victoria Hall is that it should be a Historical Museum, a National Gallery and that alone, and that it should exist not for the advertisement of the present, but for the commemoration of that which is honourable and glorious in the past. Neither is it proposed to constitute the Victoria Hall, even while retaining its character as a Historical Gallery, a museum representative of all countries. We could not possibly collect the materials: many of them would not survive the Indian climate, and the result

would be an indescribable medley, which would merely confuse instead of informing and stimulating the senses. It is, I think, essential that the art, the science, the literature, the history, the men, the events which are therein commemorated must be those of India and of Great Britain in India alone. That is the whole pith and marrow of the idea and I venture to think that it would be most unwise to depart from it.

I must remove another misconception. Enquiries have been addressed to me as to whether there might not be incorporated with this building a magnificent Imperial Library, where there should be collected all the notable works, in whatever language that have been written about India, or that have been composed in the Indian vernaculars. The authors of these enquiries are perhaps unaware that I have already provided for this object. For nearly two years ago the negotiations have been proceeding for the acquisition of the Metcalfe Hall and its library by the Government. They are now on the verge of a happy termination. We propose to renovate and redecorate that handsome building; to transfer to it the whole of the Imperial Library at present deposited in the Home Department of the Government of India; and to present it with an endowment sufficient to enable it, within no very lengthy space of time, to become a really representative collection of the literature that I have mentioned. We have obtained, through the good offices of the Home Government, the services of a most competent Librarian from the British Museum, and I hope, before

I leave India, to have converted the Metcalfe Hall into a miniature edition of the Library and Reading Room in that great institution, a place which shall be the heaven of Indian and Anglo-Indian scholars, and the nursery of writers and students. There is obviously, therefore, no need for adding a Library to the Victoria Hall.

There is, however, one feature that might, I think, not improperly be included in the building. Like most structures of a similar character in Europe, it should probably possess a really fine hall, distinct from the hall that is especially dedicated to the Queen. Such a hall might be used for the Chapters of the Indian Orders, for a great durbar, or for any other ceremonial function. An organ might be placed at one end for concerts and choral performances. Upon occasions it might supply a meeting ground for the public, much in the same way as the Banqueting Hall is used at Madras.

As time passes on, benefactors might adorn this Hall with pictures or frescoes, and with the statues of princes and great men. I may add that in the future I hope that the leading Chiefs may be seen at Calcutta more frequently than in the past. I have for some time been in negotiation for the purchase of Hasting's House, the old country residence of Warren Hastings, at Alipore: and if this transaction be satisfactorily concluded, I propose to utilise the house; which is a fine building, quite apart from its historical associations, for the occasional entertainment of the Princes.

who are always so lavish in their hospitality to the Viceroy as the guests of the Government of India in Calcutta.

A few details only remain to be noticed. It is too early as yet to speak about the style of a building, when the money has not yet been subscribed with which it is to be raised. That will have to be settled, as will most of the other points that I have raised, by a representative Committee later on. There will probably, however, be general agreement that it should be built of the best and most solid material, white marble for choice, and that it must be so constructed as to resist the deteriorating influences of a tropical climate. There must be unity of design in the plan, but scope must be left for later generations to add to the original structure should the occasion arise. It has already been announced that it is proposed to inscribe in a prominent place in the building the names of all subscribers of $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh and upwards. When the collection has been made, cheap but full guide-books will be prepared, both in English and in the vernacular, so as to tell the visitor where to go, and what it is that he is about to see. Finally the surrounding space will be converted into a beautiful garden, which, with due regard to the flowerbeds and lawns, should be accessible to all, and will be a joy and delight to the town.

Such, ladies and gentlemen, is the scheme of the Victoria Hall, as it presents itself to me, assisted by the able advice of the numerous authorities and scholars whom I have consulted. I hope to have shown you

that it will not be a merely sentimental creation, but that it will have a most utilitarian aspect as well. There is no more practical or business like emotion than patriotism. I believe that this building will give to all who enter it, whether English or Indians, a pride in their country, in addition to reminding them of the veneration that all alike entertain for the great Sovereign in whose honour it was built. I believe that it will teach more history and better history than a study-full of books. I believe that it will appeal to the poor people just as directly as to the rich and that they will wander, wondering perhaps, but interested and receptive, through its halls. Lastly, I believe that it will do much to bind together the two races whom Providence, for its mysterious ends, has associated in the administration of this great Empire, and whose fusion has been so immeasurably enhanced by the example, the wisdom, and the influence of Queen Victoria.

I will only add that I shall be most happy now or in the future to receive any communication or suggestions from any who may have useful light to throw upon the realisation of the scheme upon which we have embarked.

SPEECH AT THE ALIGARH COLLEGE.

On the 23rd April, 1901, the Viceroy visited the Aligarh College where he delivered the following speech :—

Gentlemen.—In the address that has just been read you have supplied me with a succinct account of the objects and history of this College. I cannot say that they were new to me ; for a little while ago I had placed in my hands a volume of the addresses and speeches that have been delivered on the various occasions when the Aligarh College has been visited by public men. It was a collection of uncommon interest, for on one hand in the statements that were from time to time put forward in the address of welcome by committee or trustees, one could follow step by step the progress of the College from its first inception as a small school 26 years ago to the present day, and could learn in what manner the aspirations of its illustrious founder, whose death you have just deplored as an irreparable loss had been realised ; on the other hand one could observe the impression which these events and their narration had made upon the minds of a number of eminent men. You have, as I think, enjoyed exceptional good fortune in Aligarh, for you have been addressed by Viceroys as scholarly and brilliant as Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin, and by Lieutenant-Governors as famous for their intellectual attainments in addition to their administrative capacities as Sir William Muir, Sir John Strachey and Sir Alfred Lyall. It is interesting to note in their speeches delivered, I dare say in this very hall, now a

common train of reflection runs through the words of each. It has been a frequent observation that this College embodies the principles of self-help that it furnishes moral and religious as well as mental training, a point upon which I observe that you have laid much stress in your address this afternoon, that it has nevertheless no sectarian character, that it inculcates the importance of physical exercises, that it imbues its pupils with a sense of citizenship and of loyalty, and that it keeps aloof from political questions.

Now to what does this identity of reflection and utterance point? Certainly not to any sterility of thought on the part of the eminent men who have addressed you. Quite the reverse, for as I have said, they were among the most accomplished of our Anglo-Indian statesmen. It indicates rather the importance and truth of the propositions that commended themselves in almost the same formulæ to such different minds, but it indicates also, and here I trace its application to myself, the difficulty, I might even say the impossibility of saying anything novel about the College or to its inmates. The fact is that of all subjects education is one in which the tritest observation is most apt to be also the wisest and best, and in which a straining of the original is fraught with the greatest danger. Pray do not think, therefore, that I have come to or tell you anything new about education or about Aligarh. I do not pretend to be an authority upon the former, and I am only paying a fleeting visit to the latter, it will be much better for you that you

should read the ideas which have been common to the many speeches to which I have referred in language that has frequently been a model of expression, than that I should dress them up again with an inferior sauce for your consumption this afternoon.

I should like, however, for a moment to contemplate the work that is being carried on here as a branch of the larger problems with which those who are responsible for the future of this great and bewildering country are faced. If British dominion in India were exterminated tomorrow and if all visible traces of it were to be wiped off the face of the earth, I think that its noblest monument and its proudest epitaph would be the policy that it has adopted in respect of education. When I speak of policy, I am not using the phrase in its narrow or administrative application, a sphere in which we have made many mistakes, but in the broadest sense that we have truly endeavoured to fling wide open the gates of temple of knowledge, and to draw multitudes in. We have sought to make education not the perquisite or prerogative of the few, but the cheap possession of many. History does not, I think, record any similarly liberal policy on the part of the Government different in religion in language and in thought from the governed. In my judgment it has not only been an enlightened policy ; it has also been a wise one and I do not believe that you will ever have a Viceroy or a Lieutenant Governor who will desire to close by one inch the opened door or to drive out a single human being who has entered in. Well,

if this be the character, and, as I also contend, the permanence of the great movement that I am speaking of, how overwhelmingly important it is that no section of a community should fail to profit by the advantage which it offers.

We have just crossed the threshold of the 20th century. Whatever else it may bring forth it is certain to be a century of great intellectual activity, of far-reaching scientific discovery, of probably unparalleled invention. To be without education in the 20th Century will be as though a Knight in the feudal ages had been stripped of his helmet and spear and coat of mail. It will be a condition of serviceable existence, the sole means for the majority of holding their own in a world of intellectual upheaval and competition. That is, why it must be so gratifying to any ruler of India to see the Mahomedans of this country, Sunnis and Shias alike, exerting themselves not to be left at the starting post, while all their many rivals are pressing forward in the race. They can run too, if only they will learn how. They knew once, in the great days when Mahomedan rulers dispensed justice in their marble audience halls, and when Mahomedan philosophers and jurists and historians wrote learned works ; but the old running is now out of date ; a new and a swifter style has come in, and you must go to the seminaries where are professors of modern art to teach you the suppleness of limb and fleetness of foot that are required for the races of future. I hold, therefore, that Sir Syad Ahmad and those who worked with him to find

this place showed not only patriotism, in the best sense of the term, but also a profound political insight, for they were seeking to provide their co-religionists in India with conditions that will alone enable them to recover any portion of their lost ascendancy, and if I were a Mahomedan Prince or man of wealth in India to-day, I would not waste five minutes in thinking how best I could benefit my countrymen and fellow-followers of the prophet in this country. I would concentrate upon education and upon education alone. That these are our own conclusions is evident from the frank and manly admissions of the address which has just been read. You say in it that only by the assimilation of western thought and culture can the Mahomedans of India hope to recover any portion of their former sway. You are quite right.

Adhere to your own religion which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make that the basis of your instructions, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at School and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations, but consistently with these principles press forward till you pluck the fruit of the tree of knowledge which once grew best in eastern gardens, but has now shifted its habitat to the west. Gentlemen, I am aware that the friends of this College have formulated even higher ambitions than are embraced by your present character and scope. Mr. Beck spoke and wrote to me with that enthusiasm of which I have already spoken of his desire to expand

this institution which is already a Residential College into a Residential University with real professional lectures, a living curriculum, and a definite aim. I may mention too that the project had reached the ears of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and that in one of the first letters that she wrote to me after my arrival in India she enquired most sympathetically about it. I believe that you have not yet owing to financial and other impediments been able to travel far upon this pathway, and indeed that there are some who doubt the policy of a sectarian institution at all.

Upon this I am not called upon to pronounce an opinion, but one admission I do not shrink from making namely that you will never get from a University which consists of little but an examining board or boards that lofty ideal of education, that sustained purpose or that spirit of personal devotion that are associated with the Historic Universities of England, and that these were, I believe, in some measure also produced by the ancient Universities of Islam and now, before I conclude, suffer me to say a few words to the younger members of my audience. I am still sufficiently near to my own College days to feel an intense interest in those who are passing through the same experience. It is a period of high hopes and sunny aspirations. All the world is before us, and we are ready to confront it with a smile on our faces, and an unrinkled brow since we have not learnt of its disappointment, and sorrows. Day after days as our study extends, the horizon of knowledge expands

before us, and we feel as those mariners of the old world must have done who sailed out into unknown seas and before whose wondering eyes as each day dawned new islands or fresh promontories rose continually into view, but it is not learning only that we are acquiring, we taste the pleasure of personal friendship we feel the spur of honourable emulation, and we kindle the local patriotism or *esprit de corps* out of which as we grow older springs that wider conception of public duty which makes us proud to be citizens of our country and anxious to place some part whether great or small on public stage. All these are the delights and the novelties of our College days.

AT THE ARMY TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION.

The following speech was delivered by Lord Curzon in the Early part of June, 1901, at the Army Temperance Association at Simla :—

Your Honour, Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,—I am glad to see so many officers and soldiers present here to-day because the subject on which I am about to speak is one connected exclusively with the Army. At the same time, I am glad to see such a large attendance of the outside public, both because it shows an interest in the Army and also because temperance is a matter in which, independently of the particular profession to which we belong, we all of us

ought to feel an interest. I propose to address this audience in as plain and simple language as I can command. There may be some, perhaps, who will say that I have no right to address you at all. In the first place, I am a civilian, speaking to soldiers who may be supposed to know their own business much better than any outsider can teach them; secondly, I am a non-abstainer, speaking on behalf of a society whose main principle is that of total abstinence, and yet on both points I think that I have a good answer to give. Under the law which regulates the Government of this country, supreme authority over the Army in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, and the Governor-General in Council is, as you know, rather an imposing name that is given to a small number of distinguished gentlemen over whose proceedings and deliberations I, as Viceroy, have the honour to preside. I conceive, therefore, that there is no one, except perhaps the Commander-in-Chief, who has a greater right to be interested in the reputation and honour of the Army, and believe me, its reputation is bound up in its sobriety than the Head of the Government. Everything that concerns its moral character, its discipline, and that which is the result of these two, namely, its efficiency, must be of vital interest to those who are connected with the administration of this great country, and I would not give much for a Viceroy, who, because he was not a soldier himself, therefore dismissed the Army or the welfare of the Army as beneath his concern. (Applause) On the second point as to whether

a non-abstainer has any right to advocate temperance, I have even less hesitation in pronouncing temperance in the strict meaning of the term, that he is the very man best qualified to advocate, since he is only preaching what he endeavours to practise. But where then, you may say, does total abstinence come in, and how can he get up and speak on behalf of a Society which urges its members to take the pledge. Well, I think, that I can answer that too. Why does the Army Temperance Association urge its members or, at any rate, the bulk of the members, to sign the pledge of total abstinence. It is because it knows very well that for the class of men to whom it appeals, total abstinence is the only road, or shortest and straightest road, to temperance. This is true of young soldiers fresh out from home, ignorant of life and temptations to this country, whom the Association endeavours to capture before he has yielded to pernicious examples and gone astray. It is true of the confirmed toper who can only be converted to sobriety by violent physical and moral wrench. It is useless to take the drunkard and ask him to go back by easy stages of moderate drinking to self-discipline and self-control. He is powerless to do it. A man cannot suddenly begin to do in moderation that which he is accustomed to do in excess. If he is to be wrested from bad habits, it can only be by a determination to put the evil thing from him, not so to speak in pints or in driblets, but altogether that is why the pledge is a necessary thing for him; and, thirdly, there is the man of high character himself

either free from temptation or having conquered it, who feels that he can better set an example to his comrades by taking the pledge himself. For all these classes total abstinence is best and for some the only available prescription, and so it is that the man who does not practise it himself, because in the conditions of his life he has not found the need, may yet with perfect consistency stand up and plead its cause to his fellow-countrymen. (Hear, hear and applause.) And now before I turn to the question of drinking in the Army, I should like to say one word about the position of the British soldier in India. I dare say that there are some soldiers who think that the conditions of their life are imperfectly understood by civilians, and that insufficient allowance is made for their circumstances and surroundings. I do not think that this is at all widely the case. I realise as fully as it is possible to do that the British soldier does not always have a good time in this country. He is in a climate very different from that to which he is accustomed, and in the plains in summer is exceedingly trying. He is often in a very confined locality. He has not the fun and games and amusement, and the society to which he is accustomed at home; there is apt to be a good deal of monotony about his life. He lives perhaps in stuffy and ill-lighted barracks, where on hot nights he can scarcely get a breath of air. If he leaves the lines there is nothing but the native bazar with its low temptations to attract him. I make, and I think that we should all make, full allowance for these conditions.

They are partly responsible for the drinking and other wrong deeds that occur. For my own part, I would like to alleviate them to the best of my power. There is no subject in which I have taken greater interest since I have been in India than in that of improved ventilation and lighting of barracks. I have insisted on forcing it to the front and in causing all sorts of experiments to be made. Sir Edwin Collen was strongly with me on the matter, and so I have reason to know are the present Military Member and Commander-in-Chief. (Applause.) I look forward to the time, and am doing my best to hurry it on, when every barrack in India shall be lighted by electricity, and when punkahs shall be pulled by the same motive power (applause), and I believe that if this scheme were to cost half a crore of rupees or more, it would be money well laid out in the improved health and contentment of the men, and in the diminution of one of the most frequent causes of collision between soldiers and natives. (Applause.) It is from exactly the same point of view that I welcome the institution of rooms and of work of the Army Temperance Association. I have seen them at Deolali where I must say they were so attractive as almost to tempt me to regret that I am not a soldier myself (laughter), and I have also seen them at other places on tours; but I would like to see them made even brighter and more attractive than they are. (Applause) I would like to wean men away from the perilous attractions of the canteen with its flow of conversation and jollity

and drink, all leading to excitement, and apt to culminate in excess, by providing them with something which is just as good for their appetites, much better for their morals, and incomparably superior for their health. (Applause.) I hope therefore to have shown you that the powers that be in India do not turn a blind eye upon the British soldier in this country, but that they have his interest and welfare at heart. (Applause.) I now pass to the work of this Association and the need for it. Temperance or intemperance in the British Army at whichever side of the shield you like to look, has passed through many phases. We remember stories of soldiers with whom the Duke of Wellington fought many of his great battles. There was not much temperance or sobriety among them; they were drawn from a low class of the population, and in those days an extraordinary and grotesque illusion prevailed, to which all subsequent experience has given the lie, that the hardest drinker was also the best fighting man. The Duke of Wellington as good as said so on many occasions, and he was always alternately between respect for bravery of men who won battles and disgust at their vices. Well, we have long ago got away from all that, and you have not had a single Commander of recent times who would not tell you that the hard drinking soldier is not merely a moral disgrace but a military danger. (Applause.) Read what Lord Roberts said about our men in South Africa. They were sober there by compulsion, perhaps, as well as by choice, for drink was not to be had and they com-

forted themselves like heroes and gentlemen. It was only when they got back that Lord Roberts feared they would fall below the high standard that they had observed in the field because of the temptation to drink that were pressed upon them at home. Accordingly, we have passed, as I say, into a phase of life in which everyone admits that the sober soldier is the better man than the intoxicated soldier, moderate drinker than hard drinker, and I dare say total abstainer, the best of all. No one will deny that, but, gentlemen, we cannot stop there. We have only got so far to an abstract admission. We must translate it into a concrete fact. It is not the slightest use for any of us to indulge in these Platonic aphorisms, and then think work is over. It is no good for speakers on this platform to say how much better the British Army is now-a-days than it was in the days of Talavera or Waterloo, and to think that this is an end of the whole business, and that nothing more need be done. It is no good either for soldier from Jutogh or anywhere else to applaud excellent sentiments to which we all treat them, and then to walk back and down it all in a too liberal participation in the joys of the regimental canteen. (Applause and laughter.) No, we have to face facts, and not to delude ourselves either with sentiment or with figures; for if there is one thing that is sometimes capable of being even more fallacious than sentiment, it is figures. (Laughter.) Therefore I decline to say that all is well because at an earlier period of our history it was worse and refrain from quoting sta-

tistics of crime or returns of the orderly room, lest I should be lulled into thinking that because they illustrate the growing advance of temperance therefore the battle has been won. That is not the case. Crime returns are neither the sole test nor an infallible test and the Commanding Officer who thinks that because he can show a clean sheet in this respect, there is no excessive drinking going on in his regiment is often living in a fool's paradise. Let us recognize, and let this Society recognise that even if crimes resulting from drink diminish, as I hope and believe that they do, there are still far too many that if cases of "drunk and disorderly" are fewer, they ought to be fewer still, and that there are in every regiment a large number—a too large number—of men who still take more than they should, who habitually drink hard, even if they are not convicted of intoxication and who are constantly on the drink of excess, even if they do not actually step over it. I had some official figures given me the other day which showed that in one British regiment in India, in the month of April last, where the total number of men, exclusive of patients in hospitals and members of this Association, was 380. The amount of beer consumed was nearly 130 hogsheads. Now this meant an average daily consumption of 21 quarts for every man, and when you remember that among 380 there must have been several men who only drank in moderation, you will see that there must have been a certain number in the regiment who drank much more than was good for them. These are men

therefore, that this Association ought to try and get within its mesh. We want to stop not merely gross excess leading to crime, but steadily drinking leading to disordered faculties and physical and moral decline. I believe that if every Commanding Officer in India were told that he himself would be judged by the sobriety of his regiment, and that the flourishing canteen fund would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel, it would be a most excellent thing, and I respectfully present this suggestion for what it is worth to the Commander-in-Chief. (Applause and laughter.) There is only one other point of view from which I desire to plead the cause of this Association, and to appeal to officers and soldiers of the British Army in India. It is wider, and, in my opinion, a higher standpoint. What I would ask are we all here for everyone of us from the Viceroy the Head of the official hierarchy, to the latest joined British private in barracks. We are not here to draw our pay and do nothing and have a good time. We are not here merely to wave the British flag. We are here because Providence has before all the world laid the solemn duty upon our shoulders, and that duty is to hold this country by justice and righteousness and good-will and set an example to its people. (Loud applause.) You may say why should we set an example, and what example have we set? Well, I dare say that we have much to learn as well as to teach. It would be arrogant to pretend to the contrary. I feel myself that never a day of my life passes in India in which I do not absorb

more than I can possibly give out but we have come here with civilization, education and morality which we are vain enough without disparagement to others, to think the best that have ever been seen, and we have been placed by the power that ordains all in the seats of the mighty with fortunes and the future of this great Continent in our hands. There never was such a responsibility in the whole world; there is no such duty; that is why it behoves every one of us, great or small, who belongs to the British race in this country to set an example. The man who sets a bad example is untrue to his own country, and who sets a good one is doing his duty by this. But how can a drunkard set an example and what is the example that he sets and what sort of example, too, is set by the officer who winks at drunkenness instead of treading it under foot. It is no answer to me to say that the native sometimes gets intoxicated in his way just as the British soldier does in his. One man's sin is not another man's excuse. Where are our boasted civilisation and our superior ethics if we cannot see that what is degrading in him is more degrading in us. If we are to measure our own responsibility by that of the millions whom we rule, what becomes of our right to rule, and our mission. It is, therefore, officers and soldiers, not on mere grounds of abstract virtue not for the sake of discipline and reputation of the Army, nor even for your own individual good alone, that I have stood there this afternoon to plead the cause of temper-

ance in the ranks, but because the British name in India is in your hands just as much as it is in mine, and because it rests with you before God and your fellowmen to preserve it from sully or reproach. (Loud and continued applause.)

The Viceroy, in replying to a vote of thanks, said :—

Your Honour, Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,—I have only a very few words to say in reply. I am grateful to the speakers who have proposed and seconded, and to the meeting who have so kindly accepted a vote of thanks, and particularly so to His Honour for the courteous and encouraging words with which he concluded his remarks. There are only two points arising out of our proceedings this afternoon upon which I should wish to say something in conclusion. Sir Edmond Elles in his most practical speech said that in his opinion the chief need of the Army Temperance Association was a little encouragement from the Government of India. Well, I beg leave to remind him that he is the Government of India in its military capacity. (Applause and laughter.) I have been largely instrumental in making him the Government of India. (Laughter.) He is Military Member of Council, and in these matters enjoys a great power of initiation. He has behind him as the meeting this afternoon has shown, a friendly Viceroy and a favourable Commander-in-Chief. (Applause and laughter.) I hear Mr.

Bateson clapping, and it is quite obvious that he sees the dawn of a new day before him. (Laughter.) I do not like to encourage him by saying too much at the present moment, but I would merely suggest that he might take a convenient opportunity of having a conversation with the Military Member. (Applause and laughter.) The second point is this. We have had this afternoon a very good meeting. This hall has been filled by a large, attentive, and I think an interested, audience who have heard a number of inspiring speeches. This must be a great encouragement to Mr. Bateson in his undertaking. Do not let us separate, however, without sending him away with a special word of God speed. (Applause.) He has been engaged for some time in this work. It is not a very easy work. No doubt he meets with a considerable amount of discouragement and difficulty. He has in fact told us so in his speech. A good deal of spirit, energy, and devotion are, therefore, required in a man who is so employed. My idea always has been that for any work worthy of the name to be carried through with success, two conditions are essential, one is personal enthusiasm and the other concentration. We know Mr. Bateson sufficiently well to be assured that his heart is in his work. We know from his activity that he spares no effort to carry it through. I hope, therefore, that a great future lies before the Association in India, and I should like to see it for this reason in particular. The Bishop was one speaker and the Lieutenant-Governor another who said this afternoon that temper-

ance is a great social reform, and the movement of the future. I agree with them both. At home and on the Continent, nothing surprises, and, I may say, disgusts me more than the tone of cynicism and indifference that is sometimes adopted on the subject. If ever again I were to hold any position in public life in England, temperance would certainly not be a matter that would occupy a backward place in my programme. (Applause.) However, I am not concerned with that now enough for me to overlook its application there. How rarely it is in India that we have an opportunity of being ahead of public opinion at home. Here is Lord Roberts who is just starting in Army Temperance Association in England on the lines of that which has been so successful here. This should be an encouragement to us. Do not let us stop where we are; let us go on elevating, improving and expanding the range of the work of this Society, so that its example may not merely embrace this country, but may even extend to our fellow-countrymen in England. I only will say in conclusion that I never remember a public meeting over which it has given me greater pleasure to preside. (Loud and continued applause.)

ON EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The following is the speech delivered by Lord Curzon as President of the Educational Conference held at Simla in the early part of September, 1901 :—

Gentlemen,—I have invited you here to assist me with your advice in the inquiry upon which the Government is engaged with reference to the existing system of education in India. I shall ask your attention successively to the following sub-headings of our main subject—university education, secondary education, primary education, technical education, and finally to such general questions as remain over from our more detailed inquiries.

I will indicate to you presently what is the nature of the problems to which I think that we should endeavour to find, a solution in each of the categories to which I have referred, but before doing this, I should like to say a few prefatory words as to the character and scope of the present Conference. We are a small number of persons collected round this table. Had I accepted one-half of the offers and suggestions that have been made to me, this room, large as it is, would not have held the numerous authorities who courteously volunteered their services. They did so, I think, in the belief that this gathering is more than it pretends it to be. We are not met here to devise a brand-new plan of educational reform, which is to spring, fully armed, from the head of the Home Department, and to be imposed, *nolens volens*, upon the Indian public. This Conference is merely a gathering of the

highest educational Officers of Government, as well as of the official representatives of our leading Universities whom I desire to consult upon many matters, concerning which we at headquarters are taking in first-hand knowledge, but to which, on the other hand, they have devoted many years of their lives. They will give us information which Government does not possess, and will prevent us from committing mistakes, into which we might otherwise fall. But I do not expect our meetings, informal, confidential as they will be, to take the place of the examination of the subject and of our ideas upon it by educated sections of the outside public, which I think that they are quite entitled to offer, and which I, for my part, shall be grateful to receive. The question of education in India is one that concerns not only the Viceroy or his Council. Do not let any one suppose therefore that we are going to launch any vast or sudden surprise upon the Indian community without hearing what they think or what they may have to say. Concealment has been no part of my policy since I have been in India and the education of the people is assuredly the last subject to which I should think of applying any such canon. It is for this reason that I have decided to address you as I am now doing, not merely in order to indicate to the members of the Conference the subjects which we are about to examine, but also to take the outside public, so to speak, into our confidence in order that they may know the nature of the difficult problem that we are studying, and may help us with their disin-

terested opinions upon it.

Before such an audience as this I need not enter into any critical examination of the steps by which education in India has reached its present stage. They may be summed up in the broad general statement that we have been occupied seventy years in imparting an English education to an Asiatic people. There exists a powerful school of opinion which does not hide its conviction that the experiment was a mistake, and that its result has been a disaster. I have always severed myself from these pessimists, and I do so again. Now let us take it with good and its evil. To me it seems that there is no comparison between the two. Mistakes and blunders there have been, otherwise we should not have met here to-day in order to discuss how we may set them right. But the successes have been immeasurably greater.

THE WEAK POINTS OF THE SYSTEM.

I have made the disclaimer of the views to which expression is given in so many quarters, because it will be my duty to-day to call your attention to the weak points of the system rather than to its merits. Some of these errors are very much on the surface. We started by a too slavish imitation of the English models, and to this day we have never purged ourselves of the taint. For instance, we thought that we could provide India with all that it required in the shape of University education by simply copying the London University. Finally, by making an examination the sole avenue to employment in the service of the State,

we unconsciously made an examination the sole test of education. Upon this point I must enlarge somewhat, seeing that it is at the root of the evil which we are convened to examine. The late Dr. Thring, who was one of the greatest educationalists that England has produced, once remarked that education is the transmission of life from the living, through the living, to the living. I am afraid that in India we have fallen somewhat from this idea. The secret of life has been in our hands, and we have not stinted its outpouring, but about the instruments, forms, methods and recipients of the gift we have been not too particular. Examinations are being carried to extremes; in most civilised countries, and cramming, which is their inevitable corollary, is now generally recognised as a universal danger, but in India we appear to have pushed the method to an excess greater than I have come across in any country with the exception of China. We examine our boys from childhood to adolescence, and we put a pass before them as the *summum bonum* of life.

When I contemplate thousands of youths in our Indian schools and colleges steadily grinding away in order to get their percentage of marks in an endless series of examinations, the spectacle does not seem to me less open to lament than that of monks whom one sees in Thibet, and who by a never ending mechanical revolution of a prayer-wheel think that they are compassing eternal salvation. I am not speaking of the results of the examination system so much as I

am of its effect upon its victims, that is the real issue. It is of no use to turn out respectable clerks or Munsifs, or vakils, if this is done at the expense of the intellect of the nation. A people cannot rise in the scale of intelligence by the cultivation of memory alone. The memory is not the mind, though it is a faculty of the mind, and yet we go on sharpening the memory of our students, encouraging them to the application of purely mnemonic tests, stuffing their brains with an abracadabra of geometry and physics, and algebra and logic, until after, hundreds, nay thousands, have perished by the way, the residuum, who have survived the successive tests, emerge in the elysian fields of the B. A. degree. This is the furrow out of which we ought to lift Indian education if we can, before it has been finally dragged down and choked by the mire. There are other questions which I ask myself, and to which I cannot give an answer that I would like.

I have remarked that we have been at work for seventy years. We are educating $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of a total population of British India. Is this a satisfactory or an adequate proportion? We spent upon education in the last year from public funds a sum of £1,140,000, as compared with £1,360,000 from fees and endowments. Is the State's contribution sufficient? Ought it to be increased? Is there an educational policy of the Government of India at all; if so, is it observed, and what is the machinery by which it is carried out? As I say I cannot answer all these questions as I should wish. There seems to me to be a

misdirection, and in some cases a waste of force, for which I cannot hold the Government free from blame. I observe a conflict of systems. In a praiseworthy desire to escape centralization at head-quarters, we appear to have set up a number of petty kingdoms, a sort of heptarchy, in the land. Elasticity, flexibility, variety, our system must have, but it will lose half its force if they are not inspired by a common principle a directed to a common aim.

With these preliminaries, I pass to an examination of the different problems that lie before us. The first of these is the University system in India. The Indian Universities may be described as the first fruits of a broad and liberal policy of an Education Despatch of 1854, founded upon the model of the London University. They sprang into being at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. At a later date a somewhat different constitution, though a similar model, was adopted at Lahore and Allahabad. Now the first reflection that strikes every observer of the Indian system who is familiar with the older English Universities is a fundamental contrast both of the character and conception. Oxford and Cambridge are incorporated institutions, composed of colleges which constitute and are embodied in the corporate whole. The two together make a University. Each College has its own students and fellows and tutors, and its own local habitation. The groups of colleges combine for the purposes of lectures. The University supervises and controls all by its examinations, its professorial lectures, its central government,

and its administration of the corporate funds. Above all it sways the life of the college under-graduate. How different is India. Here the University has no corporate existence in the same sense of the term ; it is not a collection of buildings ; it is scarcely even a site. It is a body. That controls courses of study, and sets examination papers to pupils of affiliated colleges. They are not part of it. They are frequently not in the same city, sometimes not in the same province. The affiliated colleges of Calcutta University are scattered in regions as remote as Burma and Ceylon. Then look at the colleges. They are not residential institutions, with a history, a tradition, a genius loci, a tutorial staff of their own. The question that they suggest to me is whether we cannot do something to combine with obligatory features of an Indian University some portions of the advantages of the Western institutions. Of course, we cannot all in a moment by a stroke of the pen create an Indian Oxford or an Indian Cambridge. The country is not ready for the experiment. The funds are not forthcoming, the student would not be there. It would not fit in with the Indian environment. If at the same time it were found possible to concentrate and to unify the educational power that is now diffused in so many different directions, and to institute even tentatively a system of linked lectures among some, at any rate, of the affiliated colleges, I think that we should be doing something to infuse greater unity into the present conflict of jarring atoms, and to inspire higher education

in India with a nobler ideal.

There is one matter upon which too much stress cannot, in my opinion, be laid. I allude to an adequate provision and due inspection of hostels or boarding-houses for the pupils at the colleges in the large towns. In the absence of residential colleges these institutions appear to furnish the nearest equivalent that can, for the present, be supplied.

I pass to the government of the Indian Universities, by which question I mean the constitution and composition of the Senates and Syndicates. Do not shrink from saying that there is substantial need for reform as regards all bodies, namely nominated fellows, elected fellows, senates and syndicates. I do not plead for mathematical uniformity either of numbers or proportions everywhere. It is a great mistake to be too rigid or to try and force every body and everything into the same mould ; but on the other hand, I do say that the present absence of system is indefensible, and that it tends to produce much of the uncertainty and conflict which I have deplored. It will be for us to examine whether the larger senates should be reduced to more moderate proportions, whether a fellowship should be a terminable honour capable of renewal ; and whether a reasonable attendance test should be imposed. As regards elected fellows we must consider whether it is desirable to give a statutory basis to this most important and highly-valued privilege. As regards syndicates it is for consideration whether a statutory recognition should be given to those bodies who

are at present without it. But improvements in mechanism cover but a small part of the field of inquiry.

I shall put to this Conference the questions—Is the academic standard which it is their business to maintain sufficiently high, or is it unduly low? Is it in course of being elevated, or is the tendency in a retrograde direction? What are the facts as regards the Entrance Examinations; and what as regards the First Arts and B. A. Examinations? These are questions upon which I have no knowledge to enable me to pronounce with any certainty, but concerning which, facts that have come under my notice, lead me to entertain some doubt. When I find that at Madras in the past year out of 7,300 persons who presented themselves for the Entrance University Examination, certified by their teachers to be fit for the higher courses of teaching, as many as four fifths were rejected. I ask myself what the value of the School Final courses can have been. When I find that in Calcutta out of 6,134 who entered for the Entrance Examination, only 3,307, or 54 per cent. passed; that out of 3,722 who entered for the First Arts Examination, only 1,208, or 32 per cent. passed; and that out of 1,980 who entered for the B. A. Examination only 370 or 19 per cent. passed; and that roughly speaking of those who aspire to a University course only one in seventeen ultimately takes a degree, and of those who actually start upon it, only one in nine, I cannot but feel some suspicion as to the efficacy and the stand-

ards of a system which produces such results. Some might argue that tests which admit of so many failures must be too hard. I am disposed to ask whether the preceding stages are too easy. Now I know that a proposal to raise the standard anywhere is now popular; every pupil wants to go forward; every college desires to send up as many as possible of its students; every teacher is personally concerned in pushing on his pupils. But we must regard the matter not from these low or selfish standpoints, put in the higher interests of education at large. A system the standards of which are in danger of being degraded is a system that must sooner or later decline.

These gentlemen, are the main questions in connection with University reform that I shall submit to your notice. But there are others of scarcely inferior importance, which I have no time to do more than summarise to-day. It does not seem desirable that the degree of one University should be thought much of and another little. It is possible to take any steps towards the equalisation of the value and estimation of University degrees? Then there is the question of text-books and courses of study. Upon looking into the matter two years ago in connection with primary and secondary schools. I found that there was a complete absence of uniformity in the different Provinces; that the Local Governments had in some places abdicated their functions; and that the cardinal principles of the Education Commission had been ignored. The views that we entertain upon this matter

were clearly stated in the Resolution to which I have referred, and I will quote them. The Government of India cannot consent to divest itself of the responsibility that attaches both to its interest and its prerogatives. If it is to lend the resources of the State to the support of certain schools, it cannot abrogate its right to a powerful voice in the determination of the course of studies which is there imparted. I have now finished with the subject of University education. Your authority and advice should enable me to solve many of the doubts that I have here expressed, and we shall all profit by the out-of-door criticism which these views may, perhaps, be fortunate enough to elicit.

The subject of secondary education to which I now turn presents in many ways more encouraging features than its sister subjects both higher and lower in the scale. To some extent the studies thus organised have not been successful because they lead to nothing, because they have too optional and not sufficiently practical, and because they have not been co-ordinated with technical or commercial education in a more advanced stage. I expect that if we can provide boys who elect for what I may call upon an English analogy modern side either with employment when they leave schools or with facilities for a continuous training in the technical courses, we shall do better in the future.

Primary education by which I understand the teaching of the masses in the vernacular opens a wider and a more contested field of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect. The

education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined. This, I think, has been a mistake, and I say so for two principal reasons: in the first place, the vernaculars are living languages of this great continent; English is a vehicle of learning and of advancement to a small minority, but for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue, which they do not speak and rarely hear. If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be so willing to recommend them, but we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature and art, while even the secrets of modern knowledge are capable of being communicated thereby in an idiom and in phrases which will be understood by millions of people, to whom our English terms and ideas will never be anything but an unintelligible jargon. My second reason is even wider in its application. What is the greatest danger in India; what is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crimes and also of much of agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses. It is ignorance, and what is the only antidote to ignorance?—Knowledge in proportion. As we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body politic. The main obstacles which primary education has to contend with spring from the people themselves. As they rise in the social scale, they wish their children to learn English. The zemindars encourage this tendency, and District Boards and Municipalities do little to drag the pen-

dulum back. Thus we find that in some provinces primary education is almost stationary, while in others it is only making slow speed. The question is really in the main one of money. If the means were forthcoming I do not doubt that Local Governments would be ready to adopt a more generous policy.

I will now pass on to the subject of technical education. The phrase technical education is employed in many senses in this country just as it also is in Europe. In both parts of the world many of those who use it have no clear idea of what it signifies. Here in India there seems to be a general idea that in technical education will be found the regeneration of the country. Technical education is to resuscitate our native industries, to find for them new markets and to recover old, to relieve agriculture, to develop the latent resources of the soil to reduce the rush of our youth to literary courses and pursuits, to solve the economic problem, and generally to revive a Saturnian age. First, however let me say clearly what I mean, and what I do not mean, by technical education for the purposes of the present discussion, and let us see what has already been done, and where lies the necessity for increased activity, or for reform. The institutions of this character that have been founded or aided by the Government of India fall into two classes, namely, (1) technical colleges or schools, and (2) industrial schools. The former have been founded for the direct object of training skilled workers in certain professions, arts, or trades. They include colleges of engineering and agriculture, veteri-

ary colleges, schools of art and other analogous institutions. Some of these such as the Rurki and Sibpur Engineering Colleges, the College of Science at Poona, the Victoria Jubilee Institute at Bombay, have turned out either for the public service or for professional careers most excellent men. Several of the Schools of Art have done much also to keep alive old arts and designs. The agricultural colleges have been less successful ; they have been resorted to as stepping-stones to Government service in the Revenue or Settlement branches of the Administration, but in a country that subsists by agriculture they have as yet been but poorly patronised by the class who are hereditarily connected, as landholders, with the soil. Nevertheless, surveying the whole field, it does not seem to me that it is in respect of institutions of the class that I have been describing that reform is most urgently required. This brings me to the subject of industrial schools that exist or should exist on a rather lower plane, what I may call ordinary middle-class technical schools.

Last year, as you know, I entrusted Sir Edward Buck, who has devoted a life-time to infusing ideas into the Indian administration, with the task of advising Government upon technical education in general in this country, and his report will supply us with a useful basis for discussion. It can not be doubted that here lies a fruitful field for reform. Sir Edward Buck says that our present industrial schools are largely engaged in teaching carpentry and smithy works to boys who never intend to be carpenters or blacksmiths.

There can be no excuse for such a misdirection of energy. It applies also to many of the Art Schools, where with great labour a boy is taught carving or pottery or sculpture, or some other art industry, and then when he has got his diploma he cheerfully drops his art, and accepts a modest billet in the service of Government. If technical education is to open a real field for the youth of India, it is obvious that it must be conducted. First, we must co-ordinate them with the general schools and distinguish, instead of mixing up, their courses. Then we must turn them into practical places where a boy does not merely pick up a smattering of an art or an industry for which he has no care, but where he acquires a training for a professional career. Lastly, we must invite native interest to co-operate with us in the matter, for there is no use in creating good schools, if the pupils will not come into them, and there is no use in manufacturing good workmen if no employment is available for them when they have been taught. If we can proceed on these lines, I believe that we may be able to do something substantial, even if it be not heroic for the cause of technical education in this country.

There remain five subjects to which I hope that we may find time to devote attention. The first of these is the present condition and future encouragement of the training colleges or schools, and in a lower scale of the normal schools in which our teachers are trained up. I am disposed, however, to think that while there is no great deficiency in their numbers

there is room for much improvement in respect of quality and work, and that our policy should be not to multiply, but to raise the status.

The second question is that of recruitment of the higher officers of our educational service, and tests in respect both of educational knowledge and of acquaintance with the language to which they are required to conform. Are we sufficiently strict in these particulars?

The third topic is that of female education. Here the figures exhibit a relatively very backward state of affairs. Indeed, Mr. Cotton, in the last quinquennial review, described it as "the most conspicuous blot on the educational system of India." In the past year there were only 425,000 girls attending all classes of schools out of the entire population, and of these nearly one-third were in Madras, where the Native Christian and Eurasian populations are unusually large.

The fourth subject to which I referred is that of moral teaching in our schools. I do not feel it necessary to speak of religious instruction, because profoundly as I believe that no teaching of the young can have the desired results unless it rests upon a religious foundation, I hold as strongly that it is not for ourselves to undertake in the Government schools, but the question of moral training is one to which the Government of India have often devoted much attention. I am not inclined to find a solution in the moral primer of the text-book that was suggested by the Education Commission. The sum and substance of the matter is that books can do something but teachers can do more.

My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director-General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a sub-heading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to guide us, no staff trained to business, nothing but precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge, sanitation, hygiene, forestry, mineralogy, horse-breeding, explosives, Government possesses expert advisers. In education the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives.

Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralization that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the province until once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India a quinquennial review, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing, and discloses shortcomings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial

Education Department packed with pedagogues and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a Department of the State, or fetter colleges and schools with bureaucratic handcuffs. But I do want some one at the headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted hulk on chopping seas.

I have now passed in view the entire field of Indian education, and if I have detained you long, I doubt whether it would have been possible to do even elementary justice to so vast a theme more shortly, I will only say, in conclusion, and these remarks are addressed to the outside public rather than to yourselves, that I trust that the frankness, in which I have indulged, will not turn out to have been misplaced. It is possible to wreck any scheme of educational reform by making it an occasion for selfishness of class interests or bigotry of factions. Let us dismiss all such petty considerations from our minds. Government desire, with an honesty of purpose that is not open to question and with aims that few will contest, to place the educational system of this country upon a sounder and firmer basis. It can be done if all parties and persons interested will combine to help us, and in that case it will be done, not by a Government *flat*, but by common consent only. Let everyone of us bear in mind

the real magnitude of the issues, and remember that we are not playing with counters, but handling the life pulse of future generations.

SPEECH AT THE PLANTERS' DINNER AT SILCHAR.

On the 9th November, 1901, at Silchar the Viceroy was entertained at a dinner given by the planters. In response to the toast of his health, His Excellency said :—

In response to the toast proposed by Mr. Cathcart at the dinner given to the Viceroy at Silchar by the planters, His Excellency spoke as follows :—Mr. Cathcart, your Honor and Gentlemen—I am very grateful to Mr. Cathcart for the kind words in which he has proposed my health, and I am glad that the circumstances on the frontier, to which he alluded, were not of a character to delay for more than a week my long promised visit to the Surma Valley. (Cheers) The hospitality of the planter, of which I am the recipient this evening, is one of those time-honoured Indian traditions which are unbroken as the rising and setting of the sun. (Cheers.) Men may come and men may go, prices may rise or prices may fall, (Laughter), but like the pot's brook, the generous instincts of the planter go on for ever. (Loud cheers.) Indeed I believe that his inclination to entertain his friends is enhanced instead of being diminished by the fact that he is engaged in the production of an article which,

excellent as it is in its own place, is not wholly adapted to be the staple of such a festivity as this. (Loud laughter.) Tea is never out of his thoughts in the day time. Upon it he flourishes or pines, but by an admirable law of reaction, when the evening comes on, he invites his guests to dinner and he gives them something else. (Loud cheers and laughter.)

Gentlemen, I have now had the honour of being entertained by the planters of Tejpur and Silchar. I have similarly been the guest of the Companies that extract oil at Margherita and crush gold at Kolar. I have also been addressed by many Chambers of Commerce since I have been this country. There are one or two words that I should like to say about the position of communities such as these in India. It is a position unlike that of the majority of us. The bulk of the Englishmen here belong either to the army or to some branch of the public service. We are brought to India by a beneficent Government, are sustained by the same agency, and after serving, for the stipulated term of years, we retire gracefully, or otherwise as the case may be (laughter); but the tea planters of Assam and the south of India, like the teak cutters of Burma or the indigo planters of Behar, or partners in the other industrial concerns which I have named, come here with different objects, and they work under a different system. Primarily no doubt they come to make a livelihood for themselves, or to earn dividends for their shareholders but secondarily it cannot be forgotten that, if they take some money out of the country they

also bring a great deal in, where native capital, except, perhaps, in the case of the Parsis of Bombay is so very timid and unventuresome. They produce and invest the rupees without which the country can never be developed. (Cheers.) They employ and pay many hundreds of thousands of native workmen, and thereby raise the scale of wages (cheers) and they exploit the resources of parts of the country which would otherwise remain sterile or forgotten. (Cheers.) They are, therefore, bearing their share in the great work of development which in every sphere of activity, industrial, material and moral is required in order to enable a country to put forth its best to realise its full measure of productivity or advancement. Now there is an old-fashioned idea that these independent pioneers of progress have nothing to do with the Government and that the Government has no interest or concern in them. Sometimes in the past these ideas have bred feelings of estrangements and even of hostility between the two parties. Planters and others have been disposed to look upon the Government and its ways with suspicion, and the Government has, perhaps, retaliated by looking upon them with a cold and inconsiderate eye. That is not at all my view of our relative positions. I look upon all Englishmen in this country (and if any Scotchmen or Irishmen are present pray do not let them think that I am excluding them), as engaged in different branches of the same great undertaking here. We are all fellow-countrymen, comrades and friends. (Loud cheers.) The fact that some of us earn our livelihood

or discharge our duty by the work of the administration and others by cultivating the resources of the soil does not differentiate us one from the other. These are merely the subdivisions of labour, they are not distinctions of object or purposes or aim. Still more do I hold that relations of confidence and concord should prevail between the Government and those of its clients who are engaged upon the tasks to which I have referred. I repudiate altogether the fallacy, that Government ought to be or need be antagonistic to private enterprise or industry or trade. (Cheers.) It ought to be impartial and sometimes it is bound to interfere. Both parties recognised that, but I maintain that equally is it a part of its duty to hold out the hand of friendship to industrial or commercial enterprise, to endeavour by careful study to understand its conditions, and to secure its loyal co-operation. That, at any rate, is the spirit in which I have endeavoured to approach and to handle these matters since I have been in this country. I gladly acknowledge that I have met with the most cordial reciprocity at the hands of every section of the business community, whether they were tea planters or mine owners, or merchants or partners in other industrial concerns; and I truly believe that there is at the present time a feeling of mutual regard and friendliness between Government and the classes of whom I have been speaking, which is of great value to the smooth working of the machine of the British Administration in this country. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, in the case of the planters' in-

dustry there is all the greater need for co-operation, since the labour that you employ is to a large extent procured and regulated by laws that have been passed by the State. In the Brahmaputra Valley it is, in the main, controlled by the Act which we revised and reenacted last spring. Here in the Surma Valley, where so-called free labour is more common, considerable advantage is taken of another law, Act XIII of 1859 which was not passed for the purpose but which has been applied, not always, as I think quite fittingly or successfully to the labour upon plantations. Anyhow the existence of these two statutes, and the extent to which the ten planting industry is dependent upon them, are indications of the closeness of interest that must necessarily prevail between yourselves and the State.

As regards the present position of your fortunes, the Government is conscious of the hard times through which in many places, the planters have been and still are passing, while the revised Act is coming into operation. What we need more than anything else is a period of diligent and peaceful adaptation to the circumstances of the new situation. We feel that we may reasonably call upon the planters to assist the Government in the execution of the law and in the fulfilment of its provisions, and I doubt not that we shall receive from them individually, as well as from their representative organisations, ungrudging support to which we are entitled. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, as I drove in here yesterday I had the honour of being

escorted by a detachment of the Surma Valley Light Horse. I was reminded by it of the part that some members of that force have recently played upon a wider field than Assam. (Cheers.) From the Surma Valley Light Horse came quite a number of recruits for that gallant contingent which Colonel Lumsden took out to South Africa, and of which I had the honour to be the Honorary Colonel, the solitary military distinction that I have ever so far, attained. I dare say that some of them are here to-night. A few, alas, have been left behind, never to return, including the brave Major Showers, who was once your commandant here. His name, and that of the others who fell with him, will appear upon a brass tablet which Colonel Lumsden's Horse have kindly allowed me, as their Honorary Colonel, to order for erection in the Cathedral at Calcutta. I hope that it may be completed and placed *in situ* during the forthcoming cold weather. When you go down there, do not fail to drop in to the Cathedral in order to see this record of the valour of your old friends. It will there be a perpetual not merely of the wonderful movement that ran like a throe through the whole heart of the Empire some two years ago, but also of the individual contribution that was made to it by the patriotism of Sylhet and Silchar.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, it only remains for me to say that I shall long look back with pleasure upon this agreeable evening, and shall always congratulate myself that during my term of office I have enjoyed

the privilege of meeting the planters both of the Brahmaputra and Surma Valley, not merely at the Council table or in file 4 of Government proceedings, but also on their own gardens, at their hospitable tables and their homes. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) When I was in the Brahmaputra Valley last year and had the honour of being escorted by the Assam Valley Light Horse, I was allowed, in remembrance of my visit to present to them a shield for competition among the members of that Force in such a manner as a committee of the officers might decide. May I be allowed a similar privilege on the present occasion? If you will permit, I should like to present a similar memento to the Surma Valley Light Horse, to be held by them upon such conditions as may be thought desirable. (Loud cheers.)

SPEECH AT MANDALAY DURBAR.

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech at a Durbar held in the palace at Mandalay on the 28th November, 1901 :—

The following speech in the *Durbar*, held in the palace at Mandalay to-day:—Gentlemen,—My first and most pleasing duty at this *Durbar* has already been discharged. It has consisted in the presentation of titles and awards of merit to certain of the Chiefs of the southern Shan States and to a number of Burman gentlemen and, officers of the Police for ser-

vices rendered in their several callings. The distribution of the honours is one of the most delicate of the duties that devolve upon the Head of the Government of India. But labourious and often invidious as is the task of selecting the few who are the most deserving among the many who are deserving, I can say for myself that the reward of merit, more particularly if it be unselfish and unostentatious merit, is one of the most agreeable prerogatives that attach to high administrative office. It gives me the most genuine satisfaction to pick out some worthy recipient for the recognition of Government, or the favour of the Crown, especially if he has laboured in comparative remoteness or obscurity, and my pleasure is certainly enhanced when in these or other cases, I am permitted, as I have been to-day, to be the vehicle of presentation myself. The whole of the Chiefs of the southern Shan States from as far east as King Tung and as far south as Karennis have passed before me this afternoon in addition to those who have received some special marks of distinction. The area which they inhabit amounting to over 40,000 square miles with a population of 800,000 persons is one of the undeveloped assets of the future. Its people are keen traders, the soil is fertile and capable of producing many sorts of grain, and valuable minerals lie hidden beneath the surface. In fifteen years it has passed under the able management of Mr. Hilderbrand who I am sorry to say is leaving you before long from a state of chronic rapine and disorder to tranquillity

and contentment. In this work he has been assisted by the enlightened attitude of many of the Chiefs who, instead of spending their time in reading each other's states and killing each other's people as their forefathers would have done, now complete with each other in the carrying out of the works of public utility and opening up their country by means of road. A school is also about to be opened at Tamgyi for the special education of the sons and relatives of the Chiefs, and if they are wise in their generation, as I take them to be, they will not fail to profit by the advantages which it will confer. One day in the future, you will get railway connection with the main Burma lines, and the southern Shan States will become a great exporting area, and some later Viceroy will come and see you in your homes, and congratulate you on your prosperous and remunerative partnership in the Indian Empire.

I now turn to the main body of those whom I am addressing and who represent the inhabitant of Upper Burma in general. This province cannot fail to present a special attraction to any Viceroy of India, so recent is its acquisition so remarkable what has—already been accomplished, so promising its future. It is especially interesting to one who has made the frontiers of the Empire his peculiar study and who knows no spectacle more absorbing than that of oriental peoples passing by a steady progress from backwardness to civilisation, without losing at the same time, the religious creed, the traditions of the national characteristics of their race. Here in Upper Burma both

extremes of this process may be observed. On the one hand in the settled tracts are an intelligent and tractable race immersed in agriculture or business and living under the sway of one of the oldest and most cultured of religions, on the other hand one has only to proceed to the north-eastern border to encounter tribes who still derive pleasure from cutting off each other's heads. I doubt if the north-eastern frontier of India, which I know well, presents features more diversified than yours on the North-East. The frontiers of Upper Burma touch those of China and Assam; they bring the territories of Great Britain into contiguity with the Asiatic dominions of France, they extend to the boundaries of Manipur and Assam, and they shade away on the north into unvisited tracts peopled by, unknown and some savage tribes. Here is a situation and a task that will occupy the genius of the British race for many a long day to come. A hundred years hence Upper Burma with its immense resources developed its waterways utilised, its communications improved, its population many times multiplied, and peace reigning from the Mikong valley to the Gulf of Martaban and from the Lushai Hills to Yunnan, will be as much unlike its present condition as the Bengal of to-day is unlike the Bengal of Warren Hastings. Your population in the Upper Province excluding the Shan States is less than four millions. With a temperate climate, a fertile soil, cheap and abundant food and practical immunity from famine, I see no reason why it should not one day be fourteen

and contentment wish that I could live to see it but as that is impossible, I rejoice to think of what remains for those who come after me to do and that not for many generations will India fail within its borders to provide my countrymen with the work for which their instincts seem especially to fit them among the nations of the Earth. Gentlemen, in Upper Burma the stages of your evolution have been relatively rapid. In the sixteen years that have elapsed since the annexation, I detect four distinct landmarks of advance.

First came the era of conquest which was shortly and swiftly achieved. Next came the period of disorder and guerilla warfare following upon conquest, in which upon a larger scale and on a much wider stage our troops are now engaged in South Africa, and which here also was not without its vicissitudes and its trials. Next came the task of internal reconstruction in the newly acquired territories, of instituting a proper system of land records and land assessments, of providing for the due administration of civil and criminal justice, of organising an efficient police, of encouraging the marked aptitudes of the people for education, of making roads, bridges and railways, of extending the post and the telegraph, of building hospitals and dispensaries, of diffusing the benefits of vaccination and sanitation, of developing agriculture and spreading irrigation, of pacifying the hill tracts and tranquillising the tribes. Finally and simultaneously with the third comes the fourth stage of development in which the lack of wealth in the country requires to be suppl-

MANDALAY DURBAR.

mented from the outside, enabling your ^{suppre} sources in timber, in oil and in gems, to ~~were you~~ by organised enterprise and capital. Practically the whole of these stages in your recent history have been supervised by your present Lieutenant-Governor. I can not conceive a prouder reflection with which an Indian administrator can leave these shores as in the course of next year Sir F. Fryer will be called upon to do, than he has nursed so sturdy a child of the Empire from childhood to adolescence. He has been in the position of a sculptor who is given the choicest block of marble and is bidden to shape it to whatever in the art of statuary his own imagination or the capacity of the material may suggest. Statistics are always considered to be rather a repellent study, but they sometimes illustrate in a concrete form and with tell-tale directness an argument or a proposition, and they are after all the quarry from which the historian of the future must hew. If any one, therefore, here present desires to be convinced that I have not been dealing in unsupported generalisations, I may inform him that since annexation the revenue of Upper Burma has increased from 56 lakhs to 141½ lakhs, and that the population, during the last decade, has increased by nearly 500,000 or between 14 and 15 per cent. If he is disposed to identify the progress of a country with the opening of communications he will like to know that whereas Upper Burma had not a single mile of railway in 1886, it now possesses 850 miles and that over 3,000 miles of road are now open in the province of which 700 are

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and contentment, will be gratified at the impending opening of the Mandalay Canal executed at a cost of nearly 50 lakhs and destined to irrigate 100,000 acres. If he is not satisfied with this he may be pleased to learn that the Shwebo Canal which will cost about the same amount, has already been begun and that the Mou Canals on a similar scale will follow, these three works when completed costing little short of one million sterling. If my friend to whom I am referring is a champion of law and order he may take pride in the fact that so well-behaved is the province that in 1900 there were only 115 cases of violent crime as compared with more than three times the number in Lower Burma. Finally if he is a Burman patriot I would invite him to facilitate the efforts which are being made by the British Government to employ the Burmans in the administration of their country by inducing them to take every advantage of the educational facilities which are every day being offered to them in a greater degree. And now before I conclude I have only one further reflection to add and I address it to those persons in this audience and through them to the wider outside public who belong to the Burman race. Because the British have come to this country and have introduced the reforms of which I have been speaking, we do not, therefore, wish that the people should lose the characteristics and traditions, in so far as they are good, of their own races. It is a difficult thing as I have often said elsewhere to fuse the East

and West, but no fusion can be effected by suppression of national habits and traits. The Burmans were celebrated in former times for their sense of respect—respect for parents, respect for elders, respect for teachers, respect for those in authority. No society can exist in a healthy state without reverence. It is the becoming tribute paid by the inferior to the superior, whether his superiority be in position, in rank, or in age, and it is the foundation stone of civic duty. I should think the advantages of the education, which we give you, dearly paid for, if they were accompanied by any weakening in these essential ties. Again, if civilization were found to encourage a taste for such pursuits as betting and gambling or in any way to depreciate the standards of commercial honour, I should think that it had not succeeded in its aims. There is another respect in which I beg of you not to be diverted from your old practices. You have, as I have said, a venerable and a famous religion whose relics are scattered throughout the East and whose temples are among the beauties of the Oriental world; but it is of no use to build pagodas unless you maintain them; and a powerful and popular religion is not well represented by crumbling and dilapidated shrines.

Similar thoughts are suggested by your art and your architecture, once so fanciful, so ingenious, and so picturesque but now in grave danger of being undermined. The main reason, for which I ordered the preservation and restoration of the building in a part of which I am now speaking, is that a model of the ceremonial archi-

ture of this country might survive; for I felt certain that if it disappeared as before long it would otherwise tend to do, its place would never be taken by anything similar in design or structure but, if at all, by something new and in all probability hideous. If however, your art and your architecture, your delicate wood carving, your silver work, and laquer work, and painting are to survive, they cannot be fostered, by external patronage alone. They must rest upon the unprostituted tastes and traditions of the nation, and upon the continued support of your own selves. My concluding words therefore to the Burmans to-day are these:—Keep that which is best in your religious faith, in your national character and traditions and in the pursuits and accomplishments of your race. The most loyal subject of the King Emperor in Burma—the Burman, whom I would most like to honour, is not the cleverest mimic of a European but the man who is truest to all that is most simple, dutiful, and of best repute in the instincts and the customs of an ancient and attractive people.