

COUNCIL OF STATE

of the State of New York

The Council met in the Assembly Chamber at a Chamber in the City of New York on the 10th day of January 1864.

MINUTE BOOK

The Honorable Sir George Clinton, Mayor of the City of New York

## COUNCIL OF STATE.

*Saturday, 3rd September, 1921.*

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### INAUGURATION OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

His Excellency the Viceroy with the Presidents of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly having arrived in procession, His Excellency took his seat on the dais.

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H. E. THE VICEROY: Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, it is my privilege as Viceroy to welcome to-day the Members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature at the opening of the second Session. It is my first opportunity of taking part in this ceremony, and I am fully conscious of the importance of the occasion. One memorable Session has already been held when a standard of political wisdom and debating capacity was set that may well be a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to those who contributed to the reputation thus attained. You, who stood for election and became the representatives of these new Councils, and in consequence were subjected to attack and criticism, have already by your actions justified the position you adopted. At this present juncture, my Government and you are faced with difficult problems, which demand all the political judgment and foresight we can contribute to their solution. I propose to-day to refer only to the more important and in their broadest aspect, and to survey with you the general conditions affecting India.

But, before I enter into the region of possible controversy, I must discharge the pleasing and privileged task of referring to the impending visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Son and Heir of our beloved King-Emperor. You will remember, that a little more than a year ago, His Majesty the King-Emperor by Royal Proclamation informed the Princes and people of India of his decision that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India must be deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire. We have recently heard to our great joy that the health of His Royal Highness has been sufficiently restored to enable the visit to take place in November next. The ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures, which was to have been his, has been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and India will not readily forget the sympathy and love which inspired him, the devoted friend of India, in the discharge of his great mission. The Prince of Wales will come to India on this occasion as the Son of the King-Emperor and as the Heir to the Throne, not as the representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but in order to become personally

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

acquainted with the Princes and the people of India, and to see as much as will be possible during his visit of this most interesting country. I know that I may safely count on those who belong to this great Indian Empire, and more particularly on the representatives of the Reformed Legislatures now gathered within these walls, to give to His Royal Highness, who has endeared himself to all who have been privileged to meet him, a warm welcome characteristic of the traditional loyalty of the Indian people and their devotion to the King-Emperor and his House.

You will already have learnt that the resignation tendered by Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty. In communicating to me the regret, with which he had reached his conclusion, the Secretary of State expresses his general sense of the importance of the contribution which Sir Thomas Holland had made to the Industrial development of India. The Secretary of State further records his appreciation of the high ability and strenuous labours which Sir Thomas Holland devoted during the war to the task of organising and increasing the supply of munitions. His services then rendered were of the highest value, not only to India but to the Empire, which the Secretary of State gratefully recognises. I associate myself with the tribute and add only that my regret is the greater because I lose a Colleague in the Council with whom I have been associated from the moment I became Viceroy. The facts and conclusions of my Government have already been placed before you in the official statement published by my Government, and I need not refer to them again. The public felt, and beyond all doubt rightly felt, that the proceedings in Court had shaken the very foundations of justice. Fundamental principles of administration and justice had been violated, and the acceptance of the resignation was therefore inevitable. Our conclusions were announced only in relation to the proceedings in Court and to the omission to refer to me as the head of the Government. Lest there should be any misapprehension, I must, however, add, on my own behalf and that of my Colleagues, that the existence of civil suits against the Government by the accused should be entirely disregarded in relation to the criminal case. Their unconditional withdrawal ought not to have any influence upon considerations of the withdrawal of the prosecution.

The lesson that we have learnt from these unfortunate events is, that it is very desirable that the direction and control of Government prosecutions should be in the hands of a trained lawyer. The matter will be considered by my Government. I cannot but think that the absence of this training contributed largely to the difficulties in which my late Colleague, Sir Thomas Holland, found himself involved.

Let me now turn to external affairs. You will naturally wish to know the result of our negotiations with the Afghan Government. I had hoped that I should be in a position to-day to make an announcement to you respecting them. But though it was so far back as January last, that at the invitation of the Afghan Government we despatched a Mission to Kabul for the negotiation of a Treaty of Friendship, its outcome is still uncertain. Negotiations of this character, especially when supervening on actual war, are often not brought to a speedy close and these negotiations have been protracted by developments beyond the limit of my Government's anticipations. But, despite all untoward

complications or unexpected difficulties, I hope that we may before long conclude a new and abiding Treaty of Friendship with Afghanistan which will ensure the continuance of our traditional relations with this nation.

The Frontier unhappily is still suffering from the unsettling influence of the Great War, and the other excitements and instigations of recent years; but, notwithstanding the drought and great scarcity of the present year which have done much to accentuate the economic difficulty that lies at the root of the Frontier problem, unrest in Baluchistan has almost wholly subsided. Even in the North-West Frontier Province, with its narrow belt of British districts between the Indus and the Frontier hills exposed at all times to the brunt of tribal lawlessness, there is comparative quietude save in Waziristan. Military operations have now been in progress in Waziristan for several months. They have been conducted by our troops in the face of many hardships and against an elusive enemy with a fortitude and gallantry worthy of all praise. I trust that these operations may not long have to be continued. They are slow and costly—the problem of the inhospitable Frontier does not lend itself to cheap or easy solution—but India's duty seems clear. And it must always be remembered that the expenditure on Frontier defence is incurred not merely for the defence of the sorely harassed inhabitants of our border districts against trans-frontier lawlessness and raids; it is incurred for the defence of India as a whole, and is an expenditure which India will assuredly not grudge.

Unhappily Greece and Turkey are still at war, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Allies, and notably of His Majesty's Government, to effectuate a settlement of the grave disputes between these two countries. My distinguished predecessor, Lord Chelmsford, forcibly and persistently represented the views of the Indian Muslims to His Majesty's Government, and to the best of my capacity I have pursued and shall pursue the same course. It is also well known that the Secretary of State for India has laboured most loyally and strenuously to persuade the Allies to adopt a policy more in consonance with the opinions of India. I dare not at this moment when operations of war are proceeding hazard an opinion as to the future, but I may express my fervent hope that a Treaty of Peace may soon be concluded on terms which will be reasonably satisfactory to Turkey and also to Indian Muslim opinion.

May I also observe that differences between some portions of the Muslim population that hold extreme views and the rest of the Indian Muslim opinion do not strengthen the representations which I may make to His Majesty's Government in order that we may bring about a settlement satisfactory to Muslim opinion in India. (Applause.)

It is some consolation in these days to turn from the contemplation of warlike operations to the labours of the League of Nations. India took its stand from the first for the League which, in my judgment, gives the best hope of preventing future wars. The creation of a permanent International Court of Justice is one step, and not an unimportant step, in the settlement of disputes by the arbitrament of reason; and, in this connection, I am pleased to be able to inform you, that His Majesty has been graciously pleased on behalf of India to ratify the acceptance of the Statute for the constitution of a permanent Court of International Justice, which was accepted by the representatives of India on the Assembly of the League of Nations. The Judges of the Court will be elected by the Assembly of the League of Nations and

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

by the Council from lists of persons nominated by national groups representing the various nations which have accepted and ratified this Statute. In appointing this national group for India, my Government have endeavoured to select persons of the highest reputation and competency, and I am confident, you will agree with me, that Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, now a Member of the Executive Council at Madras, Mr. Justice Rankin, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Mr. S. Hassan Imam, Barrister-at-Law, Patna, and Sir Thomas Strangman, Advocate-General in Bombay, who have accepted the appointments as members of the national group, fulfil these conditions. Their duties will be to nominate persons from whom the Judges of the Court will subsequently be elected. The Court will have jurisdiction in cases of disputes between members of the League which the members agree to refer to it, and also in international disputes in labour cases and in transit and communications cases.

I have followed with the deepest interest the events at the Imperial Conference in London, where India had the good fortune of being represented by the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Cutch, and the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors. Although they were not able to achieve all they wished, it cannot be doubted that they have secured a notable recognition of the status of Indians in the Empire. It may be a tardy recognition, but it establishes beyond all question, and authoritatively, by the conclusions of the Premiers assembled at the Imperial Conference, with one dissentient, the equal status of Indians in the Empire; secondly, the attitude of His Majesty's Government and their recognition of this principle will mean that it will be applied in other parts of the Empire which are not under Dominion Government, and notably in East Africa. In India, we cannot but rejoice at these conclusions, notwithstanding that we deeply regret that the representatives of South Africa felt themselves unable to accept them. We must not close our eyes to their difficulties, these are of a special character. But we must continue our efforts to bring about a recognition in South Africa. Assuredly we need not be discouraged by the result at the Imperial Conference: indeed, we should be stimulated to continue our labours, and I give you my assurance that I will strive to the full extent of the power and ability I may possess to obtain the recognition in South Africa and elsewhere of the principle accepted by the other Dominions and His Majesty's Government, and to secure that it shall be so interpreted as to satisfy Indian pride and patriotism. I cannot pass from this subject without expressing gratitude to the representatives of India who represented the interests of Indians so ably and eloquently. I have read with great pleasure the reports of the reception of the Maharaja of Cutch and Mr. Sastri. It is beyond doubt that they have raised the status of Indians in the Councils of the British Empire; they have contributed to the appreciation of the intellectual capacity, the graceful courtesy and the sensitive responsiveness of Indians, and have made a deep impression upon all with whom they have come into contact in England and elsewhere.

When I approach examination of the internal conditions of India, I find much that is hopeful for the future, and my belief in your capacity to assist me and my Government in promoting the general welfare of the country is a constant encouragement in the performance of our duties. But there is still unhappily unrest in some parts of the country which continues to receive the serious consideration of my Government. Its most recent manifestation is in

the district of Malabar, and thoughts naturally turn to the grave reports of crime and disorder which necessitated the issue by me of an Ordinance proclaiming Martial Law in certain parts of this district. I trust, I need not assure you, that having passed my life in the profession of the law and steeped as I am in the liberal traditions of England, I would never proclaim Martial Law unless I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary for the security of the country and for the safety of the population in the disturbed areas. In my judgment, I should have failed in my duty if I had not taken this step in the emergency that arose, and had not given to the Local Government all the assistance and support that could be rendered in quelling the uprising of the Moplahs and in protecting innocent citizens against the criminal acts of a violent mob. We must, however, be careful to view these disturbances in their proper setting. It would be rash and in my view wrong to assume that this rising is to be taken as symptomatic of the condition of the whole of India. It must be remembered that this district has always been a storm-centre, and serious disorders have occurred in the past. I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the events and conditions that led to this serious outbreak, which may be said, without exaggeration of the language, to have assumed the character of rebellion, because I am well aware that you will have opportunities of discussing these matters in the course of your debates. I shall only make some general observations for your consideration. It is obvious from the reports received that the ground had been carefully prepared for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence, and no effort had been spared to rouse the passions and fury of the Moplahs. The spark which kindled the flame was the resistance by a large and hostile crowd of Moplahs, armed with swords and knives, to a lawful attempt by the police to effect certain arrests in connection with a case of house-breaking. The police were powerless to effect the capture of the criminals, and the significance of the incident is, that it was regarded as a defeat of the police and, therefore, of the Government. Additional troops and special police had to be drafted to Malabar in order to effect the arrests. The subsequent events are now fairly well known, although it is impossible at present to state the number of the innocent victims of the Moplahs. These events have been chronicled in the Press and I shall not recapitulate them. The situation is now, to all intents and purposes, in hand. It has been saved by the prompt and effective action of the military and naval assistance for which we are duly grateful, although some time must necessarily elapse before order can be completely restored and normal life under the Civil Government resumed. But consider the sacrifice of life and property! A few Europeans and many Hindus have been murdered, communications have been obstructed, Government offices burnt and looted, and records have been destroyed, Hindu temples sacked, houses of Europeans and Hindus burnt. According to reports, Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam, and one of the most fertile tracts of South India is threatened with famine. The result has been the temporary collapse of Civil Government, offices and courts have ceased to function, and ordinary business has been brought to a standstill. European and Hindu refugees of all classes are concentrated at Calicut, and it is satisfactory to know that they are safe there. One trembles to think of the consequences if the forces of order had not prevailed for the protection of Calicut. The Non-Muslim in these parts was fortunate indeed if either he or his family, or his house or property, came near the protection of the soldier and the police. Those who are responsible for causing this grave outbreak of violence and crime must be brought to

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

justice and made to suffer the punishment of the guilty. But apart from direct responsibility, can it be doubted that when poor, unfortunate and deluded people are led to believe that they should disregard the law and defy authority, violence and crime must follow. This outbreak is but another instance on a much more serious scale and among a more turbulent and fanatical people of the conditions that have manifested themselves at times in various parts of the country. And Gentlemen, I ask myself, and you and the country generally, what else can result from instilling such doctrines into the minds of masses of the people? How can there be peace and tranquillity when ignorant people who have no means of testing the truth of the inflammatory and too often false statements made to them are thus misled by those whose design it is to provoke violence and disorder. Passions are thus easily excited to unreasoning fury. Although I freely acknowledge that the leader of the movement to paralyse authority persistently, and, as I believe, in all earnestness and sincerity, preaches the doctrine of non-violence and has reproved his followers for resorting to it, yet, again and again, it has been shown that his doctrine is completely forgotten and his exhortations absolutely disregarded when passions are excited as must inevitably be the consequence among emotional people. To us who are responsible for the peace and good government of this great Empire, and I trust to men of sanity and common-sense in all classes of society, it must be clear that defiance of the Government and constituted authority can only result in widespread disorder, in political chaos, in anarchy and in ruin. There are signs that the activity of the movement, or at least of one section of it, may take a form of even a more direct challenge to law and order. There has been wild talk of a general policy of disobedience to law, in some cases I regret to say accompanied by an open recognition that such a course must lead to disorder and bloodshed. Attempts have even been made by some fanatical followers of Islam to seduce His Majesty's soldiers and police from their allegiance—attempts that have, I am glad to say, met with no success. As head of the Government, however, I need not assure you that we shall not be deterred one hair's breadth from doing our duty. We shall continue to do all in our power to protect the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens, and to secure to them their right to pursue their lawful avocations and, above all, we shall continue to enforce the ordinary law and to take care that it is respected. It is the manifest duty of every loyal subject of the King-Emperor, just as it is the interest of all who wish to live peaceful lives with a security of protection against violence and crime, to oppose publicly a movement fraught with such dangerous possibilities and to help the officers of Government in their task of preventing and suppressing disorder. And all this time I and my Colleagues are ready and anxious to do all that is possible to allay legitimate discontent and to remedy the grievances of the people of India. I am free to admit that there are grievances to be remedied, and we are constantly directing our attention to devising the proper remedies for this purpose; and I am well aware that we can rely upon your assistance in this and future Sessions, for you sit here to mirror public opinion, and I and my Government will continue gladly to welcome the help you may give to us.

You, the first representatives of this Legislature, can already point to solid achievement as the result of your deliberations and activities. I shall not attempt to chronicle them, but I shall refer to some important instances. A

Committee was appointed to examine the laws dealing with the Press : its report is now before you. The personnel of the Committee, which included Members of both your Houses, was predominantly non-official, and its recommendations, which I am glad to say, were unanimous, may be accepted as reflecting the popular views of the laws in question. Legislation on the lines recommended by the Committee will shortly be laid before you. Its most important feature will be the proposal to repeal the Press Act of 1910. There is, however, one part of the Report upon which, I think, it is necessary to make some reservation, and that is in relation to the protection hitherto afforded since 1910 to Ruling Princes against seditious attacks upon them in newspapers published in British India. If the Press Act is repealed, it may become necessary to consider what form of protection shall be given to them in substitution. I will not pursue the subject now, but it will doubtless be discussed at a later stage.

The Repressive Laws Committee—another Committee of a very similar character—has recently made a careful examination of certain laws and regulations which confer extraordinary powers on the Executive Government. Their Report will shortly be published, and I trust that it will command your approval and that of the country at large. I cannot make an announcement regarding the legislative measures that will result from the Committee's labours as they have not yet been considered by my Government. But I think I may safely say that a number of laws, popularly regarded as infringements of the liberty of the subject, will, in all probability, be repealed.

The consideration of this subject brings me not unnaturally to the cases of the 86 men sentenced in connection with the Punjab Disturbances of 1919 who are still in jail. I wish it had been possible for me to-day to have announced my decision to you : but I am not yet quite ready to declare it. I confess that when I undertook myself to examine each of these 86 cases, I under-estimated the labour involved, and I did not sufficiently realise the constant demands upon my time consequent upon the responsibility of the position I occupy. Unexpected events happen and decisions must be made immediately, and I am sure that I need not remind you of the unexpected incidents that have happened during my short period of office.

You will remember that, as the result of discussion last Session, an important Committee under the Presidency of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has sat to consider the military requirements of India. The report of the Committee will be considered in London by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence and we must await their decisions.

A Notification has been issued constituting seven Territorial Force Units in different parts of India and in Burma in addition to the University Corps. It is hoped that numbers of recruits will be forthcoming to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded for acquiring military training, so as to fit them to take a share in the defence of their country. My Government will spare no pains to further the interests of the Territorial Force, and it now rests with the people of India to make the scheme a success.

A Resolution was passed by the Legislative Assembly last Session recommending the establishment of a College in India to train Indian lads who desired to enter the Indian Army through Sandhurst. A scheme on these lines has been forwarded for the approval of the Secretary of State, and as soon as that has been received, rapid progress will be made with the adaptation of the



[H. E. the Viceroy.]

buildings formerly occupied by the Imperial Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun so as to fit them for a College of this nature. It is hoped that the Prince of Wales may be pleased to perform the opening ceremony, and that the preliminary work will be completed in time to enable the College to be in working order. The College will be large enough to accommodate 90 pupils in the first instance, and, if it proves a success, it will be possible to make expansion in the immediate vicinity of the College.

A subject which has occupied your attention and that of the Indian public, and roused great interest, is that relating to the free admission of Indians to all arms of His Majesty's military and naval forces in India. In accordance with the Resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly, my Government is now in communication with the Secretary of State with the object of enabling Indians to qualify for Commissions in the Artillery and Engineer Services in the country, and it is examining, in consultation with the Secretary of State, the question of the provision of facilities for Indians to be trained for Commissions in the Royal Air Force. A scheme is also under consideration for assisting Indian lads to qualify themselves by a period of training in England for a commissioned rank in the Royal Indian Marine.

Financial discussion occupied much time last Session, and you will not expect me to say anything fresh at this moment regarding the present trade and financial conditions. We are still awaiting that long expected revival in the demand abroad for India's products; this has been a very long time in coming, and, I am sure, the patience of many of us must have been sorely tried. Those who are in touch with our export markets tell me, however, that there are, at last, some faint, though unmistakable, glimmerings of revival, and that, if the monsoon continues good to the end, as we now have reason to hope it may, we shall before long see the beginning of a return to more normal conditions, and, perhaps, to something like our pre-war balance of trade. I mention this feeling of mild optimism, as it seems to be held in well-informed circles. For myself, I cannot attempt to prophesy. I would, however, invite your assent to two general observations. The first is, that India's own financial position is, as I believe, intrinsically sound. The State may have been occasionally forced during the war to do things which must have seemed to be a departure from the severe conservatism which had hitherto characterised the management of India's finances. But when we remember what most other belligerent countries were forced to do, and the enormous inflation of currency and credit, leading in many cases to something like national bankruptcy, which has followed elsewhere, we may, I think, at the risk of being considered Pharisaical, thank Heaven that we are not as other countries. A country that can put up nearly 40 crores of new money for a national loan need not entertain many qualms as to its financial future.

My second observation is merely a corollary from the first. Seeing that the existing difficulties of India's trade are due almost entirely to causes external to herself, it follows that when that revival of international trade comes, as come it must, then India will be one of the first countries to reap the benefit. The products which she has to offer to the rest of the world are not luxuries, the purchase of which other countries can defer until their finances are in better order, but are for the most part necessities, either as food-stuffs or as raw products for their manufactures. All these factors combined must

make India's position one of great advantage as soon as trade revives, and justify a refusal to be depressed by budget deficits, a low exchange, or other circumstances of the moment.

In considering the conditions of the people of India the greatest importance must always be attributed to the high prices now ruling for the necessaries of life. This subject is constantly engaging the attention of my Government, and, in particular, it has been directed to the extraordinary recent rise in the price, particularly of wheat and of rice. You will have observed from a statement issued by my Government this morning that we shall continue the existing prohibition of the export of wheat, atta and flour until at least the end of March 1922. It is also proposed that so far as possible the requirements of wheat for the Army in India or based on India be for the present supplied by the purchase of Australian wheat. It is hoped that by these means relief will be given, and that the rise will be checked if not counteracted. My Government will not fail to watch events in this connection. Their importance on the political condition of India is perhaps greater than is usually recognised.

Our arrangements for the Fiscal Commission are well advanced, and I trust that the Commission will begin its important labours next month. In recognition of India's advance towards fiscal autonomy, the majority of the members of the Commission will be Indians and it is also intended that the Chairman shall be an Indian. I regret that at this moment arrangements are not sufficiently completed to enable me to give the names. The task before the Commission is one of enormous difficulty. Its duty will be to advise the Government of India, not only whether India should approve, in the interests of the solidarity of the Empire, the principle of Imperial Preference, but also whether we should abandon our time-honoured policy of a tariff raised primarily for revenue purposes in favour of a policy of protection. The task thus opens up questions of great difficulty and complexity, but I am confident that the Commission will approach them with a high sense of responsibility and that its Report will be of the greatest assistance and value to the Government of India.

The Government recognise that during the last few years there has been a great awakening on the part of Indian labour, and they are fully alive to the new conditions that such an awakening demands. The Bill to amend the Indian Factories Act, which is now under your consideration, has the two-fold object of increasing the efficiency of Indian labour and of bettering its conditions.

Another social measure, to which we attach great importance, is a Bill to regulate the grant of compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of their employment, which we hope to introduce early in 1922. The recent industrial unrest has also been accompanied by a growth in the number of Trade Unions, and the question of giving adequate protection and legal status to those Unions which are genuine labour organisations is at present under consideration. The Government are also carefully studying the question of arbitration and conciliation. We are glad to observe that this matter of the settlement of labour disputes is receiving considerable attention from Provincial Governments and in Provincial Legislatures. I am full of hope that the various measures that are now being adopted or being recommended to employers as well as to employees will establish the peace and harmony that is absolutely necessary for the development of our industries.

[H. E. the Viceroy.]

The evidence of strong racial antagonism that, to some extent prevails, has caused me the greatest concern since my arrival in India. Regrettable incidents have come to my notice. At the same time I am far from asserting that the fault is all on one side. It seems to me that among the factors contributing to this unhappy racial tension, instances of violence and discourtesy by Europeans against Indians, which occur from time to time—although in truth I believe infrequently—cannot be overlooked. There is generally, I venture to assert, no ground of complaint to be made, but any instance of incivility attracts far more attention than the usual and infinitely more numerous instances of courtesy by Europeans to Indians. Neither can it be said that the results of the trials of Europeans concerned in criminal cases arising from acts of violence or from improper conduct have always given satisfaction to the public. I have been made aware of a very prevalent feeling amongst Indians that in such cases strict justice does not always result when a European is concerned, and it cannot be said that the result of such trials always satisfies the public conscience. In particular, my attention has been directed to the differences in the legal procedure applicable to Europeans and Indians. Local Governments have been consulted, and an opportunity will be taken during the course of the present Session to lay before you the proposals of my Government as to the steps which should be taken for further examination of this question, and I trust that in the result means will be found to satisfy public opinion that justice will be done both to Europeans and Indians.

There are many other subjects which will be considered by you during the course of this Session. There are questions of importance to which I have not even referred as I do not wish to detain you too long. In particular, I would mention the interest taken by Sir Thomas Holland in the Industrial development of India. By his departure we lose the benefit of the services of one who has laboured faithfully and capably to this end. There are projects of irrigation which specially attract my attention. I wish I could have discussed them. There is again education which is dear to my heart and upon which I should like to have made some observations to you. But I must content myself with the knowledge that there will be other opportunities, and that all these subjects will come before you in the ordinary course of your deliberations and will receive careful attention.

During the time that I have been Viceroy I have been in constant intercourse with men of the Public Services of this country—both British and Indian—and I desire to take this opportunity of expressing publicly my grateful thanks to them for the assistance they have rendered to me and to Government, my appreciation of the services they are always ready to perform, my recognition of the inevitable promptness with which they have responded, to what I must confess to be the inordinate demands made by me upon their time and their labours.

Now, gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer. Sitting here in this Chamber, at the first meeting of this Session of the Reformed Legislature in Simla, I find my mind surging with imagination as to the future. I know that you are sitting here under a Constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are Resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of constitutional

progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this new machinery, and I am satisfied that in the short space of time, in which it has already existed, you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections, if you are ready to admit that it has any, also its imperfections which no doubt you have already to some extent discovered. It is a human machine with human imperfections. It has never been presented otherwise than as a compromise, and it will take a little time before we can fully realise how it will work and how this machinery will fit in with the complex machinery of the Government of India. I will not at this moment hazard any observation as to the future. I am not so young as most of you who are present here. (Laughter.) I am prone to the caution of age and, therefore, will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions. But these questions will be raised by you in this Legislature which has still some Sessions before it. There will be opportunities for full consideration and deliberation. I have already pointed out the results of the labours of this Assembly during the short period of its first Session. I have dilated briefly upon some of the results of the creation of this Reformed Legislature. You have gathered a good harvest, for, as a result of the Committees appointed and the legislation following upon your Resolutions, and the expression of your opinions duly recorded by Government, you are already able to point to a large volume of Government action taken to redress grievances. May I again taking advantage of my years as we elderly people so often do (Laughter)—add one word of warning? I do not think you can always expect at every Session to garner so rich a harvest. (Laughter.)

In conclusion, let me say to you, as a Member of this Legislature now present with you, addressing general observations upon present conditions, that we are all working together with one single purpose in view, the promotion of the welfare and happiness of India. (Applause.) We have no other object, we have no other desire except this which binds us all together, and which calls for the manifestation of that spirit of mutual good-will and forbearance, without which no deliberations can be effective and lead to lasting results.

In leaving you to your labours, I make an appeal to you, which I, am confident, I shall not make in vain: Do not content yourselves with merely doing your duty in this Legislature, although I know it makes a great demand upon your time. It needs patriotism to sacrifice leisure and sometimes remunerative occupation to take part in the deliberations of this Assembly. You may think—no, I will not say that—but some persons may think, that this is a sufficient demand to make upon you. It is not. No demand is too great when there is need for patriotism. It is essential that men like yourselves who are assisting Government by your advice, for Government is always seeking knowledge, should go forth among the people not only at time of election when constituents must always be remembered, but at other times. You must be conscious that you are taking part in important deliberations, and that you are thus assisting in moulding the destinies of this Great Empire. You are, permit me to say, inscribing your names on the golden roll of patriotic service, and are devoting yourselves to great work, and in this high purpose are true to your God, to yourselves and to your country. (Prolonged Applause.)

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