TEXT PROBLEM WITHIN THE BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_156799

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

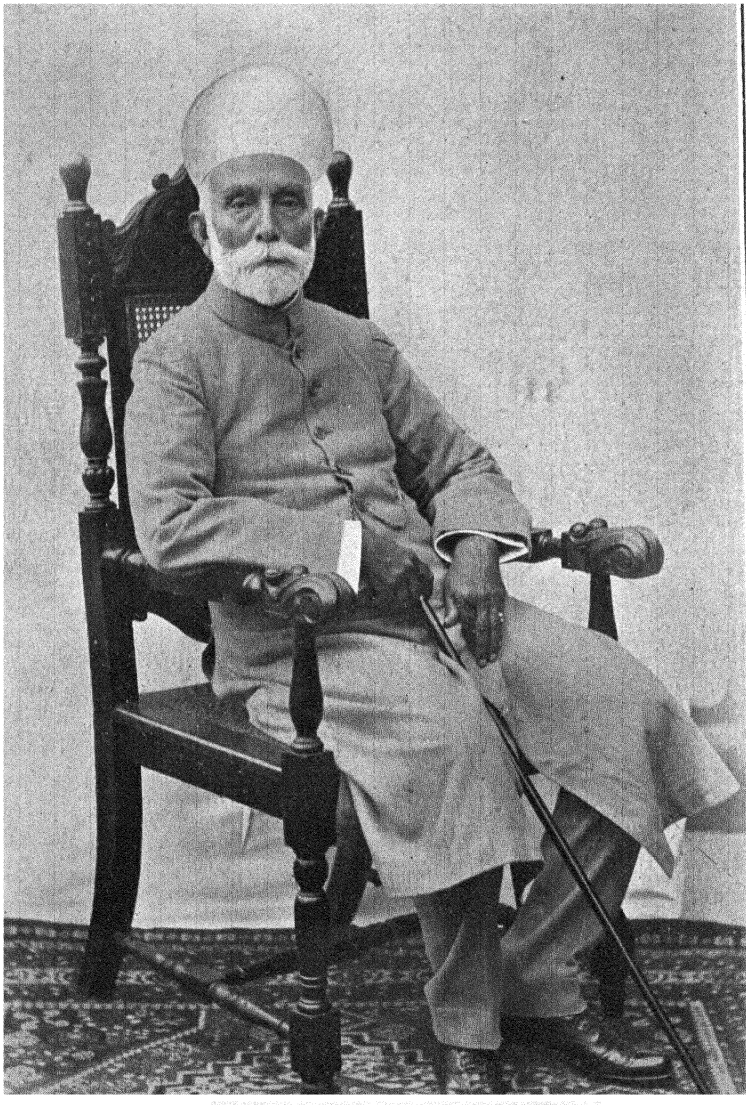
Osmania University Library.

.....Hyderi..... Collection

Accession No. G.4161.....

Call No....828:04
S 27A

ADDRESSES, POEMS AND OTHER WRITINGS



SAYYID HUSAYN BILGRAMI

ADDRESSES, POEMS AND OTHER WRITINGS

OF

NAWWAB IMADUL-MULK BAHADUR

(SAYYID HUSAYN BILGRAMI, C.S.I.)

With a Foreword

BY

PROF. SAYYID ABDUL LATIF, B.A, PH. D., (LOND.),

Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan.

HYDERABAD-DECCAN
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS
1925

Contents

	PAGES
FOREWORD BY DR. SAYYID ABDUL LATIF	i —vi
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH BY MRS. IMADUL-MULK	vii—xi
SCIENTIFIC NOMENCLATURE FOR THE VERNACULARS ..	1—20
MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	21—24
INDIANS AND INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE	25—40
LETTER TO JUSTICE MAHMUD ON THE SUBJECT OF COVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE	41—47
SPEECH AT THE NIZAM COLLEGE PRIZE DISTRIBUTION, ON MONDAY THE 24TH FEBRUARY, 1890	48—50
A BRIEF NOTE ON THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN PRINCES ..	51—53
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE ELEVENTH MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD AT MEERUT ON THE 30TH DECEMBER, 1896	54—66
SPEECH AS PRESIDENT AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE NIZAM CLUB ON THE 20TH OF JUNE, 1897 IN HONOUR OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN'S DIAMOND JUBILEE	67—70
ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS OF M. A. O. COLLEGE, ALIGARH..	71—81
REPLY TO AN ADDRESS PRESENTED AT ALIGARH, ON THE 18TH FEBRUARY, 1900	82—89
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE FOURTEENTH MEETING OF THE MOHAMMEDAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD AT RAMPUR, DECEMBER, 1900	90—110
SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 1902	111—118
SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 1903	119—127
THE MOHAMMEDAN UNIVERSITY	128—138
MEMORIAL DRAWN UP FOR PRESENTATION TO H.E. THE EARL OF MINTO, VICEROY OF INDIA	139—144
CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS BY HONOURABLE MR. BAILEY, THE BRITISH RESIDENT AT HYDERABAD ON THE OCCASION OF NAWAB IMADUL-MULK BAHADUR'S APPOINTMENT TO THE INDIA COUNCIL IN 1907	145—147
REPLY TO THE HONOURABLE MR. BAYLEY'S ADDRESS ..	148—149
ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CONVOCATION OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY, NOVEMBER, 1916	150—163
POEMS	165—206

Foreword

Nawwab Imadul-Mulk Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami has, of late years not been so much in the public eye. His weak health and advanced age—, he is nearly 84 now—have forced him into retirement. But there was a time covering nearly a half-century—a pretty long period in the life of an individual—when the foremost among the leaders of Muslim thought in this country looked to him for counsel and support. His speeches and addresses which are included in the present valume deal with some of the important problems, political and educational, which engaged the mind of the Indian public during that period in his life.

Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami is essentially a scholar and an educationist. Politics was never his forte. He was drawn into its vortex by pressure of events rather than choice. Even then it was not as an active participant in the political struggle that he appeared before his country; it was more as a detached onlooker, counsellor, and a disinterested friend of its people. Only on two occasions, does he appear to have gone out of his way—first, when he addressed his memorable letter to Sir Sayyid Ahmad, cautioning him not to be enticed into the Congress politics of the day but to conserve all his energy for concentratation on the education of his community—next, when he drew up the famous joint memorial to Lord Minto on the eve of the Minto-Morley reforms demanding special representation for Muslims on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

The attitude which these and a few other writings of his suggested to the Indian Muslim community at several critical moments in their political life has in no small measure been responsible for their activity during the last two generations. That attitude, it may be observed, has not always found favour with his Hindu compatriots and even a few among his own co-religionists. A careful and dispassionate examination will, however, show that there is much in his standpoint that needs the earnest

consideration of everyone, whatever the nationality or creed, who has the interest of this country at heart.

The instinct of self-preservation in man is a powerful impulse. He may in a moment of weak benevolence be carried off his feet by catch-words and shibboleths, but when crises arise in individual or national life and bring realities into play, he is invariably disillusioned. The instinct of self-sacrifice may indeed be very strong in him but when he is made to realise that it is being exploited by a clever comrade for his own selfish ends, he lets the instinct of self-preservation assert itself violently. The writings of Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami will reveal to the reader the working of this human trait. In his private and official life he has always been serviceable to one and all, be he a Hindu, Muslim, Christian, or Parsee. Never has he been known to have sacrificed merit on any racial or religious ground. But in matters political, his advice has always been : "Equate yourself to facts."

He has held that without a heartfelt unity among the different sections of the Indian population, India can never hope to command respect from others and secure her proper place in the comity of nations. Says he, addressing a gathering of his co-religionists in 1896 :—

> *"The different races among whom we live in India are children of the same soil and should therefore be like brothers to us and it is our duty to live with them in brotherly love and amity ; their success is our success ; their failure our failure: they are naturally our friends and supporters whom it would be suicidal to alienate from us by any act of our own ; it would, indeed, be both bad morals and bad policy."*

With this expression of genuine friendly feeling towards the sister communities of India, there always went a strong conviction that true and lasting friendship in politics necessarily implied the preservation of one's own identity. The memorial to Lord Minto brings this idea to the forefront. He does not believe in lip-loyalty to any particular political creed or in unity feverishly attempted on paper to prevent a high-souled patriot from starving himself to death. Unity of hearts is what he asks for, and he makes it clear that that is impossible as long as the numerically, and economically the stronger of the two leading communities of India, namely, the Hindus, create new and newer differences by dwelling more on the seamy than on the brightside of the present or past of the Indian Muslims. On this aspect of the inter-communal life of India, the Sayyid Sahib is most outspoken. And looking at the

chequered relationship that exists at the present moment between the two sections so soon after the vociferous demonstration of love and friendship on either side, who can say that the consistent attitude of Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami is not without its meaning to the people of understanding in either camp? When the hearts do not beat in unison, when one of the two parties is always on the alert to profit by the other's good-will and forbearance, there is bound to be a reaction and the result is that life becomes limited; the thought of self aserts itself, and becomes a creed. That seems to be the reason why some of the political speeches of Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami are such as they are.

The educational addresses are of a different character. They indeed, were almost all of them primarily intended for the consideration of his own community and dealt with their immediate needs. In discussing them however, he has given expression to views which are of universal application. The Sayyid is one of those very few living Indians in whom are harmoniously blended the knowledge and culture of the East and of the West. His attitude in educational matters, therefore, deserves the respectful attention of the exponents of both the Western and the purely Eastern systems of training. He has no sympathy with those who are disposed to idealise and idolise secular training at the expense of religion. He emphasises the claims of intellect as well as of the spirit with equal force. Religion without the searchlight of modern thought will cease to be a powerful factor in human progress. And purely intellectual training divorced from religion is but a soulless culture.

"Bread-earning," says he, "is unfortunately a necessary pursuit, but manhood is not nourished on bread alone; the spirit also has to be provided with good wholesome food. But not only is manhood not nourished by bread alone; it is neither books nor bread that is needed for the body; but what is really healthful for the whole man is a training that will, as I have said before, lead us to clean living and high thinking. This is the essence of culture, for what after all is life worth if it is lived as the animals live it in the gratification of mere physical needs or in migrations from the blue bed to the brown."

Says he again:—"We Muhammadans have received a nobler and more sacred inheritance than our secular literature and learning, namely our God and our religion, and were our children to forget these in the turmoil of worldly pursuits however desirable, they shall surely perish, since a people who have abandoned their God and their conscience are like sailors who have lost their moorings

and are floating adrift on a tempestuous sea without pilot or rudder."

" True education," says he in another place, " should teach us to distinguish truth from falsehood and draw valid conclusions from the occurrences of daily experience ; it should discipline all our faculties : it should make us acquainted with the best that has been said on the topics of importance by the wisest of former generations : and fit us to bring this knowledge to bear on the practical conduct of life : it should inspire us with a burning desire to be ever moving onward, ever taking a step in advance ; it should teach us to be sincere in our daily life and considerate of others ; it should bring us up to exalt public good above our own, and to respect others as the most natural corollary of respecting ourselves."

Since these last words were addressed to its promoters, the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, has grown into a statutory University, and it is a matter for serious consideration, how far its courses of study are made to conform to this simple and yet great ideal of education. How far again will views such as this :—

" Put not your faith in translations and do not take your teaching at second hand, but go to the fountain head and drink deep of its waters."

or like this :—

" University education is not for all who can pass the preliminary test but for those in a position to look forward to a life of leisure among their books or in learned research."

receive hearty response in places like Hyderabad?

Apart from their contribution to thought, the speeches of Sayyid Husayn Bilgrami have a literary value of their own. To any reader of them, particularly of his incomplete but masterly translation of the QURAN into English, it will be obvious that he has a style which, in the polish and purity of diction, and the elegance and precision of expression, can be favourably compared with that of any writer of English that modern India has ever produced.

His poems, all lyrical in character which have been included in the present volume are interesting reading. Nearly half of them are sonnets ; some written in the Petrarchan form, some in the Shakespearean. In these, as well as in other songs, the writer has shown a mastery over the technique of English verse which is, indeed, surprising. One hears in them the echoes of the famous English poets, the " Nature's Pontiff Priest," " The Blind Bard of Mars," and of him " Who heard the

stars still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim." A line like :

Time laughed and would not hear the song.

—coming at the end of every stanza of his beautiful poem " April in Upper India " reminds us of Spenser's :—

Sweet Thames ! run softly till I end my song.

which occupies a similar place in "Prothalamion." There is in his poems a lyrical element so true, so sincere, and so apparently spontaneous that one hardly fails to note that the ring in them is the ring of a born poet. The only regret is that they are so few.

When we read these poems, we feel we are face to face with a scholar who, tired of the stress and strife of mundane life and having vainly striven to resuscitate his " buried youth " seeks to find rest and comfort in sylvan solitudes, even like his Rishi who dwelt happily,

Favoured of mighty Brahm,
Close comrade long of rock, and snow and storm,
Familiar friend of every forest form,
In contemplation calm
Of God's pervading sense in all he saw or felt,

and listen to the voice of Nature which one hears echoed so sweetly through his " Uncertain Harmonies."

Sayyid Husayn's has indeed been a scholar's life. Few with the opportunities he has had in his official career would have so successfully stood the temptation to live in the glare of publicity. Lesser minds, men of inferior stature—disturbing elements at best in politics and in literature—have so often frantically striven to win popular applause and even official recognition. Strangely, these go not infrequently to such men. The Sayyid Sahib, however, has always risen superior to his environment and considerations of ignorant worldly preferment, and has sought, like a true scholar, all the honour that he deserves in the consciousness of having lived a righteous and useful life.

During the last ten years, he has lived in retirement in his retreat, " Rocklands," raised under the shadow of a rocky hillock which hangs over on one side, the restless Fatheh Maidan, and, on the other; the serene reservoir of Husayn Sagar. As a link between the past and the present, with the sauvity and serenity of the silent and deep waters behind him and the genial warmth of youth so often displayed on

that royal field of tournament before him, with his back to the Great Rock, facing heroically the onslaughts of advancing years lives this sage of Hyderabad supported by his loving and devoted wife a scholar herself, a centre of quiet domestic happiness to his progeny and an object of reverence to many like the writer.*

SAYYID ABDUL LATIF.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
HYDERABAD DECCAN,
25*th August* 1925.

---

* Edith Boardman, M. D. (Brux.); L. S. A. 1890 : Royal Free Hospital. Reg 1891. (Retired). *b.* Hyderabad. *d.* Captain John Walker Boardman. *m.* Nawab Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I. *ed.* London School of Medicine for Women. Formerly Phys. and Surgeon, H.E.H. the Nizam's Service, Hyderabad. Publn. "Zorah" a tale of Zenana life. Club. Lyceum, London. Address, Rocklands, Saifabad, Hyderabad.——"The Medical Who's Who."

Biographical Sketch

SYED HUSAIN BILGRAMI (afterwards Nawab Ali Yar Khan Bahadur, Motaman Jung, Imad-ud-Daula, Imad-ul-Mulk, C.S.I.) was born at Sahibganj, Gaya, in the year 1842. He belongs to an old and well-known family of Syeds of Bilgram. The family are said to have come to India with the Conqueror, Muhammad Ghori, as long ago as the commencement of the 7th century of the Hijri or the 13th century of the Christian era, the date of their settlement at Bilgram being contained in the chronogram "Khudadad" which gives the date 614 Hijri. They have thus been settled there for over seven hundred years. His father, Syed Zainuddin Husain Khan, was a Deputy Collector and Magistrate in Bihar, he and his elder brother Syed Azamuddin Hasan Khan Bahadur being the two first Muhammadans to have held that post.

Syed Husain's earlier education and bringing up were undertaken at home where he studied Arabic under a learned *Moulvi*. In those days among the better class of Muhammadans, the arts of wrestling, swordsmanship, and archery were considered the necessary accomplishments of a gentleman, while the standard of horsemanship was so high that, as a supreme test, the pupil was required to ride and control spirited horses without saddle or bridle and to bend them to his will. These and other exercises, inclusive of indigenous games of an active and manly nature, Syed Husain took part in, thus laying at an early age the foundation of a strong and robust constitution which has helped to maintain him in sound mental and bodily health throughout his long life.

At a tender age he lost his mother. This was his first experience, as a child, of death, and the impression it made on his young mind was so profound that he appears never to have shaken it off afterwards. The emotions roused by this loss, suffered as it was at the most impressionable period of life, supplied many years later the inspiration for one of his English poems.

At the age of 14, his Arabic tutor having left him, his father commenced teaching him English. He was afterwards sent to live with his uncle, Syed Azamuddin Hasan, at Patna where he went to school, and afterwards to a school at Bhagalpur, not far from Madahpura, where his father had his headquarters as Deputy Collector and Magistrate. He was finally sent to Calcutta where he joined the La Martiniere College, going a few months later to the branch school then known as the Hare Academy where he matriculated, securing a first class. This success earned him a scholarship with which he entered the Presidency College where he again took a first class two years later in the First examination

in arts. But in the third year his college course was interrupted owing to his father taking him to Bilgram for the purpose of matrimony. Thence he returned a few months later after his marriage only to find that he had lost the whole of his third year of instruction at the college. He nevertheless went through the course and sat for his degree examination at the end of his fourth year in the college securing for the third time in succession a class and standing very high in the University in the order of merit.

Already a mature scholar of Arabic, Syed Hnsain had by the end of his college career acquired a mastery over the English language that is given to few Indians to attain. At the same time his great love of books led him to read widely—a practice which he kept up for more than half a century, thus becoming one of the best read men of his time. Nor did he read merely. As a writer too he was gifted with that faculty for clear and terse expression which lends a peculiar grace and charm to his prose and verse.

But greater far than any acquired attainments, is the innate nobility of spirit and integrity of character that runs in his blood, being the heritage of his ancient race, fostered further by the strict bringing up given him by his father, which has made him what he has always been—a man of lofty principles and high ideals with a strong sense of duty and unimpeachable uprightness and integrity coupled with a simple, almost puritanical religious faith.

In 1868 therefore, at the age of about 26, Syed Husain was well equipped both mentally and morally for entering upon a successful career. Young as he was, his proficiency in Arabic secured him a chair of Professor of that language at Canning College, Lucknow. At the same time by his merit as a writer of English, he was put in sole charge of the " Lucknow Times," a bi-weekly organ of the Talukdars of Oudh. About this time took place the interesting controversy about the project of a canal, known as " the Sarda Canal," in Oudh. The Government of the day were keen on constructing the canal which the Talukdars for various reasons believed to be opposed to their interests. The case for the Government was strongly advocated in the columns of the " Pioneer " by a civilian who was a powerful writer and a friend of Syed Husain's, to be opposed in the " Bi-Weekly Lucknow Times " in brilliant articles from the pen of Syed Husain. The issue of the controversy was entirely in favour of the latter, and the Talukdars had the satisfaction of seeing the abandonment of the project they disliked.

In 1872 the great Sir Salar Jung, Minister of the Nizam, happening to visit Lucknow met Syed Husain and felt greatly attracted to him and cordially invited him to come to Hyderabad, which the latter did the next year, 1873.

The rest of Syed Husain's career is bound up chiefly with Hyderabad. The surname " Bilgrami," it is interesting to note, was adopted by Syed Husain at the suggestion of Sir Salar Jung. He became Private Secretary to the great Minister and in that

capacity played a prominent part in drafting or revising the letters that the Minister from time to time addressed to the British Government regarding the Berars, and which helped greatly the cause of the Nizam. He accompanied Sir Salar Jung on his memorable mission to England where the Minister was greatly "lionised" and feted by the best society. Syed Husain Bilgrami had during this trip the honour of meeting and speaking with Queen Victoria and also of meeting other distinguished people like Disraeli, Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, John Morley and others.

Syed Husain Bilgrami subsequently became Educational Secretary in Hyderabad and also Director of Public Instruction. He further held for a time the post of Private Secretary to the Nizam and other high and responsible posts, finishing, after his retirement, by becoming Adviser to the third Salar Jung, the young grandson of his friend and benefactor, the great Sir Salar Jung, who was for a short period Minister. During his long service in the State extending over nearly fifty years, Syed Husain acted at various times as tutor to the late Nizam, His Highness Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, as also tutor to His Exalted Highness the present Nizam when he was Heir Apparent, and likewise to the Sahibzadas, his sons. He received for his services to the State at various times, the titles of Nawab Ali Yar Khan Bahadur, Motaman Jung, Imad-ud-Dowla and Imad-ul-Mulk, as also the C. S. I. from the Government of India for his services to the British Empire of which more will be said in what follows.

But it is to his work as an educationist that the State owes its greatest debt. For with the exception of the Osmania University and the new Girls' school, which are recent institutions, practically all the other educational institutions in Hyderabad owe their existence to Syed Husain Bilgrami. For instance, fifty years ago, there existed no facilities in the State for the education of the upper classes in Hyderabad. At the instance of Syed Husain Bilgrami, a new school was started under highly competent teachers—this was the Madrasa-e-Aizza which is still in working order. Also a High School was started which soon rose to the rank of a college with Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhya, a man of science, as its Principal. This college eventually became the "Nizam College" and was provided with a highly paid European staff. By order of Sir Salar Jung. the "Murshidzadas" or the relatives of the Ruler of the State, who were hitherto brought up without any proper education, were compelled to go to the Madrasa-e-Aizza, stipends or scholarships being granted to them as an encouragement, and large and well-appointed bullock carts or "nibs" employed for their conveyance to and from the school. The education of women had its due share of Syed Husain's attention, and about the year 1885 a Girls' High school was founded, being probably the first institution of its kind for Muslim girls in India. Here a well qualified staff was appointed and Arabic and Persian as well as English were included in the curriculum besides such subjects as needlework and domestic economy. The

strictest purda arrangements were made within the premises and special covered conveyances provided for bringing the pupils to school. At the same time industrial education was not neglected. Recognizing the importance of manual and industrial training, Syed Husain Bilgrami caused three Industrial Schools to be founded at the three principal centres of local industries, namely, Aurangabad, Hyderabad and Warangal. These institutions did most useful work in helping to revive declining industries. In order to encourgage oriental learning and scholarship the Dar-ul-Uloom or Oriental College was founded which during its existence had a most competent staff and produced many good scholars of Arabic. The State Library was also started by Syed Husain Bilgrami, originally as a repository for valuable old Arabic books. Afterwards a large collection of English and Persian books was added on, and the Library forms today one of the best institutions of its kind in India. One of the aims of Syed Husain was to purchase and republish such of the rare and valuable books in the Arabic language as were in danger of extinction. For the furtherance of this aim he founded with the cordial support of Sir Salar Jung, the Dairat-ul-Maarif, a society for the preservation and publication of old and valuable books. This Society, of which he is still the head, is to this day carrying on its operations and has done invaluable service to oriental learning and culture by editing and publishing, and thereby saving from loss or extinction many works of great literary, historical and even scientific value. The work of the Dairat-ul-Maarif has now been recognised in several countries in Europe where learned collaborators are coming forward to help. The Central Normal School for the training of teachers also owes its origin to Syed Husain Bilgrami.

Nor was his fame as an educationist confined to Hyderabad alone. He was twice elected President of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, on both of which occasions the addresses delivered by him from the chair form not only models of literary excellence but also contain educational and moral advice of great value. The Government of India in recognition of his educational experience and great ability, appointed him on the Universities Commission of 1903. He had already been a member of the Legislative Council and a C. S. I. In 1907 Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, selected him as a Member of the India Council, he being the first Muhammadan to sit on that Council. He however resigned his place before the end of his period owing to ill health. He retired from Hyderabad service in the end of 1907 on his appointment to the Secretary of State's Council, but on his return from England he was appointed Adviser to the third Salar Jung during the latter's short term of office as Minister.

Syed Husain Bilgrami has never been a " politician " in the vulgar sense of the word. He but rarely stepped into the political arena, and whenever he did so, it was only to assist his community in orderly progress. Thus the Address of the Muhammad-

dans to Lord Minto in 1906 which he drew up marked one of those rare occasions when he came to the assistance of his community in matters political. It was an epoch-making document which secured the recognition for the first time of the rights of the Muslims as a distinct and important community.

Similarly, during the World War, when there was danger of Muslim loyalty being shaken owing to Turkey having joined the enemy, and His Exalted Highness the Nizam conceived the far-sighted and statesmanlike plan of issuing a manifesto to them as a Muslim Ruler in order to steady them and to induce them to remain staunch in their fidelity to British Rule, it was to Nawab Imadul-Mulk (Syed Husain Bilgrami) that His Exalted Highness turned for the drawing up of the famous manifesto. H. E. H. the Nizam's advice came in the nick of time and had a most salutary effect on the Muhammadans. The manifesto was worded in a way that appealed to the best sentiments of the Muhammadans and succeeded in calming them completely. This was the last and perhaps the most signal service rendered by Syed Husain Bilgrami no less to H. E. H. the Nizam than to the British Empire.

For the reet, it may be said that it is not only by what he has *done* that the value of Syed Husain Bilgrami to his country and to his community may be gauged, but also by what he *is*. Today he is the relic of what was best in a past generation which gave birth to men of greater force of charecter than modern conditions seem to be capable of producing. He stands for unwavering truth, justice, uprightness and sincerity in a world where these virtues are but lightly valued. Amid the sordid struggle that surges all round him for pelf, for power or for preferment, he stands head and shoulders above the common crowd, calm, serene and peaceful, unaffected by these selfish passions. He is the one entity to whom those who aim at high ideals in life can still turn for inspiration and guidance.

EDITH SYED HUSAIN BILGRAMI.

NOTE.—This paper appeared first by instalments in the Lucknow Times of which the author was Editor in 1870-71.

Scientific Nomenclature for the Vernaculars

THE Government of Bengal about a year ago appointed a Committee to advise on the preparation of medical treatises in the Vernaculars. The minutes recorded by two of the members of this Committee have been published. The question involved is not that of a medical terminology only, but of a terminology for all the sciences to which modern thought and research have given birth. The object aimed at is the determination of a system according to which all scientific technicalities may be rendered into the Vernaculars. The chief difficulty with which a translator of scientific works, indeed of European works of any kind, meets is the vast number of terms for which he can find no equivalents in his own vernaculars. To this obstruction is mainly due the small number of books that have been translated into Urdu—and the still smaller number that have been well translated.

To obviate this difficulty, as well as to save the vernaculars from injuries which may be done to them by unskilful translators who either coin new words where vernacular equivalents are available, though not known to them, or who misuse existing words, and so lay up a store of verbiage which future generations will have to unlearn, it is imperatively necessary that those who can speak on the subject with authority, should fix upon some uniform system which may lead in time to the formation of a nomenclature elastic enough to supply our modern scientific wants, and sufficiently *en rapport* with the genius of our own languages to be easily incorporated with them.

Opinion on the subject, however, is so varied and divided that no single system that may be determined upon, will be likely to give satisfaction to all scholars competent to form an opinion on the subject, and receive their assent. We have at this moment before us three different schemes propounding widely different views, but each claiming merits of its own, which may not be lightly disregarded. One of them is embodied in a long and able minute from the pen of that renowned scholar and philologist Baboo Rajendro Lall Mitter, a minute containing by far one of the profoundest disquisitions on the subject of scientific nomenclature, that we have read. The second is from the pen of Maulvi Tameez Khan Bahadur, one of the most eminent medical men of our country, who can speak on the subject with an authority

derived from long experience in lecturing on Anatomy and Medicine in both the vernaculars of our Presidency, and a constant and anxious endeavour, extending over a long series of years, to spread the knowledge of the West among his own countrymen. The third comes to us from the Inspector of Schools for the Behar Division, not in connection however with the proceedings of the Calcutta Committee. This latter has the advantage of being accompanied by specimens of its practical application, in the shape of several translations of scientific works, which we propose noticing in due course in the sequel.

We shall content ourselves at present by indicating very briefly the principal features of each of these schemes, reserving our own remarks for a future page.

Baboo Rajendro Lall Mitter, is strongly in favour of translation, " not a servile verbatim translation, like a Chinese copy with patch and all, " but a translation which will give us words serving as signs for the thing signified, and not for any shadow of them which a blundering generation in days long gone by, might have perceived and perpetuated in their terminology, and which still passes current by right of prescription. He divides all words for his purposes into six classes, but we will not mar the rigid precision and exhaustiveness of his classification by making an abstract of it. Here are his own words :—

" After a careful study of all the technical terms which occur in the different sciences usually taught in medical schools, I am disposed to think that they are resolvable into six groups or classes each having a marked peculiarity of its own.

In the first of these classes come those ordinary words of a language which are occasionally used as technical terms.

My second class of words are crude nouns and generic names of objects, such as malt, yeast, rennet, etc., which, though as popular as they well can be, being used principally in art, are of a quasi-technical character, and lie on the debatable ground between science and ordinary language.

The third class may be designated as scientific crude names, such as quinine, ipecacuanha, tellerium, selenium, bromine, etc. When originally formed, they were in most cases intended to connote some quality of the things to which they were applied, but their etymological meanings have, in many instances, long since been lost, and the words have become what in Sanskrit grammar are called ' Secondary crude ' or *yogarudhi.*

The fourth class is formed of the scientific double names of plants and animals, which were originally intended to be etymologically significant, but which, owing to various causes, have in most cases ceased to be so, and now indicate only genera and species, as in *Jonesia asoka, Coius bhekti,* etc., and these, like the preceding, may therefore be accepted as crude names.

The fifth class embraces a number of single words, each having a clear distinct etymological meaning and are useful

only as long as they can convey to the hearer or reader that meaning; and yet as they are used almost exclusively in science and art, they must be taken as purely technical.

The sixth class is formed of compound terms, at least one, and in many cases every, member of which has an etymological meaning which gives them their vitality and which, it is absolutely necessary, should be understood in order that the name may convey to the hearer the nature of the object indicated."

These six classes of words the learned gentleman purposes to dispose of thus: we are quoting from his own *resume* of matter treated at full length in the body of his note :—

"To recapitulate. The first rule I propose is that all terms intended to denote attributes should be invariably translated and adapted, but the names of simple substances may be taken from the languages of Europe if their equivalents be not found in those of India; and to work out this rule I recommend—

Second. That words of the first class be translated.

Third. That words of the second class be translated and adapted, or improved when necessary.

Fourth. That words of the third class be transliterated under strict rules.

Fifth. That words of the fourth class be transliterated uniformly under strict rules.

Sixth. That words of the fifth class be translated, and adapted or improved when necessary.

Seventh. That words of the sixth class be translated and improved when necessary, except those which are proper names of instruments; which should be transliterated.

Eighth. That a set of simple rules be prepared for the guidance of translators.

Ninth. That complete glossaries be prepared, giving the vernacular equivalents and transliterations."

Dr. Tameez Khan, while agreeing with Baboo Rajendro Lall as to the value of vernacular terms where available, would not advocate the coining of new ones, as he believes such a proceeding to be unnecessary. He would prefer the retention of European terms wherever vernacular equivalents are not available, instead of our classical languages being put under requisition for obtaining new-coined vocables to supply their place.

We give his own words:—

"Speaking from some amount of experience in translating and of teaching some of the branches of English medical science, in both Urdu and Bengali, I can confidently state that, for purposes of translation, European scientific terminology may be divided into three different groups.

Group first will include such scientific technicalities as are well-known, and for which precisely corresponding synonyms are extant in both Urdu and Bengali.

Group second will comprehend those innumerable scientific terms which are met with in English medical treatises, but for which apparently no equivalent synonyms seem to exist in the vernaculars. More about this group hereafter.

The third and the last group will consist of those technical terms which are met with in English medical works, but for which, really and absolutely, we have no corresponding equivalents existing in the vernaculars, and this group will contain by far the largest proportion of terms."

With respect to the first two groups of his classification he would advocate the use of vernacular words, for the discovery of which a Committee of medical men assisted by learned Moulvis and Pandits ought to be formed. But with regard to the last class he says:—

"With reference to such technicals as I propose to include in the third group of my division, *viz.*, those for which literally and absolutely we have no existing vernacular synonyms, and which, most unfortunately for our translating purposes, are by no means insignificant in number, the main question which presents itself about them is, whether in vernacular versions European technicals are to be retained and made use of in their original and primitive condition, and without changing? or whether translators are to be obliged to coin terms compounded of vernacular words to interpret and convey their significance? Arguments can be adduced which would plausibly support both aspects of these complex questions; there can be said just as much for supporting the idea for coining and compounding new names as there can be brought forward cogent reasons to bear against a proposal such as this is. For my own part, I do not believe that a mere acquaintance with a Sanskrit, or an Arabic, or a Persian vocable, can give us any better idea of the object or thing itself than if the same were to be expressed either in English, or Latin, or Greek, and the student was shown that the particular vocable was meant only for a particular object and for nothing else. Now, this is precisely the thing that we see carried out practically and successfully in the teachings of the various departments of our college, and elsewhere too. For instance, if we tell a student that the name of a particular muscle is "biceps," or of that particular process "styloid," or of that particular body a "lymphatic gland," and, without troubling him with the etymology of the terms made use of, show and demonstrate to him that the name was intended only for that particular object and for no other thing, we find the learner to know and to remember it well and not confound it with any other object."

On the value of words already coined by previous labourers like Dr. Tytler and others, and the best way of utilising them the learned Doctor observes:—

"However, far be it from me to depreciate their value or

shew any disrespect and trifle with the really "love's labour" of these earnest and well-meaning eminent oriental scholars; but to utilize and render them subservient for future purposes, and also with a view to render the etymology of European scientific technicals intelligible to purely vernacular and such other classical readers, I beg to suggest that at the heading of each and every article of our translations we make use of primarily, the original European technicals; and secondly in the body or text of the work we make use of the terms of the first and second group; and lastly, in the form of a foot-note the newly coined terms can be inserted; but under no consideration whatever should we attach any degree of importance to these."

We are perfectly aware that in thus summarising from these two minutes, we have done scanty justice either to the profound research of the one or the practical and earnest character of the other, but as we must compress a view of all the three schemes into our available space, we must now, however reluctantly, pass over to the other scheme which deserves special notice, as coming from a quarter of the Indian world which we had hitherto supposed to be still involved in Cimmerian darkness.

We confess at the outset that the scheme propounded in these Patna papers, and illustrated in the pamphlets that accompany them, has great attractions for us, as it proposes to facilitate scientific culture, and make it accessible to the masses, by discarding all difficult and jaw-breaking terms and substituting for them vocables taken from the "language of the people—as it is spoken;" and could we have persuaded ourselves to believe that scientific accuracy and precision would not be sacrificed by coining technical terms out of loose and vaguely defined household words, we for one should have felt ourselves bound to advocate the proposed plan. The simplicity of the method is indeed great. You have neither to pore over unwieldly tomes of Arabic or Sanskrit lore—in order to supply your needs, nor yet need you do violence to the simple and domestic character of the vernaculars by burdening them with an exotic terminology, which can neither be properly transliterated in the native characters, nor correctly pronounced by untutored Indian lips. All that you have to do is to take the foreign terms and express the sense of it in the ordinary language of the people. If European *savants* call their heat-measuring instrument, a "Thermometer," the Patna translator would teach the would-be *savants* of India, to know it by the word Garmi Nap (Heat measurer). The entire credit of this most plausible system, it is fair to state, belongs to Rai Sohun Lall, Superintendent of the Normal School at Patna.

We have already given a summary of the three schemes which have yet been proposed for the formation of a scientific nomenclature for the Vernaculars of India. And when to these we have added the system of complete transliteration, which is not so absurd, but that it finds an advocate now and then among European

Educationists of a certain class, who either from "indolent impatience" or a "mistaken pride of nationality" would set at nought all considerations of phonetic and grammatical congruity in order to secure a doubtful triumph for their mother tongue, we shall have as nearly as possible, exhausted all the methods that can possibly be broached for the Indianisation of the scientific technology of modern Europe.

All these methods, however, on close analysis will be found resolvable into three—two of which occupy the position of extremes to the third which is their mean. It must be borne in mind throughout that about terms already in use there is no difference of opinion. The present discussion contemplates only those terms for which equivalents have to be found. To find them, we must either—

1. Retain European terms and transplant them bodily into the vernaculars by a highly wrought system of transliteration.
2. Translate the same into the vernaculars by making unrestrained and liberal use of the mine of verbal wealth buried in our classics, or,
3. Combine these two methods, by the retention of some European terms and the translation of others.

The first may simply be pitched overboard, as unworthy of a moment's thought. No sensible Indian (nor any sensible European either for that matter) would for a moment agree to such a proposition. It would make a mongrel of our mother tongue. We can easily imagine our future Pandits not only writing a Latinised Hindoostani but mouthing an Indianised Latin, and the ideal figure is sufficiently ludicrous and grotesque without giving it a corporeal reality. The question in fact amounts to this—Is English to be the only medium of learning the sciences of Europe? If not, then such wholesale transliterations must be consigned to the graves of all the Capulets.

There is however another, and if possible a stronger objection to such a procedure, even granting that we could popularise English terms, which we protest is utterly impossible, namely, that, cut off from their original sources and devoid of any etymological significance to the vernacular scholar, they will always continue to be aliens to our tongue, and will be as burdensome to the learner as the Chinese Alphabet is reputed to be to all but Chinamen.

Let us turn now to the subject of translation. And here let us lay it down as a self-evident truth that in performing our task, our motto must ever be—Simplicity, Uniformity, Precision. Now, what does a rigid conformity to these three requirements postulate with regard to the details of our procedure; what rules does it suggest for our guidance? We believe they may be laid down as follows :—

1. That simple terms shall be preferred to compound terms for denoting simple objects.

2. That terms connotative of some quality or qualities of the things signified, shall be preferred to non-connotative terms.

3. That whenever an English term and its coined vernacular version are of exactly equal difficulty to the Indian learner and neither claims any special superiority over the other, the English term for the sake of uniformity shall be retained in preference to the vernacular.

4. That compound terms shall be preferred for denoting compound substances and that they shall convey some knowledge of the components.

5. That the same class of compounds and derivatives shall be preferred for denoting the same class of objects.

6. That no existing term, whether European or Asiatic, which is connotative of a mistaken notion of the nature or properties of its significate, shall be retained.

Perhaps these rules are not exhaustive, perhaps also they will need some modification, but they will serve to show us within what rigid bounds we must confine ourselves, if we wish to do for our own vernaculars, in a short time, what it has taken ages to do for the vernaculars of Europe. We have said, however, that our motto must be, Simplicity, Uniformity, Precision. Perhaps simplicity and precision may be secured, but what about uniformity in the face of such a discouraging multiplicity of vernaculars as we have in India? How about the Hindi and Urdu difficulty of our own little Province, not to travel farther from home? Are we to have two nomenclatures for the same Province? This difficulty does not appear to have been sufficiently grasped by either of the learned gentlemen whose minutes have furnished the cue to our present brochure.

The matter of Hindi *versus* Urdu formed sometime ago, the subject of a warm public discussion, a discussion in which Syed Ahmud Khan, C.S.I., it will be remembered, took a conspicuous part. We cannot afford to reopen it here. But of the relative merit of Arabic and Sanskrit we must say a few words, because the subject involves considerations highly pertinent to the present inquiry.

It cannot be denied that both these classics possess inexhaustible literary resources, and for precision and elegance of expression and power of rigid, philosophical analysis, are without a parallel in the world, if we make an exception in favour of Greek. But with respect to each other, they are as widely different as two languages can well be, as different, as the genius, character, aspirations—the whole history, in fact, of the two great father-races of men whose collective moral, intellectual, and social experiences these two languages respectively record. They are both excellently suited for giving expression and fixity to exact thinking, each in its own way: but in the capability of furnishing compound and derivative vocables to an unlimited extent, and submitting its words to all shades of modification of meaning by a host of prefixes and suffixes, Sanskrit is immeasurably

superior to Arabic. It hurts our vanity as Urdu speaking people to make the confession, yet it nevertheless must be admitted that the Arabic language is very meagre in this respect. It has only one prefix, the article *al*, and only one suffix, the vowal *ya*. Its capability for the formation of compounds is very limited, there being only four classes of compounds and two of them almost utterly useless for our purposes. It has a fixed system of derivatives, formed by internal vowel changes (the great characteristic of the semitic group of languages) but no elastic machinery for the formation of new ones. Such compounds as it does admit of forming, cannot, with only one doubtful exception, be treated as grammatical units, the components still continuing to preserve their elementary and individual character, and having to be treated as such.

So much for the assistance to be expected from this quarter in our search after a technology for Urdu.

We have said that the Arabic language, owing to some grammatical and philological peculiarities cannot afford us such material help in the formation of compounds and derivatives, as can be expected from Sanskrit. If space permitted, and if it were not extremely barbarous work to transliterate Arabic Polysyllables in Roman characters, we could have adduced a host of instances to prove our position, which, however, few who know the language, will have the hardihood to contest. And now, having convicted this classic (of which the present writer confesses to being an ardent admirer) of a clear defect, we are in all fairness bound to state the other side.

It is a well-known historical fact that the Arabs of Spain and Syria, were the fathers of the European revival of learning. At a time when all the rest of the world was involved in deep intellectual gloom, the Arabs were immersed in scientific and literary pursuits on the banks of the Guadalquiver and the Euphrates. For centuries Christian students, like Gerbert, (better known afterwards as Pope Sylvester) have sat at the feet of Moslem philosophers, and returned to their native country as prodigies of learning. For centuries have the works of Averroes (Ibn-e-Rushd) and Avicenna (Ibn-e-Seina) formed the texts out of which Professors in European Universities have lectured to Christian audiences. They were the repositories of Greek learning, the preservers and transmitters of Hellenic civilization. But for them, Europe would have wanted much of that literary and scientific wealth which formed the basis of her revival, and the revival itself would probably have been indefinitely delayed. Nor were they altogether such servile imitators of their Grecian Masters, as their detractors some times attempt to make out. They entered (one by one) into every walk of enquiry. Astronomy and medicine formed subjects of their most ardent study. In optics and mechanics they have left discoveries of which post-Baconians can little estimate the merit. In the fruitless pursuit of Alchemy, they laid the foundation of the

true science of chemistry. Djaffar discovered Nitric Acid and *Aqua regia*, and was the first to announce that a metal when calcined (oxidised) increases in weight. Sulphuric Acid and absolute alcohol were first obtained by Rhazee and a subsequent discoverer first prepared the important substance—phosphorus. The measurement of time by the oscillations of the pendulum, is an Arab discovery, and the common method of solving a quadratic was first taught by an Arab mathematician. In the application of Mathematics to Astronomy and Physics they led the way. Of Geology, Botany, Zoology, Mineralogy—they may be said to have laid the foundation. Surgical operations were performed by Arab surgeons with skill and dexterity and surgical instruments were in vogue. Their travelling propensities furnished them a vast pharmacopoeia, and a vast accession of remedial agents of which they made good use. "The Saracens commenced," says Draper "the application of chemistry to the theory and practice of medicine, in the explanation of the functions of the human body, and in the cure of diseases. Nor was their surgery behind their medicine. Albucasis, of Cordova, shrinks not from the performance of the most formidable operations in his own and in the obstetrical art; the actual cautery and the knife are used without hesitation."

Ibn-e-Haitams optical discoveries are truly sublime. It was he who first pointed out the true nature of vision and demonstrated that rays reflected by visual objects impinge upon the retina, and the impressions made upon it are conveyed along the optic nerve to the brain. He was perfectly aware of the nature and *rationale* of single vision and optical illusions. He was the first to discover that the atmosphere is not of homogeneous density; and that therefore a ray of light entering it obliquely must follow a curvilinear path concave towards the earth. He applied this grand principle of atmospheric refraction to the explanation of the phenomenon of twilight, the twinkling of stars and the apparent vertical reduction of the diameter of the horizontal sun and moon. He then determined the height of the atmosphere from a further application of these discoveries, and fixed the limit approximately at 58 miles. In Mechanics and Hydrostatics their discoveries are of equal importance. There is at this moment lying on our table a collection of Arabic treatises on mechanics, optics, and some other cognate subjects. The treatises are very meagre, but references are constantly given to other and larger works which are extremely rare especially in this part of the world. But meagre as they are, we learn from them, that the Arabs had a correct conception of the principal mechanical powers, their uses, and the conditions under which power is *gained* in using them. The book called the *Balance of Wisdom* ascribed to Al Hassan, we have never had the good fortune to see, but if Draper and M. Khani Koff are trustworthy authorities, the connection between the weight of the atmosphere and its increasing density, was plainly set forth by him many

centuries before Torricelli's well known discovery. He was aware that a body loses weight in a dense medium, and understood the doctrine of the centre of gravity, and the *rationale* of floating bodies. The pendulum clock, and the Hydrometer were known to him, and he applied the latter to the determination of specific gravities of bodies. In the science of life, he was a defender of the doctrine of progressive development, which is only now forcing its way among the learned of Europe. Avicenna, in his days, gave utterance to dicta on the formation of the crust of the earth, which might be put into the mouth of an Ansted.

We have so far trespassed on our space, as well as on the reader's patience, in drawing a rough chart of the field of learning traversed of old by the Arabs, in order to prove that there is a strong and marked affinity between the sciences of Europe and of Arabia. That this fact is of great importance to us we shall presently show.

Our present purpose is to find out the most eligible method of translating European scientific technicalities, say into Urdu, and Hindi or Bengali. Bengali, the Hindi of Bengal, like the Hindi of our own Province, is the direct offspring of Sanskrit, which has sufficient elasticity to admit of being manipulated by the translator for the formation of new words suited to his wants. The new coined terms when once introduced into Bengali or Hindi, will soon be assimilated to its substance, and pass current like borrowed words of earlier date. But Urdu will hardly tolerate such intruders, unless a radical change takes place in its present constitution, and the Urdu speaking people not only gravitate more towards Hindi, but adopt the Nagri alphabet instead of the Arabic. Independently of the present and other considerations, we for one would be glad to see this change effected, for we have profound conviction that Urdu would be enriched and made more fruitful in direct proportion to its alliance with and approximation to Hindi, and the adoption of the excellent Hindi, instead of the defective Urdu Alphabet, would tend more than anything else to a uniformity of language and sentiment among the peoples of India. But we are afraid that it will be long, very long, before this most desirable consummation is a *fait accompli*, although of its ultimate triumph we have not the slightest doubt. The Semitic element will still continue dominant in our mother-tongue, so long as the Mahomedans of India do not come to have a juster, and less personal and exclusive idea of their position in the country of their adoption. When they have learnt to feel more Hindu and less Saracen, in other words, when they have come to look upon themselves more as Monads in the aggregate mass of Indian nationality, and less as an alien element hindering its thorough combination, when their affinities shall have elected for brotherhood India and the Hindus, not Arabia and the Arabs, then truly will the dream of a uniform language and nationality begin to be realised. But we must accept facts even as they are, and

try to make the best of them. A uniform phraseology for both Hindi and Urdu is at present impossible, and the latter must look to other sources than the purely Sanskrit.

Now, of the principle sciences which are to be translated, many, as we have shown, have a palpable germ in Arabic, and terms necessary to expound at least the elementary stages of these, may be exhumed by research. From this source we shall obtain a large accession to our scientific vocabulary. Indeed, why should we hesitate to work out this mine and appropriate the produce when we find that our present teachers, the Europeans themselves, are not ashamed to bear silent testimony to the scientific activity of the Arabs, and own their obligations to it, by the free use of such words as Alcohol, Alchemy, Algebra, Alembic, Zenith, Nadir, Elixir, Syrup, Julep, and a host of others. Of the number of words that can be thus obtained no one can form a true conception, unless he takes up any bibliographical work like that of *Hadji Khalifah* or *the Madeenatul-ulum*, and there learn the range of subjects which Arab speculation has from time to time been engaged upon, nor can one make them available for use unless he collect together all extant works of a scientific nature and place them in the hands of a committee of competent scholars.

There is still another source from which Urdu might borrow without prejudice, and to which Arabic stands largely indebted. We mean Greek. This point has not escaped the practical good sense and acuteness of Dr. Tameez Khan. He believes and with truth, that all the words of Greek origin used in Medicine and other sciences, might be adopted with such modifications to suit the phonetic requirements of our own language, as the old Arab borrowers have taught us by their example.

In addition to these, Persian will prove to us a powerful auxiliary, it will supply us with innumerable words, and being germane to both Urdu and Hindi, will stand us in good stead when other sources give us words too cumbrous and unwieldy, or when they give us none at all. It has moreover an elegant manner of forming compounds and derivatives, so analogous to what is already current in Urdu, that even new importations from that (only half foreign) source, will soon become even as household words.

To resume: in supplying our wants we are at liberty to avail ourselves of —

1. Words of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and European origin already in use in our vernacular.
2. Arabic technicalities to be found in Arabic works, but not in ordinary use.
3. Arabic compounds and derivatives coined according to strict rules.
4. Scientific technicals of Greek or Latin origin, manipulated to suit the phonetic peculiarities of our language in

imitation of Arab adoptions of the same.

5. Primitive, derivative, or compound words borrowed from Persian.

We shall now give a few instances of each class, to illustrate more fully the method we would recommend.

1. Instances of the first class of words will occur to every one. In chemistry, for instance, we have the name of the ordinary metals, the words *filizz* (metal), *dhat* (*do*) *Kar*, *ambic* (alembic or *retort*), *tez-ab* (acid). In anatomy and the science of Medicine we have *Kalb*, or *dill* (heart), *reah*, *shush*, or *phephra* (lungs), *tihal*, *pitti* or *pit* (spleen), *kabid* or *jigar* (liver), *dimagh* (brain), *rag* or *nas* (vein), *buhran* (crisis), *tap* (fever), *mudir* (diuretic), *mushil* (purgative), *mullain* (aperient) and a host of others in familiar use among Urdu speaking people. In natural Philosophy and Astronomy we have :—*kuvvat*, *zor*, or *bal* (force), *harakat* or *chal* (motion), *wazn*, *sikl* or *bojh* (weight), *hararat* or *garmi* (heat). *sayarah* (planet), *sawabit* (fixed stars), *ufuk* (horizon) and so forth.

2. Words of the second class are such as in chemistry, *milhyat* (saline bodies), *duhnyat*, (the fixed oils), *takhalkhul* (porosity), *maye* (liquid) or *syal* (fluid,) *bukhar* (vapour) and others. In Anatomy and Medicine, we have *shiryan* (artery), *Aasab* (tendons), *azalat* (muscles), *jamjamah* (skull), *ajwauf* (cavities), *godood* (glands), *mashimah* (secundines), *mukhuddirat* (palliatives) *istiska* (dropsy), *Istirkha* or *falij* (paralysis), *notool* (fomentation or rather embrocation) and a host of others. In natural Philosophy and Astronomy we have :—*bairam* (lever), *bukrac* (pulley) *markaz* (fulcrum), *tadeel* (equilibrium), *mihvar* (axis), *irtifa* (altitude), *tul-e-balad* (longitude), *arz-e-balad* (latitude), *jaib* (sine) and so forth.

3. We shall give only a few instances of the third kind, referring the reader for more to Dr. Tytler's excellent Arabic treatise on Anatomy, and the translation of the Aligarh Institute, and of Moulvy Kamaloodin of Lucknow, with the reservation of a right to veto any word coined in violation of good taste or strict grammar. For Thermometer, we have *miqyas-ul-hararat*; for Resultant of Forces, *hasil-ul-kuva*; for di-atomic substances, we may coin *sunai-oot-tarkeeb* for tri-atomic, *sulasi-ut-tarkeeb* and so on. *Takasuf* may be used for density, *meyar* for test *ilm-us-sakoon* for Statics, *ilm-ul-harakat* for dynamics; *harakat-e-umoodi* for vertical motion, and *ufuki* for horizontal; *wazi-e-ufuki* for horizontal position and so forth. More elaborate inventions might be adduced, but these are sufficient for our present purpose.

4. Words of this class might be adopted according to models already existing. For example the Arabs use *karnea* for Coruea, *dia-beetus* or *zia-beetus* for diabetes; *istaruk* for storax, *usturlab* for astrolabe; *isagogee* for isagogue; and proper names such as *Uklidis for* Euclid, *Pheethagorus* for Pythagoras, and *Suqrat* for Socrates. We might in imitation of these adopt in like manner,

murphia for morphia, *krolutees*, cryolite, *kristal* or perhaps *kristalus* for crystal analogous to the Greek word *ustukhudus* already in use; *hephrastinu* for hyperstone, *majilus* for Magilus. We may use diapitus for diaptase, *ispar* or *ispath* for spar, *broomin* for bromine, *Jodium* for iodine, and so forth. We do not mean to say that these identical words, modified in orthoepy in the manner we have attempted to indicate (and we confess we have not the slightest confidence in our own skill in transliteration) should be accepted as final and adopted. We have only given instances at random to illustrate a principle—namely that European words, when borrowed, should be subjected to some modification to suit our phonetic requirements, in order to preserve them from meeting with much rougher treatment at the hands of vernacular scholars, and giving rise to as many different forms, Orthoepically speaking, as there are men who will use them. We already know what such words as tax, court, appellant, respondent, etc., have become in the mouths of the common people, and what a variety of uncouth forms they have assumed. Their example should be a warning to us not to import terms wholesale. We should use a judicious discretion not only in the choice of terms, but in giving them such a stamp in our own mint as might be best calculated to preserve in them a permanent semblance of their originals, and prevent people from passing current coined imitations of their own.

5. Instances of our fourth class may be given by the hundred. We may coin *bad-kash* for air pump, *ab-kash* for water pump, *admipaikar* for anthropomorphus, the genus tubuloria may be called *nainuma*, and pachydermata may be called *sakht-jild*. We may translate calyx by *burg-e-beroni*, corolla as *burge-androni* and so forth. We must again impress upon the reader that we by no means offer these as the most appropriate translations of the words herein cited. We have given some illustrative instances and no more. Perhaps if it came to actual choice, we might ourselves prefer the Arabic or perhaps the Hindi renderings of these words, according as brevity and precision were better secured by this or the other word.

In pursuing the method we have advocated the greatest difficulty, we are aware, will be encountered in dealing with terms which cannot be rendered except by tedious periphrases or by compounds of forbidding length, which require a great effort of memory to retain them. We are well aware that such translations will incur a great amount of ridicule, from men who will volunteer to criticise the results of a process, the great difficulties of which, never having used their own skill at it themselves, they are not competent to realise. But even this difficulty, we say it with confidence, will be obviated, or at any rate kept at a minimum by strict adherence to the rules we have ventured to lay down. When simpler expressions are available we must reject lengthy compounds even at the sacrifice, to some slight extent, of expressiveness and connotative significance. When however

a vocable of this objectionable character is forced upon us, we must accept it as a matter of necessity and try to make the best of it. We believe it can be shown that even awkward Arabic compounds, may, sometimes, by the use of a little discretionary liberty of treatment be put into a somewhat more acceptable shape. To give an example, the word *mish-maleea-tun-lessaneea-tun*, which is Dr. Tytler's substitute for Stylo-glossus (accepting it as final) might be turned into *lessaania mishmal*. The Sublingual glands are rendered by the good Doctor by an expression which would take more time in the utterance than an ordinary Military Class Medical student would, in demonstrating their existence by the use of his dissecting knife. But we can materially shorten it by departing a little from the rules of strict grammar and calling the glands, *tahtania gudain-e-lessani*, or *gudd tahtal-lessanee*. Similarly in many cases in which it is desirable to have a short expression easily repeated, it will be found that by imitating the formation of Arab proper nouns of the class of compounds known to grammarians as the *muzji* or *imtizaji* and *benai*, several words may be merged into one grammatical whole. Nor need this scandalise Arabic scholars and strict purists, for it is not proposed to invade the sanctity of their favorite classic. Any solecisms we might be guilty of, they are at full liberty to credit to the account of the unclassic Vernacular Urdu.

But, as we have already said, we have always the elegant Persian to fall back upon in cases of emergency, and therefore *bona fide* difficulties of this kind will but rarely occur. In all cases a strict adherence to the rules of good taste and symmetry will guide the translator's choice to the best available expression. The retention of the original words will be only his last resort to be had recourse to in a case of extremity.

With due deference therefore to the ability and mature experience of Moulvi Tameez Khan Bahadur, we are constrained to differ from him, when he says :—

" For my own part, I do not believe that a mere acquaintance with a Sanskrit, or an Arabic, or a Persian vocable, can give us any better idea of the object or thing itself than if the same were to be expressed either in English, or Latin, or Greek and the student were shown that the particular vocable was meant only for a particular object, and for nothing else. Now, this is precisely the thing that we see carried out practically and successfully in the teachings of the various departments of our college, and elsewhere too. For instance, if we tell a student that the name of a particular muscle is " biceps, " or of that particular process " styloid, " or of that particular body a " lymphatic gland, " and without troubling him with the etymology of the term made use of, show and demonstrate to him that the name was intended only for that particular object and for no other thing ; we find the learner to know and to remember it well, and not to confound it with any other object."

We are not aware of any psychological law, by which crude names and non-connotative terms can be proved to be more easily retainable than connotative terms, and in general, terms which are significant to the learner and can be ticketed off, if we may use the expression, and stored up in the memory under some well known head of associated ideas. We do not know by what known principle, we can hold the word "biceps," to be one easier to remember than the vernacular *zat-ur-rasain* or *dio-sira*, or the word air pump than *bad-kash*, to an oriental picking up his Anatomy or his Physics out of an Urdu text-book. In fact, foreign words introduced in large numbers would exact as much exertion of memory from the learner, as would be sufficient for mastering the language itself, not to mention the risk we run of over working that faculty and over-developing it to the detriment of the other faculties of mind. In the acquisition of a science, the part played by a rational study of its nomenclature is no mean discipline of the mind. In all the Natural History sciences and in chemisty, a rational study of their nomenclature is of the utmost importance; and should the long array of terms which are therein to be encountered, have no significance to the learner except as names for different substances; should in fact these words be not etymologically significant and suggestive to him, he would not be much wiser, we are afraid, after he has crammed himself with this vast mass of erudition than he was before. In fact, it is not possible to imagine that the classifications in Botany or Zoology can be thoroughly mastered or chemical compounds studied by an Indian, if the foreign names are given to him untranslated and intact. Far better, we humbly submit, that he should be compelled, as a preliminary step, to acquire the elements of the English language before he enters upon the study of the sciences of Europe, than that he should grope in the dark, in a maze of uncouth foreign names, murdered in transliteration, and strive after "more light" in vain. Under such a system of teaching, even supposing it could be put into practice with any degree of success, the knowledge acquired would hardly be communicable to others, and our vernacular *savant* will in that respect be in no better predicament than the poor University graduate whose inability to make himself intelligible to his countrymen on subjects relating to his foreign studies, has passed into a proverb.

To obviate, however, the difficulty contemplated by the above named gentleman, in recording the remarks which we have ventured to criticise, we would recommend that in publishing translations of scientific works, the European equivalents of every technical term should invariably be inserted marginally both in the English and the Vernacular characters, and if a student could possibly commit to memory both sets of terms, we would not, object to his doing so. Dr. Tameez Khan is himself strongly in favour of such a typographical arrangement, although he would reverse the position of the two sets of terms, and would

put the newly coined ones " in the form of a foot-note " to the text.

Let us take a brief glance over what has already been done in this matter by others. And here, let us not forget, that the first place belongs pre-eminently to that profound Arabic scholar Dr. Tytler, whose Arabic translation of Dr. Hooper's *Anatomist's Vade-mecum* is a monument both of his scholarship and his wonderful perseverance. Owing to the great accuracy of composition and thoroughness of assimilation with the older Arabic learning which characterise this work, it has obtained more popularity among Mohammedans, and has done our *hakeems* more positive good than any other translation that we are acquainted with. It has almost become a text-book with them, and is read with avidity. In speaking of Dr. Tytler's " labour of love " Dr. Tameez Khan justly observes :—" That erudite scholar Dr. Tytler, to make Arabic language (sic) as the medium of communicating European Medical Science to Eastern lads, not only translated in chaste Arabic the entire volume of Hooper's *Anatomists Vade mecum* under the somewhat poetical title of *Anees-ool-moshur-rehin*, but with a degree of perseverance and diligent study of Arabic Medical Literature, which assuredly commands our highest respect, has appended to the work in question a glossary of scientific technical terms of one hundred and five pages, each column of which has a diglot of twenty one technical terms. Thus we find that Dr. Tytler has been so far successful as to have collected fully more than twenty two hundred terms from Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Medicine, and Surgery, etc., with their corresponding synonyms in Arabic ; and remember that by far the greatest portion of these have been coined and compounded seemingly by Dr. Tytler himself." And a little further on the Doctor remarks :—" I hope that I shall not be charged with hyper-criticism when I say that the rendering of the technicals there, is anything but well selected and judicious."

We agree both with the compliment and the criticism. It is impossible to regard Dr. Tytler's labours lightly, or his services to the oriental languages, with anything but profound respect and gratitude. But at the same time, it will be difficult to accept all his renderings. His choice was not always happy. Thus for example, for Hydrogen he has a long Arabic periphrase meaning " Water-producing air," for Nitrogen—Nitron-producer and for Oxygen, Acids-producer ; while the fact is that for elementary bodies of this nature, we must have the briefest expressions, and as far as possible, single words, or none at all ; not to speak of the inaccuracy of some of the expressions judged by the light of our present more advanced knowledge of chemical phenomena. Similarly with regard to many of the anatomical and physiological terms, there is ample room for improvement, upon Dr. Tytler's selections. There is no doubt, however, that Dr. Tytler's labours will be of the utmost use and prove a great help to the future translator. He will find in the Doctor's

work a vast mine of verbal wealth, which with a little skilful handling, will yield him a rich return.

The specimens from Patna run exactly into the opposite extreme. Where Dr. Tytler errs in choosing long-winded circumlocutions difficult to pronounce, and still more difficult to remember, Rai Sohun Lall takes us by surprise with words so absurdly trite that, were they not prefaced by an explanation of their serious import they would be taken for burlesque imitations intended to ridicule the teaching of science to the people of India. We have great respect for Rai Sohun Lall's knowledge and ability, and have great faith in his earnestness of purpose. As an Urdu scholar we think, he has struck out a path for himself in which he is sure to have many followers. As a writer of Urdu prose, the few specimens we have seen, prove him to have a perfect mastery over the language. Yet we are constrained to remark, that his literary eccentricities will meet with but little toleration, and his rice-water method will find but few advocates. We are ourselves strongly in favour of giving preponderance to Hindi words in Urdu composition as the surest means of imparting expressiveness, vigour and elasticity to the style, and we yield to none in execrating the inflated Perso-Arabic Urdu, if we may use the expression, which the Lucknow School of writers has brought into vogue. But at the same time we feel ourselves bound to protest against the vulgarisms of Rai Sohun Lall, we protest against the use of a language fit only for the boors of our villages and never used in polite conversation either by Hindus or Mahommedans. In the small list of technical terms published by him, there are perhaps more inaccuracies and absurdities than in the whole glossary of Dr. Tytler. While admitting that some of his translations are as apt and appropriate as could be wished, we wonder at the hardihood of proposing the following renderings, at once wanting in precision and accuracy, and so trite and commonplace as to be totally unfit for the requirements of science.

Resultant—*phal* (fruit).
System of forces in equilibrium—*Mile tule-hue-zor*, (Joined-balanced-forces).
Plane—*khet* (a field)
Exact science—*jani-hue-biddya* (known knowledge).
Experimental science—*jachi-hui-biddya* (tested knowledge).
Elementary body—*nirali chiz* (a thing unique or strange).
Definition—*pahchan* (a mark or sign).
Axiom—*jani-hui bat* (a known speech).
Circumference—*gherachakkar* (a surrounded, or perhaps surrounding, roundness or round thing).
Right angle—*kharra kona* (a standing corner).
Relation—*lag, lagao* (connection).
Acute angle—*sukra kona* (a shrivelled corner).
Equilateral triangle—*barabar bazoo tikhut* (equal-armed three line).

And many more, the absurdity of which is patent in the face of them. These words have not the slightest chance of being understood beyond the pale of Rai Sohun Lall's personal influence. Rai Sohun Lall has put himself to the trouble of appending in two more columns, Arabic and Sanskrit equivalents of the technicals he has selected as specimens, and wishes us to believe in the great superiority of his words over these. Of the Sanskrit terms we cannot speak with any degree of confidence, we believe however that they are generally correct, but he has not been so happy in his Arabic renderings. Some of them are hardly fair specimens of the capabilities of Arabic, and can be easily replaced by other and more appropriate terms taken from that language or from the Persian.

With Rai Sohun Lall's Arabic, however, we will not quarrel. We will let him translate *musallas* into (made three) and *jaib* into " pocket " and have his laugh at them. But his mongrel renderings of scientific terms we cannot pass over in silence. His *dourta-bijli-bal* (running lightning power) will never serve as substitutes for Voltaic and Frictional electricity. To popularise science is one thing, to make its literature vulgar and absurd is quite another. Most of the Arabic and Sanskrit words which he has condemned will be, we are afraid, much better understood by the Urdu and Hindi speaking peoples respectively than his own uncouth renderings, and the great end of precision will be better served. In justice, however, to Rai Sohun Lall's scheme it must be admitted that he sometimes displays great ingenuity in his manufacture of terms ; and his manner of writing on Scientific subjects, though not free from a certain degree of affectation and still capable of much improvement is above the average of everything of the kind we have yet seen done in the Urdu language.

Another translator, who deserves honourable mention, is old Moulvy Kamalooddin of the old Lucknow Observatory. He translated about fifteen works under the direction of Colonel Wilcock, the Superintendent of that Institution. The following is a list of twelve of them.

1. The Mechanical powers from a treatise published in the Library of Useful knowledge.
2. Astronomy Library of Useful Knowledge.
3. Hydraulics do do
4. Pneumatics do do
5. Optics do do
6. Heat do do
7. Lord Broughams' Discourse on Natural Philosophy.
8. A Treatise on Mathematical Instruments.
9. Do Magnetism.
10. Do Chemistry.
11. Brinkley's Astronomy.
12. A Treatise on Centrifugal Force.

The rest of his translations are of other than scientific works.

Most of those works, if we are not mistaken, were made over to the local Government. They were sent to the late Director of Public Instruction for his opinion. The translations however having been made thirty years ago, the science taught in them is necessarily much out of date. The Director of Public Instruction, if we are not mistaken, for this reason, and because the works were very brief epitomes of science which in the absence of other books would form difficult and unattractive studies for Indian youths, did not recommend their republication. He thought at the same time that they would be very useful in preparing more modern treatises adapted to the present state of science. Of their merit we are hardly competent to give an opinion, for the very simple reason that we have not seen the most important of them. We have had the pleasure, however, of perusing the Moulvy's translation of Brinkley's Astronomy, and we are of opinion that with a little revision the book will become a serviceable one to oriental readers, and that it will be of invaluable use to future translators in finding Arabic equivalents for English Astronomical terms. Its style is full of those faults which it is the object of a good translation to avoid. It is but just to add that the old Moulvy has received, in consideration of his literary labours and his long service under the kings of Oudh, a handsome reward from Government.

Similar remarks apply to the Mathematical treatises of Professor Ram Chunder. His Translation of Boucharlat's Principles of the Integral and Differential Calculus which was published at Delhi in the year 1845, is now out of print, and so little interest have works of this nature for *Indian* scholars, that it is not likely to be republished for a long time to come.

A word about translation in general and we have done. It appears to be, or rather to have been, the general belief until very lately, that to translate from a foreign language, it was enough to substitute words of our own language for the foreign words and present it to the public, somewhat in the fashion of English paraphrasing in which Entrance Course Key-makers and dealers in cram are so skilled. It was thought perfectly immaterial whether the sense was conveyed along with the words, or left behind. The translator having brought out a book in Urdu characters, thought he had done enough and could not have done more. It never enterd into his calculations, that he would have to follow every copy of his book in order to explain it to the reader not learned in his Hindustani. He never thought that his work would be like the printed pictures of gods and goddesses which itinerant Brahmins exhibit in streets and way-sides, to crowds of edified spectators, and sing out the merits and mighty deeds of each god and goddess as they pass in review. Dr. Fallon of Patna in his introductory remarks on Rai Sohun Lall's translations justly observes :—

" Scientific works hardly yet exist in the vernacular. Arithmetic, with elementary Geometry and Algebra, and a little

Natural Philosophy, represent the whole of science. In Physical and Social Science and in the higher branches of Pure and Mixed Mathematics there is an almost total blank. Even within this narrow range, which comprehends all that has been yet accomplished, it would be difficult to name ten works of real merit. The vernacular Hindustani in which European Science has been yet presented for the most part to the native mind, may be characterised as at once meagre and uninteresting, faulty in arrangement and expression and frequently unidiomatic and unintelligible—the performance, generally, of ill-disciplined and ill-informed minds, driven by a superficial knowledge of their subject, and want of command of their vernacular to the convenient shelter afforded by literal and vaguely expressed translations of the text."

It is a happy sign, however, that a more correct view of the objects of translation is beginning to gain ground. It is a happy sign that good translations are beginning to be better prized and their merits understood. To quote again from Dr. Fallon, the translator's task is far from an easy one " Even the preparation, " he says, " of an elementary work of science needs the comprehensive grasp which sees the simplest truths in the light of the most advanced knowledge of the day ; and to this grasp must be joined imagination and power of expression to represent clearly perceived truths to other minds with vivid clearness and in a connected form. It is painful to see pupils and teachers wasting their lives, for the most part over words merely. Without suitable books in their vernacular and without teachers able and willing to supply this want, the phenomena of nature are to them without meaning or interest. This waste of intellect and of the emotions should be very unsatisfactory to sympathetic minds who know by experience the value and enjoyment of mental culture."

Moral and Religious Education

"*The first condition of human goodness is something to love, the second something to reverence.*—GEORGE ELLIOT."

I HAVE placed the above aphorism taken from the greatest humanist of the present century at the head of this paper because it records in a few simple, pithy words the gist and essence of all that can be said or written on the subject of moral and religious culture for all times. In discussing the practical issues raised in the important public document of which this paper is intended to be simply a review, it is well to remember that the sentiments of Reverence and Love are the two elements at the root of all that is divine in man, and that to neglect them in any work that undertakes to raise a people in the scale of humanity, is like venturing into a cavern of primeval darkness without the help of a lantern to light our way.

The blessings that have resulted from the educational work of the last 30 years are well nigh incalculable. But after all the commonplaces on the subject have been affirmed, the fact remains that immense as has been the good done, there is a residuum of evil which it is impossible any longer to neglect. The letter of the 31st of December came not a day too soon, for the fact that we were drifting in a crooked direction was beginning to be observed by most thoughtful men in the country, and it was felt by those who were directly concerned in the work of education, that independently of their personal views on religious matters, a godless system of bringing up the youths of the country was sure one day to land us in disaster.

The indictment against our present system loses little of its gravity by the cautious and temperate language in which it is formulated in the letter. It is undeniable that the extension of education on its present lines has resulted in the growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline and reverence in the rising generation. It must also be admitted that our schools and colleges aim more at enabling their pupils to pass examinations than "at training them to those habits of self-respect which find expression in submission to authority, temperate language and deference to the judgment of those older than themseves." They do not foster habits of manliness, self-reliance and self-control. Finally they encourage not simply a revolt against the religions of their fathers, but against all religions that, armed with spiritual sanction, attempt to impose disciplinary restraints of any kind on their followers.

To begin with the matter of discipline, I turn to the nearest dictionary and find that discipline comes from the Latin word *disciplina* meaning instruction, teaching, showing that the two ideas of learning and strict subordination and subjection to law, and the further idea of chastisement for any breach thereof, are bound up with the etymology of the word. In fact education is degraded into simple instruction when discipline is not observed—discipline in the highest and widest sense of the word, discipline that aims at training youths into habits of self-respect, self-knowledge and self-control. "Give self-control," says Charles Buxton, "and you give the essence of all well-doing in mind, body and estate. Morality, learning, thoughts, business, success—the master of himself can master these." Above all, discipline properly applied ought to tend to the creation of a sense of duty. Without attempting an exhaustive classification of all that school discipline ought to exact in order to attain these ends, the following may be enumerated as essential :—(1) reverence for authority, (2) regard for prescribed formalities, (3) the observance of genteel manners, (4) punctuality, including punctuality in the performance of prescribed tasks, (5) thoroughness of work, (6) repression of selfish propensities, (7) temperate speech, (8) truthfulness and finally (9) justice.

As thus defined, hardly any discipline worthy of mention is enforced in our schools and colleges. Pupils are left much to themselves. The fever of passing public examinations maintains a sort of strain on the faculties of our school-going youth, producing results that are apt to be confounded with the results of discipline, but the two things are wide apart. The strain of competition has a distinctly unhealthy effect both on body and mind. Earlier in the century when there was no competition and the phenomenal eagerness for university passes had not made itself manifest, Bengal enjoyed a short Augustan era of true culture with a distinct disciplinary effect on the minds of its fortunate recipients which we look for in vain in later times. A few brilliant teachers, the like of whom India has not again seen, had gathered round them a crowd of eager disciples whose life was not saddened by the prospect of periodical public examinations. Out of this contact sprang into existence a circle of men who spent their leisure in the cultivation of letters, a small republic which counted among its numbers men who have left their mark on the country. Degumber, Mitter, Kishoy Chand Mitter, Ram Gopal Ghose, Ram Pershad Rai, Kishto Dass Pal are all gathered to their fathers. Rajender Lall Mitter and Shamboo Churn Mookherji, who are spared to us, tower head and shoulders above any that our present system has yet produced.

It may, therefore, be safely inferred that the laxity of discipline in our schools conjoined with the unhealthy strain of competitive examination, is responsible for our having hitherto obtained such poor results.

The tendency to irreverence that is perceptible in the rising

generation, is described as the inevitable result of the emancipation of thought which it no doubt is. It is, in any case, quite a feature of our schools. The fact is that great scientific truths the results often of careful research and elaborate ratiocination are, in the modern juvenile literature of the day, simplified to the level of the meanest understandings and furnish pabulum for the text books used by our children. Some of these truisms are opposed to old world beliefs still held sacred by the passing generation. Schoolmasters are not wanting who parade them before their pupils in ridicule of such prejudices. Children are quick to find out the weak points of their seniors : love of effect and self importance do the rest. Not having been trained in well-bred self-restraint, they flaunt their newly acquired paradoxes before their elders at home, and the more offensive they are, the greater the reiteration and pertinacity with which they are plied. It is thus probably that the sentiment of reverence receives its first death blow. But these beliefs, so easily ridiculed, are mixed up with other and more serious matters. Superficiality admits of no let or hindrance to its scepticism. From prejudice to prejudice, from belief to belief, from dogma to dogma, it soon runs over the gamut of all things sacred. Compared to the arduous process of thinking for oneself and weighing both sides of the arguments, how simple it is to admit once for all that all doctrines tending to put restraints and restriction on human liberty and hedging in personal rights with corresponding duties, must be false ! How cheap a way of establishing a reputation for philosophy and wisdom ! How plausible a pretence for doing away with self-restraint !

There was a time within my own memory when parents taught their children lessons in breeding and morality that would take our modern race of school going-boys with surprise. The obligation of veracity was vigorously enforced with the birch and the rod. Prevarication was more severely punished as a lie within a lie. Hyperbolic speech was discountenanced as the parent of inaccuracy and ultimately of deliberate falsehood. Boys were not suffered to contradict their elders, or speak to them in aught but a deferential tone. To talk loud or to laugh loud or to scratch, or to indulge in audible tokens of repletion or to gape or yawn visibly in company was a sin. They were not to order about the servants of their parents, and if any service was needed of them, it was to be sought as a favour and in deferential language. Justice was enforced strictly between them and their playmates among the sons of the servants, who were often treated to the same dainties which fell to the lot of the former. Sneaking and carrying tales met with severe rebuff. Cruelty to animals was discouraged. No boy ever dared leave the compound without the permission of his father. Boys who spent their pocket money in procuring little delicacies from the bazaar, were warned that it was an ill-bred habit, a slur on the comfort and caretaking of the parental roof. They were not to accept

presents from friends without permission. Evidences of unselfishness met with warm approval. Generosity towards their playmates was encouraged so long as it was at their own expense. They were taught to consider nothing in the house that was not expressly given them as their own. Fewer pains and penalties were attached to delinquencies in the domestic school room than to moral turpitude. In fact a book might be made out of the unwritten code of morals and manners and discipline that accompained their inculcation in well-bred Mahomedan and for that matter in well-bred Hindu families, that might lighten the labour of some of the Bengal Professors who have kindly volunteered to teach us breeding.

But now the school master is abroad, and he has apparently ceased to teach at home—either well-bred families are getting extinct, or parents having no time to attend to their children, consign them to the tender mercies of the school master. Certain it is that we are reduced to learning manners from foreigners. Indian youths are as noted now for *gaucherie* and undignified demeanour, to use very mild expressions, as they were at one time for their self-respect and self-possession in the presence of strangers—*O ! tempora ? O ! Mores !*

Indians and Indian Civil Service

IN throwing together the substance of the following pages I have followed no rigid line of classification. Such divisions as I have made of the subject sometimes run into one another and pretend to no "scientific frontier." I have simply taken some of the heads of the enquiry and endeavoured to discuss them to the best of my ability. I have commenced with the Uncovenanted Service as the first step in the great administrative hierarchy, and have then gone on to the higher services, dealing without any strict order of precedence with a few of the side-issues that arise out of them. To exhaust all the issues was more than I could do within the space at my command.

The claims of the natives of India to be represented in the administration of their own country have always been conceded by the ruling power. Both the justice and expediency of the concession were seen from the first, and have never at any time been denied. A certain number of appointments in the Executive and Judicial services were always reserved for them, and although administrative and legislative progress and the introduction of codes of procedure and other reforms ousted a certain class of officials from what used to be their special preserves they were ousted only to be replaced by another class of officials better versed in the modern methods and appliances of Government, far purer, and, by culture and education, better fitted to justify the ways of the rulers to their countrymen and soften some of the asperities of foreign rule. Since then the Uncovenanted Service has risen steadily in public esteem and popular confidence, and has done yeoman's work for Queen and country. Some of its members have raised themselves to positions of eminence by their ability and force of character, and would have risen still higher, if the doors of the higher service had not been closed against them. The Imperial Government has endeavoured to throw open a few prize appointments to such men, but they are too few in number either to satisfy legitimate Indian aspirations or reward all the deserving ones of the service.

There is another anomaly. First class Deputy Magistrates, Deputy Collectors and Extra Assistant Commissioners are vested in the Bengal Provinces with the full powers of a Magistrate and Collector, and in many instances are placed in charge of important sub-divisions; and in that capacity, or as Assistants in large and populous districts, turn out as much and as efficient

work as the Civilian Magistrates, or Collectors under whom they serve. Yet, whereas, the horizon of their ambition is bounded by a paltry pension of three or four hundred rupees, garnished in some instances with a modest decoration, their civilian colleagues can look forward to a long vista of honours and promotion, ending sometimes in a Grand Cross and a well paid sinecure in Downing Street and, may be, higher possibilities beyond. Uncovenanted Indians have, however, no occasion to grudge their more fortunate brethern either the Grand Cross of honour or the snug sinecure, for in the majority of cases they are the reward of a very high order of merit, and have been earned by long years of self-denial, and hard, honest, sterling work in a strange climate and among an alien people. Rather let them urge that if there are men of talent in this country, if there is ambition in the breasts of her children, it is meet that such talent and ambition should be provided with a field of activity in an honourable career in the service of their country. Let them insist that tried merit and proved loyalty shall be recognized and suitably rewarded, for therein their interests and the interests of their rulers are identical, since no civilized Government, situated like the British Government is in India, would willingly despise the one or neglect the other.

How then are the prospects of the Uncovenanted Service to be expanded? Two plans occur to me at this moment, either of which might be adopted without detriment to the vested rights of other services.

The first and simplest plan is to tack the Statutory Service on to the Uncovenanted, and, instead of recruiting the former by nomination, which is under the best of circumstances open to the suspicion of favouritism, to let it be recruited from the ranks of the Uncovenanted Service. I would select so many every year, or every two or three years as the case may be, in each Province, and raise them to Statutory rank, but I would let the selection be guided by certain definite principles. Length of service, for example, should not count for much, but I would have none that did not come up to a certain standard of social respectability. I would rigidly exclude men of low caste. I would, as a rule, look with suspicion on men who have risen from what in Bengal is called the "Amlah" or "Ministerial" ranks but in exceptional cases I would not taboo them altogether, for some brilliant careers have been hewn out of office and court subordinates, although they live in an atmosphere not very favourable to the growth of clean official character.

These matters being understood, I would be guided solely by proved merit. I do not think it is much use having old and superannuated men about to retire under the 55 years rule. That would simply make a "happy hunting ground" of the Statutory Service. I would take the younger men in the hope of making something out of them. Then as to the prospects, I would have the pay a little higher than in the Uncovenanted

Service, but other things being equal, a little lower than that of the Covenanted civilians. I think three-fourths is a good proportion, or even two-thirds. I would make them eligible for some of the appointments in the Customs, Salt, Opium, Postal, Accounts and Registration Departments hitherto reserved for Europeans. With regard to their Leave, Absentee allowances and Pension, I would make no change. The rules now in force are favourable enough.

It will be seen that my remarks bear mainly on the Executive branch of the service, for on the Judicial side the Uncovenanted Service has excellent openings and cannot fairly ask for more although for the sake of uniformity it would be expedient no doubt to dovetail both branches of the Uncovenanted into the Statutory Service, and classify all the Higher Judicial functionaries of the subordinate service, such as Small Cause Court Judges and others under the latter.

With regard to the recruitment of the Uncovenanted Service, I believe, in the old days custom varied in the various Provinces. In Bengal, the Lieutenant-Governor appointed Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors direct. The selections were, I believe, on the whole statisfactory. It is true that Calcutta was much exercised at one time early in the century by the spectacle of here a butler or there a fiddler dispensing patronage, but those were days of princely civilians, whose very butlers or fiddlers were respectable. I have no doubt that gentleman, if he is not purely mythical, made a good choice and conferred his master's favours on men who never gave the latter cause for regret. However that may be, it was not customary in Bengal, as far as I know, except in rare instances, to raise men from the ministerial ranks. In Oudh on the contrary, and in the North-West Provinces, I believe, this was long the rule, and appointment direct, the exception. I believe this led to some very impure and objectionable men getting in. In my humble opinion the system is a mischievous one, and tends to lower the status of what is and ought to be a most honourable service. My personal impression is that in my time official opinion on this subject in Oudh was divided, but the best men were, I think, for direct appointments. I would recruit this and every other service of equal or higher rank by a combination of the two systems—nomination and competition. I think each administration might keep a list of applicants, and make a selection out of them. The men thus selected should be allowed to compete for the vacancies in the service every year, or every two or three years as the case may be. The details of the selection and the competition can be easily worked out, but I think it would be expedient to have the examining body organized at Calcutta, either under the auspices of the University or one of the Secretariats. It will be seen further on that I have suggested a similar plan in all essential points for recruitment of the higher service, as far at least as Indians are concerned.

The alternative plan that I have to suggest is the total abolition of the statutory system, coupled with the throwing open of some of the higher appointments mentioned in the preceding paragraph to such members of the Uncovenanted Service, as are of good social standing and proved merit. The question, whether or not under either system the nominees shall be subjected to some sort of test, is of secondary importance, and may safely be left to regulate itself by Departmental rules and requirements. A recruit from the subordinate service who has passed the usual Departmental tests of that service, and has been promoted to statutory rank on evincing administrative ability, need not be subjected to a fresh test, unless the duties assigned to him involve familiarity with special subjects not embraced in the tests through which he has already passed.

As to the question of race, I am afraid it looks very odd, that we should in the same breath plead for a complete elimination of it in our interest when it threatens to exclude us from one service, and seek its reinstallation in the same interest, when it threatens to include people of mixed blood in another service which we wish to reserve to ourselves. To be consistent we must either accept the principle in both cases or reject it altogether. It would however be unjust to the pure Indians of the country if this service were thrown open to Eurasians and domiciled Europeans unless they chose to accept the name and position of " Indian " and abided by it for better or for worse. There is no hardship in granting them rights co-extensive with those of pure Indians, but it is hard on the Indians and unfair, to allow them the rights and privileges of both Indians and Europeans. Our Eurasian and Anglo-Indian friends should not act the part of the ostrich in the Arab story that refused to carry burdens, because he was not a beast, and refused to fly because he was not a bird. They should choose one rôle and abide by it.

Between eighteen and twenty one years is a fair limit of age for admission to the subordinate service, but I would relax the rule in the case of professional men, whom it may be desirable to encourage to enter the service. The literary test ought to include a fair knowledge of at least one Oriental classic and of English and a thorough familiarity with the Vernacular of the Province. I would rigidly exclude men of weak or rickety physique, and I would insist on a fair record of previous moral character. I think the custom of enforcing a short probation between nomination and substantive appointment has a very wholesome influence on the recruits, and I would retain it except perhaps in the case of professional men, whose merits and capacity may be presumed to be well known to the local authorities. Of course under my system there would be no probationers in the Statutory Service. Two hundred rupees per month during probation is not excessive for probationers of the subordinate service. I certainly would not offer them less.

I would leave the different Administrations free to recruit their subordinate and Statutory Service from the people living within their jurisdiction, reserving however for the Imperial Government at headquarters the right of making direct appointments in exceptional cases. We may safely trust the high character of our officials and the vigilance of the public press to prevent jobberies, although for that matter jobberies will occur now and then under the best regulated Governments. And after all, what is stigmatised as a job by disappointed place-seekers may be a mere disregard of red-tape in a higher interest by authorities able to set it aside with impunity.

The Statutory Service created under 33 Vic. Chapter III, section 6, is an unmistakable failure. It was doomed from the first. It was a make-shift measure and there was neither heart nor soul in it. It failed to satisfy Indian aspirations, at the same time that it failed to benefit the service by the accession of the right sort of men. It was the outcome of a time, which gave us the Press Act and the Arms Act, and virtually closed the door of competition in England against our youths. Nevertheless, I wish emphatically to state that it was an honest and well-meant measure, adopted by a Statesman who saw the pitfalls that lay in the way of unreserved competition. Hard words have been used by a certain section of the Indian Press with reference to Lord Lytton's conduct in the affair, and motives have been ascribed to him, which when ascribed to the commonest personage in private life amount to libel and defamation. I hold that the abuse is undeserved and the suspicions unworthy, alike of the nobleman against whom they are levelled and of the good sense and loyalty of the people of India from a section of which they proceed. He acted no doubt upon motives of State policy, as I will endeavour to explain, and under an indubitable Russian scare. The British Government in India, it must be remembered, is the Government of a vast Empire, composed of multitudinous nationalities, by a handful of an alien people at a distance of some five thousand miles from their parent country. There is little in common between them and the people they are called upon to govern except humanity, and the possession of those attributes which the word humanity connotes. Their religion, their language, their manners and customs, their character, their civilization are different from ours. It must truly be a marvel to an outsider to observe, nevertheless, how well they pull on together—the rulers and the ruled.

What then is the secret of the solidarity, the harmony that prevails in this wonderful Empire? I may be mistaken, but I think the secret lies in the unmistakable supremacy our rulers maintain. It is the prestige of their power, their unquestioned position as a governing class, that enables a handful of Englishmen to maintain equilibrium between all the conflicting interests and passions to be found in this vast congeries of States and nationalities. Some of our great statesmen and administrators

(all honour to them for the noble motives that inspired them) made the mistake of tampering with the supremacy of their race and lost us the Empire. The British people in India are not likely to repeat the error.

It is possible that some of those who are ready to detect "trickery and fraud" in the conduct of our English rulers towards our country, will bid the latter return bag and baggage to their island home and trouble us no more. Fortunately for them and for others, but for them more than for others, the English are not likely to take them at their word. Neither abuse nor sticks will drive them from India, such sticks at any rate as any of them can wield. England will hold this Empire as long as she can, because it redounds to her glory and profit to hold it; and it fortunately happens in this case, as it seldom happens in cases of foreign rule, that it redounds to the glory and profit of this Empire to be held by England. Thus, as the diplomatists say, the interests of the two countries are identical, and the Indians and the English are bound to make the best of each other. Some of us in India, who revel in the democratic literature of England and America, are apt to run away therefrom with large and brilliant ideas torn from their settings. We forget that abstract principles do not apply to human affairs, and that the most generous axioms have to be accepted with their limitations. We forget that institutions that work well in a homogenous commonwealth break down utterly, when applied to communities from which the conditions of their success are absent. We forget that Representative Government and Democratic Institutions are on their trial even in Europe, where the conditions are most favourable to their development, and it remains to be seen in what manner the different forces will adjust themselves after the final struggle. We forget that in India free institutions have to be introduced with great caution and circumspection and that the English people, who are the virtual fathers and creators of free institutions in the modern world, are the best judges of the time and manner of their introduction in this ancient home of despotism. We ought to remember that their own democratic instincts, inborn as they are in the race and nation, will never let them rest until they have grafted their favourite institutions on Indian soil. They will need little encouragement from us in this matter, we may rest assured, and less guidance; it is for us to prepare ourselves for receiving and assimilating them as they come, if we find they are for our good.

A careful consideration of these principles will show us that we need not seek in "trickery and fraud" for an explanation of Lord Lytton's policy. As a Viceroy responsible to his Queen and country for the safety and well-being of his vast satrapy, he was no doubt staggered at the prospect of the unchecked admission of Indians into the higher service, upon which rest in a large measure the foundations of British supremacy in India. He was

no doubt conscious of the insufficiency of competition to provide a safeguard, and had a vivid sense of the facility with which a certain order of young minds in India is able to distance all ordinary pursuit in that race. He was confronted with the dilemma of either surrendering the service, and *a fortiori* the Empire, into the eager hands of one or two forward Indian races not gifted with the power to keep it either for themselves or for England, or setting aside and trampling under foot a Royal Proclamation of most grave and solemn import. Lord Lytton chose a middle course. He would not surrender the service; he could not rescind a Royal promise; he threw to the hungry and clamorous a few crumps of bread and bade them be satisfied until he could give them more. Lord Lytton was not opposed to Indian advancement; he was fearful of English retrogression. He was acuated by no race antagonism; he was certainly friendly to us, and tried to do his best for us under the circumstances; and who can find fault with a man for doing the best he can?

But to return from this digression, I maintain that it would be unwise and inexpedient on political grounds:—

(1) to open the competition to all comers,
(2) or to admit Indian Civilians to any position in the service whatsoever in regular course of promotion,
(3) I also hold that a mere literary test is insufficient to secure us the best men.

We are not yet prepared to abide by the results of unreserved competition. India is essentially a conservative country where privileged classes have for centuries held dominant sway, where the institution of caste has as yet lost little of its vitality, and where respect and reverence are important elements in the people's submission to political authority. A low caste Indian raised to power can never command the willing allegiance of those over whom he is set to rule, because he can never command their respect or reverence; and if his position is backed by the power and prestige of our Government, he will be hated if obeyed, but loved or respected never. The conditions which this state of society indicates are, it must be remembered, favourable to the existence of a strong Government, and no wise ruler will violently disturb them if he can help it. Circumstances may change; time may, and perhaps will sweep away these land-marks—the growth of centuries of placid life—but until the change has taken place, and the old foot-holds of Indian life are swept away, statesmen will have to adjust their combinations out of the existing elements which none may disturb except at his peril. I may be old fashioned in my ideas, but I confess I should be grieved to see any rapid change attempted. Let the old life and the old ideas that sprang out of it die of senility and natural decay. This is inevitable. But I should grieve to see one little finger raised to bring about their premature downfall. What our social and domestic life and our political institutions are likely to become

under the forcing tendency of an exotic civilization, aped but not assimilated, is well typified by the atrocities that are being daily committed in our national arts under the supposed influence of European taste. Any one whose artistic sense has ever been shocked by the un-Indian combination of colours and outrageous patterns, now produced at some of our art manufactories—from an impulse of blind imitation will be able to imagine the shock sustained by the time-honoured conservative instincts of Indians in the face of the subversive ideas of some of their countrymen. I know that my thoughts will be echoed in millions of Indian homes and hearts, and that even in Bengal itself, which is our great manufactory of platitudes, I shall find sympathy and support among those who have time-honoured heirlooms to protect or old family honour to uphold.

But an unreserved competition is sure to lead to another difficulty. Under its operation the whole service would be swamped by men from one or two favoured Provinces. Very few of the robuster races of India, on whom the Empire relies to a great extent for its defences, would have a chance. The Nizam and Scindhia and Holkar and the proud old Chieftains of Rajputana and the Punjab would have to bow their coroneted heads down before any lettered upstart who might happen to rise to power.

There is a word or two to be said with regard to the efficiency of the method by which civilians are selected. We select them purely by an intellectual test, forgetting that there is something like heredity in the attributes that go to the making of a ruler. It is not intellect alone that tells; it is intellect and the indefinable something that marks out the gentleman in a crowd, and manifests itself in practical life by tact, by courtesy to inferiors, by coolness and self-possession in the face of difficulties, by honourable conduct in the absence of motives of fear or favour, by pluck in danger, by the disregard of personal considerations in the discharge of public or private duty and by a hundred other phases of character all bearing on the conduct of life. Far be it from me to arrogate this as the birthright of any one caste or order. Human nature, cast after the image of our Maker, is the birthright of all. But it is in the fashioning of it afterwards that we stamp it with our particular trade-mark, which it takes generations of a different handling to alter or efface.

And competition, such as we are familiar with, is after all simply a literary test and appraises those that submit to it only in terms of the intellect. Man, be it remembered, is a three-cornered being, and intellect is the least influential of the three corners in his relation to his fellow-men. Is a man strong of arm? Then let us seek his protection or beware how we provoke his resentment. Is he truthful in his dealings and just? Then let us rely on him to deal justly with us and render us what is ours. Is he learned? What then? He may teach us the secrets of nature and thus yield us pleasure, or confer on us power

that may be converted into bread. But manhood is not nourished by bread alone. Classical knowledge, or scientific, does not afford us guidance in our conduct towards each other, or towards the State, as citizens or subjects. And yet what does competition test but the power of assimilating knowledge, nay perhaps of only storing it up for reproduction on the application of the proper stimulus. Capacity for physical endurance, power of muscle and sinew, moral capability, force of character, these are not meted by a literary test.

It would be all the better for British rule in India if competition was made less unreserved even for Englishmen, and a little more credit was given for morale and physique in casting its final balance sheet. But an English civilian, in the very circumstances of his race, bears a Hall Mark for the people of India which will cover a multitude of defects. Not so the Indian civilian. No mere mark will suffice him. He must be real sound metal to be able to hold his own. For him the competition such as we have it now is not enough. It is not competent by itself to single him out for us. It will sometimes make grievous mistakes and give us the wrong man. If the experiment of admitting Indians to the higher service is to be tried, it ought not to be vitiated at the very outset by such an obvious error.

Until such time therefore as the test can be rendered more exhaustive and less one-sided, I venture to suggest the adoption of the following plan. Let it first be decided what proportion of appointments every year is to be given to Indian youths—say a fourth or a fifth of the total number. Let us suppose the total number of vacancies any year to be twenty and let us suppose that five out of the twenty are to be given to the Indian subjects of Her Gracious Majesty. I would in this case select the five most populous Provinces, though for that matter we might take in as many Provinces as we like, and allot one appointment to the first five in competition. I would then request the heads of the five or more Provinces to register the names of applicants, and make a careful selection out of them, say of three or four or five out of each batch, and give them the option of proceeding to England to compete for the appointments. The local selection of candidates in the case of each Province should be guided with strict reference to the principles I have hereinbefore ventured to point out. The results of the competition in England must govern our future proceedings with regard to these youths. If exactly five out of the fifteen, or twenty or twenty five as the case may be, obtain places among the first twenty, well and good. If more than five get in, the first five should get appointments and the rest wait till the next year when they should be let in without a fresh examination. If less than five, say only three, score the number of marks necessary to place them with the fortunate twenty, then the other two places should be given to the 19th and 20th on the list whatever their nationality.

It would not be necessary of course under this scheme for each Province to select an equal number of candidates. Bengal for example would perhaps send a larger number to the competition than the Punjab. That is a matter of no great importance.

As regards the present limit of age, I think it is a shade too narrow in the interests of the service itself, though I do not know why it should be felt a hardship by us when it is the same for all competitors. The fact is that other things being equal, Indian youths of 19 are much maturer in intellect and physique than English youths of the same age. I would raise the limit of age, however, to twenty, and make a couple of years' residence either at Oxford or Cambridge compulsory as now. But I would draw the line there, for if a young man does not begin practical life at 22, he is apt to get too old and case-hardened to have the malleability necessary for the ready assimilation of fresh experiences and practical lessons of life. Good officials are not born but made, it is the first few years of novitiate that mould for them their future careers. With reference to this subject and some other conditions of a fair competition, I beg permission to quote from an old friend. Talking of the reduction of the limit of age from 22 to 21 and then to 19 the *Hindu Patriot* of the 29th of November last year makes the following remarks :—

"We won't say that this was done purposely to exclude Indians. Perhaps it was done because it was felt that it was not so good to buy the very best thing stamped with the Hall Mark at the very best open market, as to buy immature unfinished things and take the risk of finishing them somehow."

This is no doubt sarcastic, though the point of the sarcasm is a little blunted by the consideration that the risk of finishing the articles has to be accepted in any case, for there is no such thing as a finished official to be bought or sold in any market, and that the finishing is better begun young than when maturity has case-hardened the subject of the experiment. Upon the reduction of the marks formerly allotted to Oriental classics the *Patriot's* sarcasm is more to the point.

"The reduction may have been made," says the writer, "for a notion that for the discharge of Judicial and Executive duties in India for Indians, a knowledge of Latin and Greek was of greater importance than that of Sanskrit and Arabic." The reduction perhaps was made with a view to narrowing as much as possible the chances of Indians getting in, without imposing on them invidious legal disabilities by means of a Statute of Parliament. But this, be it remembered, was at a time and under a regime when the few admissions of Indians to the higher service were looked upon as unwise and inexpedient. Times have changed since then. India has made vast strides during the last decade towards a closer union of interests with the Imperial Power, and her loyalty towards the latter has been demonstrated in a manner that has taken the outside world by surprise. There

is less risk now than there was fifteen years ago in the admission of Indians to the higher ranks of the administration. And once the principle is conceded the readjustment of the conditions of competition so as to offer a perfectly fair field on equal terms to all competitors will be a simple matter of detail.

I am opposed to the competition being transferred to India, or even a simultaneous competition in India and in England. For a long time to come the number of appointments allotted to Indians will be too small to make it worth while holding an examination in this country. The advantages, moreover, of a lengthened residence in England for Indians destined for the higher service are overwhelming. Then again no two examinations held at centres so far apart could be uniform, and this would lead to unfairness in the results and consequent heart-burnings. We are not asked to help towards the creation of another Statutory Service, one holding a position midway between the higher and the subordinate services. Yet this is virtually what a competition in India would effect. We are called upon to point out the best way according to our lights of admitting Indians to the higher service.

A lengthened sojourn in England is of incalculable benefit to Indian youths, whether they aspire to places in the Covenanted Service, or merely seek to finish their education. English life, character, and manners cannot be studied except in England and amongst Englishmen. It is a common remark that Englishmen who have never been abroad are more insular and less cosmopolitan in their views of things in general than their travelled fellow-countrymen. The youths of India, however, need to a much greater degree than Europeans, the polish that contact with the outside world alone can give. Indians are very domestic in their habits. An ordinary Indian, in comparison with other Asiatics, is more shy and self-conscious. Take a Persian and an Arab for example. He is, in nine cases out of ten, more self-possessed and self-reliant, and betrays a greater knowledge of the world than nine out of ten Indians of the same or even a superior class. It is in the enervating influence of domesticity, and the seclusion of women in India, that we must seek for the causes of this difference, which contact with the European world in early youth, when character is yet forming, will assuredly rub off. It is important that our youths should enter the struggle of life well accoutred, and clear of impediments.

If this is true of all Indian youths, how much truer still it must be of those, who are to take part in the higher administration of their country, side by side with Englishmen? Without going so far as to say that "honesty, diligence, sense of duty, firmness of temper, perseverance, sense of honour, and independence of thought," are characteristics of Englishmen, and are not to be found in any other race, it must be conceded that the Indian, who is to be associated with Englishmen

on equal terms in the administration of his own country, must needs acquire English habits of thought, and the power of viewing things from the point of view of an English administrator. He must get rid of the Idola which his domestic life and his environment impose on him, and this is impossible except by a long residence in a European country, by preference in England, and by association with Englishmen of the right kind.

It must not be assumed, however, that residence in England will turn out good men whatever the material we send up, and in whatever way it is handled. Instances are not wanting of young men who have gone to England for their education and have returned no better than they went, if anything, perhaps a little worse. For, those unaccustomed to the restraint and discipline of good manners and high breeding under their own roofs in their own country, do not take kindly to the greater refinement and higher breeding of English society. Such are the youths sometimes to be seen at the low pleasure resorts of the English capital, but seldom or never in the domestic circle of well-bred English houses and homes. English friends on board a vessel that carried some Indian passengers of this class, some years ago assured me that the latter invariably kept together during the voyage, whether on deck or at the mess table, and carried on conversation amongst themselves in their vernacular, which of course no one else understood. They seldom mixed or conversed with their English fellow passengers, some of whom were men of their own year and their own profession. Yet, he observed that they were treated with marked, though distant courtesy and indulgence by the latter in spite of their unsociable ways. In agreeable contrast to them was a young man of different Indian nationality but better breeding, with whom his English fellow-passengers were on the best of terms, and who was treated as a friend and brother. I have heard of a youth who on his return from England denied his parents and refused to see them. Such specimens, it must be confessed, are not encouraging. I may observe *en passant* that when an Indian complains of ill-treatment at the hands of an Englishman, it is either that there is a lapse of good manners on the part of the former as the first provocation, or the case is one of a timid ignorant Indian falling into the hands of a rough Englishman of the clodhopper kind. I am not justifying ill-treatment; I am only trying to explain it. Instances of down-right ill-treatment of Indians on the part of English gentlemen, are very rare. As to provocation, I think we ourselves are apt to resent impertinence as much as Englishmen.

What led me to this digression is the lesson that we are daily taught of the folly of hoodwinking broad social and ethnic facts. A pariah by birth or by nature can be ennobled by Royal Letters Patent, but no Letters Patent can make a gentleman of him. The visit to England will no doubt do a great deal, but the result will depend on the nature of the material, and on the way it is handled.

I have pointed out once before another limitation to which the opening of the service to Indians needs to be subjected in the interests of British supremacy, as much as in those of order and good Government. Let me explain myself more fully here ere I close this part of my memorandum. I think the time is not yet ripe for the appointment of Indians to the charge of districts or divisions, especially in Provinces in which war-like races predominate or the population of which consists of mixed nationalities whose interests are not always identical. It is questionable whether even in the agrarian districts of Lower Bengal where the inflammable elements are of a very mild character, a native civilian can always be trusted to hold the leading post of the administration. No doubt some will be found quite up to the mark especially among the drafts from the robuster races of the north, but measures affecting such wide interests cannot be shaped upon exceptions. This limitation, however, does not tie us down too much, and we need not be discouraged. The avenues of the Judicial and Revenue Departments, the higher grades of the Police, Finance, Registration and other Civil Departments remain open for us. In this connection I wish to say a few words with reference to another important service, I mean the Political. I do not see that there is any political obstacle in the way of able Indian civilians being employed as first or second Assistants to Residents in Native States, or even as Agents in the minor Principalities. Consulships in the Persian Gulf ought also to be opened to them. My own impression is that Indians of the proper calibre will rather distinguish themselves in this particular line. It may be found useful at times to have Indian attaches to some of our foreign Embassies. At any rate the idea is worth consideration. I am under the impression that two or three tentative appointments were at one time made by the Imperial Government in the Political Department, but I have not followed their careers and am not aware how they prospered. I do not, however, believe much in empiricism. I should like to see the experiment tried with due exactness and in the presence of the necessary conditions. I mean that I should like to see the experiment tried with the proper quality of men, with a sufficient previous training. I have great respect for the scions of noble and princely families, but for such work they must qualify. The qualification being present I would rather have the scions of noble and princely families by preference, but not till then. I venture to say that Mahomedans will be found better suited for this kind of work than men of other Indian nationalities.

The pay question with the Covenanted Service is a rather sore point with me. I cannot make up my mind to recommend any difference being made between Indian and European civilians in this respect, not on account of the money value of the difference, for that I consider paltry in view of the issues at stake, but because the distinction introduces an element of disparity between

two members of the same service and of the same rank, which will operate to the prejudice of the status and official importance of the Indian members in the popular mind. Yet, I must confess I do not see how we can justly claim perfect equality of pay, when we know that Englishmen in India are handicapped in the matter of expenditure to the extent of their "home charges" at the prevailing rate of exchange, and by the expensive appliances they have to resort to in order to make the Indian climate endurable to themselves and their families. In a memorandum I drew up in October 1881, at the request of my esteemed friend Mr. Syed Mahmood, I expressed myself very strongly in favour of equality of pay (the paper here referred to is printed as an appendix to the present memo). I have since then, however, seen reason to modify some of my views. But I still maintain that the modern mode of life which every Indian civilian will have to adopt is a very expensive one, and equality of pay, if conceded, would give him but a very slight advantage over his English colleague.

But the demand for equal emoluments should not be pressed for another reason. It is our interest to introduce the element of economy into the question of the employment of Indians. We shall be thereby furnishing Government with a very powerful motive for conceding our claims. Let it once be demonstrated that Government can get the greater part of their work done as efficiently as now by cheaper agency, and we shall find that Government will not be slow to avail themselves of it. This is no new idea, but it is well worth the consideration of my countrymen.

It is sometimes alleged that the necessity of a visit to England will operate unfavourably in the case of certain classes of Hindoos who may not cross the "black waters" without loss of caste. I think this cannot be helped. People must submit to disabilities imposed upon them by their own society. It is hard on them, no doubt, and hard perhaps on the service that is thus possibly deprived of some bright ornaments, but I say it cannot be helped. All honour however, to those brave men, who would rather forego great worldly advantages, than alienate themselves from their countrymen by a disregard of what their consciences have for centuries been taught to regard as binding. It would be a great point gained if some method could be devised of enabling high caste Hindoos to sojourn in England without loss of caste. The Oriental Institute at Woking professes to supply the desideratum, but it remains to be seen how it will be looked upon by orthodox public opinion in India, when it is in full working order.

While on this part of the subject, I beg to be allowed to say a few words with reference to the expediency or otherwise of granting scholarships and passage money to Indians proceeding to the competition in England. I am opposed to all eleemo-

synary favors to individuals in this connection; they derogate from the dignity of the service. A few exceptions may however be founded for open competition among the candidates elect of the Provinces. Perhaps some of our patriots will put their hands in their pockets and contribute towards a fund for this purpose. The great Indian Princes, if approached in a proper manner, may also be induced to render valuable help and contribute materially towards the political elevation, perhaps, of some of their own subjects. If bitten by the scheme, the more advanced rulers among them may even see it fit to make use of the examining machinery in England in order to get recruits for their own services. The late Sir Salar Jung was in favor of some such method for the Hyderabad Government. He was prepared to content himself with men figuring low down in the columns of the competition list provided they were of good family and unexceptionable moral repute. I may mention, in passing, that that great statesman and diplomatist attached considerable importance even to such a thing as personal appearance in making selections. It was one of his pet theories that for high and commanding positions men of a fine presence should be preferred. Some will laugh at the idea as an instance of dilettantism in statecraft, but it is nevertheless founded, I firmly believe, on a profound study of human nature.

I will conclude this memorandum with a few general remarks. The demand that Indians should receive their fair share of State patronage is not an unreasonable one, and every willingness has been shown on the part of the Government to concede it. But are all the demands that are being made in our name equally reasonable? Are they even our demands? When some of our platform orators talk of our national aspirations, who are they prepared to answer for? Will the Punjabees be satisfied if they have a jury to perpetrate miscarriages of justice? Will the Mohammedans rejoice in an Indian Parliament? Do the great Princes and Chieftains of India insist on sending a Mr. Lal Mohan Ghosh to the English Parliament, in order that he may abuse the House of Lords and the privileged classes in choice English, and undertake to cart them to the British Museum to be laid on its shelves as relics of an effete past? Are the Gurkhas and the Sikhs, and the Purbyas content to see the defences of the Empire mutilated, and will the Afghan Amir remain as willing an ally of ours as he is now, once our strength is reduced? If we are given all the representative institutions which England has carved out for herself after centuries of a stirring history, and with them all the freedom that an Englishman enjoys in his own fatherland, is it considered what India is to do with these institutions and this freedom? Why, some of the simplest humanitarian principles which would be welcomed by one section of the people, cannot yet be applied by the Legislature, because they would goad another section of the people even in the same Province to the verge of rebellion. Mr. Malabari's noble

efforts on behalf of the Hindoo widow have yet to be crowned with success. One Province will not have strict discipline introduced into its schools, another will have nothing to say to compulsory vaccination. Mohammedans look with abhorrence on any legislative interference with their right to seek domestic happiness in a plurality of wives, the Hindoos of Coorg resent any legal check on the privileges of polyandry. How then are these varied interests to be focussed? If we are to be governed by the representatives of a few favored nationalities, will not the more numerous but less favoured nationalities have a right to demand that their safety shall be guaranteed and their susceptibilities spared? There are, it is true, the stock answers to those objections based upon theoretic platitudes, but no practical outlet from the bewildering labyrinth which they present. We have to trust to the lapse of time, and the slow process of evolution, helped and guided by the controlling power, that happily now rules our destinies, for the true solution. In the meantime, agitation and the outpourings of a free Press have perhaps their uses in the economy of progress. They are at any rate endured by a righteous Government conscious of its strength.

Letter to Mr. Syed Mahmud on the subject of Convenanted Civil Service

MY DEAR SYED MAHMUD,

IN compliance with your request I have put down on paper my views on the subject I had the pleasure of discussing with you the other day. If you find my arguments weak, I am sure the weakness is not in the cause, but in my advocacy. I am afraid you will think my letter very long, but I assure you I have done my best to keep it within reasonable limits.

From what I understood you to say, I suppose I may assume that the Government wish to give a certain number of appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service to competent native gentlemen selected for that purpose. The question then arises: will it be expedient to pay them at a lower rate than the Covenanted Civilians who enter the service by the gate of competition are paid?

I answer this question distinctly in the negative. I may be wrong, but I hold that if appointments of trust and responsibility such as have hitherto been reserved for European Civilians, selected under the competitive system in England, are given to Indians on lower salaries than are paid to the former, the administration will suffer grievously in efficiency.

Indeed, I do not see how the scheme can work at all. An Indian Civilian who has secured his position by competition in England and is in every respect officially on the same footing as his European fellow servants, starts with a fair field, and provided character and ability are not wanting, he may prove successful. But an Indian Civilian who has been, as it were, adopted into the service by favour, on condition of his submitting to a permanent, and to the popular mind, most tangible official inferiority to "competition wallahs" of the same rank, will find himself badly handicapped. In the eyes of his own fellow countrymen he will never be the same as a *pucka* civilian of his rank, I doubt if he will be so in the eyes of his colleagues and fellow servants; I am quite certain he will not in his own. The money value of an article, be it brute matter or the human intellect, will ever be the most universally accepted criterion of its intrinsic worth. Either, on the one hand, differences of salary will fail to secure men competent to hold positions of trust and responsibility, or if really competent men are induced to accept

a different salary from what is paid for the same work to others, their worth as compared to the worth of those others will come to be questioned to the whole extent of the difference.

The result will be that the Indian Civilians will never merge into the Covenanted Service. They will form the nucleus of a new service, somewhat anomalous in organization, but ranking after the Covenanted Service to which they were supposed to have been elected. Indians of all ranks, except perhaps the "educated classes," will feel aggrieved that these men whom the ruling service was unwilling or unable to assimilate, should be set to rule over them with powers similar to those exercised by members of that Service. The "educated classes" will resent the difference of treatment as an insult to the ability and intelligence of their countrymen, and harp on it as a fruitful theme for newspaper leaders and political orations, while really thoughtful men will question the wisdom of creating such an anomalous service, and will perhaps endeavour to keep their sons out of it.

Why do I call the Service anomalous? I do so advisedly. If the measure is carried out, instances will often occur which can be described by no other word. Thus, for example, it will often happen that a senior member of the Service will be in receipt of less pay than one much junior to him in length of service. When similarly, an Indian Civilian is promoted in due course to a position in which he has to exercise authority over European Civilians, holding lower positions, he will sometimes be receiving less pay than some of his subordinates. Government may lay down arbitrary rules regulating precedence and promotion in such cases, but public opinion and the private feelings of those concerned will not be guided by rules that run counter to the rules of common sense and arithmetic, by which seniority in the same service of right belongs to those who are in receipt of higher pay.

If economic grounds are urged in defence of a lower scale of payment to Indian Civilians, I would venture to submit, in the first place, that the motive is not one that will redound to the credit of Government. A great and powerful Government is committed to a certain amount of magnanimity in its dealings with its subjects, and when the subjects happen to be of an alien race, magnanimity of attitude obviously assumes the importance of a duty dictated by State Policy. But waiving this argument which may be charged with savouring of sentiment, I would venture to submit that even on economic grounds the measure in contemplation has very little to recommend it.

The number of appointments given to Indians is not likely, at any future time near enough to be included in present calculations, to be very large. If I am not mistaken, it will be long before a tenth of the total number of covenanted appointments in British India are held by Indians. But, say, we calculate on the basis of a tenth, the total saving on the entire Service will amount to one thirtieth of the outlay, if the relative emoluments

of Indian and European Civilians are as 2 : 3; and only one fortieth, if they are as 3 : 4. But this is far from a fair estimate of the total savings, because the higher appointments which carry the largest salaries will still be held by Europeans, and thus the actual saving will be considerably less than a fortieth of the total outlay. I do not think I shall be far out if I just double the figure and say that the actual savings will be in the proportion of 1/60 to 1/10 of the total outlay. Let us say in round numbers that the saving is 2 per cent. on the outlay, which considerably enhances the proportions assumed. It will then be seen that the actual saving is hardly worth the risk of developing a scheme which is likely to stir up class distinctions without even the guarantee that the efficiency of the administration will not be sacrificed in the endeavour to carry out a penny-wise policy. A further extension of the present Uncovenanted Service would I venture to submit, be a less hazardous way of effecting a saving on salaries than the scheme now under consideration.

I have endeavoured to show, erstwhile, that the employment of equally competent public servants on two different scales of pay will act unfavourably on the administration and impair its efficiency. I will now attempt to prove that the converse is equally true, and that difference of pay will keep competent men out of the Service. If I have understood the matter rightly, the proposal is based on the idea very common among Europeans that an Indian has less to spend than a European, and *Caeteris paribus*, an Indian Civilian will be equally well off as a European of similar rank and position on a fraction, say two-thirds, of the latter's salary. This is in my humble opinion a fallacy. I admit that an Indian can live respectably, according to Indian notions of respectable living, on very small income. But so, for that matter, can a European. Respectability, as applied to domestic life, is a comparative term, and there are a great many things to be considered before we can arrive at any practical conclusion on the subject consonant with facts. A European, living a bachelor life, for example, can, within certain limits, live very economically indeed. While, if a married native gentleman of family, as often happens, is the only member of his family that earns any money, he has, I venture to state without fear of contradiction, more calls on his purse than a European gentleman in a similar position. If on the one hand a married European, living in a gay locality, spends a fortune at the milliner's and dress-makers, an Indian wastes as much if not more on ceremonials enjoined on him by social or religious custom; not to mention pensioners and poor relatives whom both inclination and custom oblige him to help. In short, no one who has an intimate knowledge of Indian society will deny that what may be called respectable family life among Indians, is very expensive indeed. It is notorious that all the old Indian families that at one time formed the squirearchy of India, are dying out or getting reduced to the ranks, in consequence, partly of extravagant customs

grafted on the social life of the rank to which they belong.

But we are not concerned at present with Indians of this class. Those who are likely to be nominated to posts in the Covenanted Service will, it is presumed, be men of another stamp altogether. They will be men living in aspirations for the future, not in regrets about the past. Their minds will have been nurtured on Bacon and Faraday not on Artistotle and Avicenna. Their sympathies will be with England and with Europe, and their creed will be one of progress, not stagnation. They will be men of culture and taste, and in their inward and outward lives will live up to their convictions. It will be as impossible for them to go back to the unadulterated native life of the day, as it would be for an Englishman of today to live like an Englishman of the reign of Elizabeth or Queen Anne. Once a member of the Civil Service, it will no longer be a matter of choice but of bounden duty for an Indian Civilian to live like the other civilians. He must be prepared to mix freely with them, and to a certain extent, make their social life his own. He must not, under any circumstances, degrade his position by a mean and niggardly style of living. He must entertain and be entertained. It goes without saying that he must educate his sons (if not also his daughters) in England. He must be prepared to lead Indian society, and be the mainspring of all reforms among them. In his private and public life, in his tastes and his habits, he must furnish them with a living standard and a pattern.

I am aware that these ideas will be scouted as utopian, if not revolutionary. My model Indian Civilian will be declared an impossible being, and undesirable if possible. I am neither afraid nor ashamed to confess, nevertheless, that I thoroughly believe in him. My model is copied from life. I could name, only names are inviduous, instances of men who fully bear out my conception of the ideal Indian Civilian. Their name, to be sure, is not legion, but they exist. Hitherto they have been kept out of the Service, because it has not been made worth their while to enter it. Not long ago Indians of birth and education used to be told that they could only enter the Uncovenanted Service through the ranks. Even a Tahsildarship was too good for them, and they were asked to begin as Peshakars. Men who had risen from still lower grades were preferred. Considering the standard aimed at, the practice was justifiable. Extra Assistant Commissioners, who have been moharirs on ten or fifteen rupees per month, are likely to be more expert in the mechanical part of official work than fresh hands. Their usefulness in this respect condones the evils they have gone through, and that must always cling to them. What if their lives are not clean and their consciences not overtrammelled with scruples, so they can help turn out returns and clear files in double quick time. I do not wish at all to deprecate this class of public servants, but I say they will not do as Civilians. They are ever subject to influences from which a public servant of the higher grades should be perfectly

free. And yet these are exactly the class of men whom the new Service will attract. The market is not overstocked with Indians, of the same calibre as "competition wallahs" from Europe. However few the appointments thrown open to them, the demand will for a long time be always greater than the supply, and if their services are wanted they will have to be obtained at their market price. If this is denied to them, they will carry their talents to law and other learned professions that are open to them. Thus the new Service will have to be recruited from among men of lower qualifications, such as are to be found filling the majority of posts in the Uncovenanted Service. Should the standard thus attained be declared to be high enough, the question will immediately arise : why then is such an expensive Service, as the Convenanted Civil Service kept up ? What is its *raison-d'etre* and its justification. If it was inexpedient to give the high appointments to Indians, why not have opened the Service to so called "adventurers" from Europe with proper tests applied in India ? A cheap service could thus be constituted quite equal to, if not better than the Uncovenanted Service of the day.

A word more about my model Indian Civilian before I come to the subject of nomination. I am aware that an Indian of cultured tastes and methodical orderly habits, specially one who affects a European style of living, is distasteful to some English people. The reason, I believe, is not far to seek. Europeans come to the East expecting gorgeous costumes and semibarbarian aspects. Their sense of the picturesque is shocked, therefore, to encounter a civilized Indian who is ashamed to be decked out in gay colours and barbaric pearl and gold. I am not an advocate of European costumes, but I do not see the logic of condemning an Eastern because he discards flowing robes and bright colours, for short coats and sombre hues. If he is what is called a "prig" or a "snob," he will be one whatever costume he may affect ; nor is it true that an Indian ceases to be an Indian when he becomes Europeanized. My experience leads me to conclude that there are no men more thoroughly Indian, more profoundly interested in whatever concerns the destinies of their race and country, than those same Europeanized Indians, as they are called. They have to brave a certain amount of persecution and abuse, but their influence, nevertheless, with their countrymen is immense, though perhaps imperceptible. There are earnest reformers among them, brave men and true. In all that concerns the Empire, they are always ranged on the side of order and good government, and are loyal to the core. If they are sometimes to criticise the acts of Government, or resist the exercise of unlawful authority, surely they behave as better subjects than unprincipled fanatics who fan the flame of disaffection in secret, while professing abject submission to the might and power of England.

But granting that competent men, willing to accept lower salaries than their European fellow servants, are forthcoming,

how are they to be secured ? By nomination or by competition ? Competition is a fair test of certain kind of ability and application, but it is open to several most important objections. In the first place it is questionable whether administrative ability, and the kind of ability that carries a young man through a severe test on book work, are one and the same thing. In fact the moral courage, and the certain amount of self-control and endurance shown by Indians who cross over the waters and stay in England as students, are better, though not sufficient, tests of possible administrative ability, than success in any examination on book work, however severe.

Secondly, in a competition, open to all comers, there is always the risk of enlisting adventurers and men of no particular standing or stake in the country. I think it will not be denied that the employment of such men, to any appreciable extent in commanding position, is much to be deprecated. Thirdly, admission by competition in this country without previous selection is still more to be deprecated, for in addition to the other evils inherent in the system or superadded by eliminating from it the incidental advantages of a sojourn in England, it will tend to cheapen the Service. In any case, civilians thus admitted will never be able to hold their own with civilians admitted in England.

Competition having thus been tried and found wanting, we are driven to nomination. But by whom are the nominations to be made ? By local officials ? But what is to be the test by which the selections are to be made ? The moment a personal element is introduced, it is evident that the test applied will vary from time to time, and place to place, according to the disposition and idiosyncracies of the official making the selection. The system will be full of risks. Mistakes will constantly occur. Local officials sometimes know very little of Indian social life. They have no time, even when the inclination is present, to study it. A barber's, or a butcher's son who has risen in life by means known only to his countrymen, will sometimes be taken to be a representative man and fit to figure in the new Service. There is not generally much to be got out of a barber's or a butcher's son of India, and, however, complaisantly Indian society may think it expedient, apparently, to look upon his elevation, it will never be really popular. In other cases perhaps a really representative man will be chosen, but it will be found on trial that ability is utterly wanting. Some years ago when the policy of nomination was first inaugurated, two or three uncovenanted officials, I will not for obvious reasons mention where, were elevated to covenanted posts, together with a youth who had never seen any service before but belonged to a highly respectable class. In Indian circles the integrity of the uncovenanted nominees was more than doubted, and suspicions so unworthy that I should feel ashamed to formulate them, were openly expressed of the sincerity of Government in nominating them. I only mention the circumstance as an instance of the miscarriages

to which personal nominations are liable. I do not know much about the youth, nobody seemed to know much of him at the time. I believe he is likely to be upright but not likely to be an "ornament to the Service." He was described to me as a "rough jewel" by an esteemed European friend and a "rough jewel" I am afraid he will always continue to be.

To sum up, I am of opinion that the proposed scheme will not work for the following reasons:—

1. The prospects held out will not secure the class of men Government have in view.
2. A different scale of payment will stir up class distinctions and will tend seriously to imperil the efficiency and morale of the Service.
3. Questions connected with precedence and promotion will constantly arise of a nature most difficult to deal with, on account of the inequality of pay between Civilians holding similar positions.
4. The measure cannot be defended on the ground of economy, as the saving will not, at any rate for a long time to come, amount to more than 2 per cent. on the entire outlay on the Covenanted Civil Service.
5. If the difference of pay is based on the supposition that Indians can live cheaper than Europeans, I venture to submit that the position is untenable, and applies only to men in low positions living in pure Indian fashion, and bringing their children up in the old Indian way.
6. Really competent Indians are few in number and cannot be obtained cheap. They will rather go to one of the learned professions than to a Service in which they will always be badly handicapped.
7. A lower scale of payment coupled with the system of appointment by nomination will bring in incompetent men, and depreciate the value and dignity of the Service in the eyes of the Indians.
8. Lastly, the scheme as it stands is sure to meet with opposition from the European Civilians and others who have won their way into the Service, because it will damage their prestige and retard to some extent their prospects of promotion.

In conclusion, if I presume to hazard any positive opinion on such an important subject as the elevation of Indians in the Civil Service, I should say that no system would work well in practice that lost sight of either of the principles of nomination or competition, and that the two combined, conditional on the candidates undergoing a short noviciate in England after admission, would be the best way of securing really competent men.

I AM, YOURS SINCERELY,

8th October, 1881. SYED HOSSAIN BILGRAMI.

Speech at the Nizam College Prize Distribution, on Monday the 24th February, 1890.

YOUR HIGHNESS, MR. FITZPATRICK, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IN pursuance of what has become an annual custom I beg with His Highness' gracious leave to offer a few remarks on the work of the year reported on by Mr. Hodson.

It would be superfluous to go over the ground he has already traversed. His facts and his figures speak for themselves, and his observations I can endorse from my own knowledge of the work he has done. It only remains for me to address myself to the thankless task of noticing some of his grievances, the gravity of which he has, I find, been too considerate to press on his hearers.

One of these is over-work. I regret to say that while one institution after another has been handed over to his care, I have not been able to give him proportionate help. You will hardly believe it, but it is nevertheless true that my friend Mr. Hodson is at this moment Head Master or Principal of four distinct institutions, one of which is a College, and has to do a full day's lecturing besides. To borrow an analogy from a subject on which, as a public lecturer, he has lately brought to bear considerable research, *viz.* matrimony, he is, I may say, in the position of a man, and a Musulman, with four wedded wives, all clamouring for an equal share of his time and attention. Now you can easily imagine that it would be anything but a joke for a man to be so very much married, and I can assure you it is not a joke to have to look after four large and growing schools, and have to do a teacher's drudgery besides. I speak with sympathy because I speak from experience, not, I beg to say, of the matrimonial, but of the scholastic climax. I am sorry, however, I can hold out no hope of relief to him until the services of a lecturer in Physical Science, already sanctioned by His Excellency the Minister, have been secured in England.

To pass now to another of Mr. Hodson's grievances. He complains, and very justly, of the irregularity of attendance of some of his pupils, or say rather the regularity with which they cease to be regular on reaching the higher forms. This is

a matter that not only strikes at the root of the efficiency and discipline of the school, but, if the culprits only knew it, ruins for them what might have been most honourable and useful careers. His Highness generously spends thousands a month in order to bring education to the doors of those whom a wise and statesman-like policy would elevate to high places in the administration of their own country. But if the noblemen and gentlemen of Hyderabad will not avail themselves of these facilities, if they will allow themselves to be deluded into the belief that an easy-going, lotus-eating, half-educated and wholly undisciplined youth will be followed by a life of distinction and usefulness, or even of moderate success, they are most grievously mistaken. Such youths are more fitted to squander than to acquire a fortune, more fitted to ruin than to found a family. The noblemen and gentlemen, the Mansabdars and Jagirdars of Hyderabad forget that the conditions of public life are changed. They forget that the present knows nothing of the past, that the immediate future will know nothing of the present. They forget that times are changing, that our administrators will have to be less and less tolerant of inefficiencies as they go on, and that, to use a picturesque phrase, the old Moglai way of doing work will soon become a thing of the past. Depend upon it, the youth of Hyderabad will have to learn to work well, or they will have to make way for men from other countries who have learnt to do so. This is perhaps a hard thing to say, but it is nevertheless true, and I do not think I could do the people of Hyderabad a greater service than by telling them the hard truth.

We are often told that learning should be pursued for its own sake. It is an old and hackneyed advice. Falling from the lips of men of wisdom and high learning it is an elevating sentiment that we are bound to receive with reverent attention. But in the mouths of men engaged in the work in which we are engaged, and addressed to crowds the majority of whom have to earn their own bread, it sounds more like a platitude, nay very nearly like cant. I confess I have come to take a very bread-and-butter view of the learning we are called upon to impart. Our aim here is to make what we teach of practical use. We have no time to educate men for the philosopher's tub. We would rather see our pupils turn out good Revenue Collectors, good Magistrates, good Judges, good Police Officers. My advice to the young men I see before me is this :—

In your school course have an eye to your future career. Arm yourselves for the battle of life with a good share of useful knowledge carefully acquired and accurately retained, but above all arm yourselves with self-knowledge, self-respect and self-control. These are infallible weapons that will never fail you in the moment of danger. They are true friends, that will never desert you in your need.

Let me also tell you that the key to all success whether at school or in life is to be found in the one word discipline. Discipline in its common narrow acceptation is equivalent to training—training in the sense of exacting strict obedience to the rule set down and allowing no deviation therefrom. But I wish this evening to put the idea before you in a wider light. You know that the one fact that repeats itself most persistently in our view is the blunders men are constantly making in the conduct of life—blunders that range from the *gaucheries* that call forth a smile, to the mistakes that end in blinding tears, from the low comedy of errors to the high tragedy of suffering. Well, a man who has entered life unprepared, often rushes blindfold into false steps and errors that burn themselves into his inmost being, and leave it scarred for ever more. Now, discipline wisely administered should attempt to anticipate these burning errors of responsible life, and mitigate the severity of the penalty with which they are pursued, as the vaccinator anticipates the fell ravages of small-pox with mild punctures of his own. I use the word mitigate advisedly, for who does not know that do what you like, the lessons of life have to be learnt through pain and suffering.

I will therefore say to the youths before me, submit cheerfully to the discipline of your school, and remember that each lesson learnt here at the cost of a little self-denial and perseverance by no means unpleasant, is perhaps arming you against future errors that might entail overwhelming misfortune or life-long remorse.

I will only add one word more. I will say that I do not believe laxity of discipline is possible in any school without the remissness of the teachers. Now, I know that some managers here and elsewhere would rather tolerate any laxity of discipline, than make their schools unpopular. Although the error arises from the habit people have of judging of the efficiency of a school by its strength, a most misleading test, it is none the less a grievous error. Boys that will not stop if discipline is enforced, are better out of the school. One well-disciplined and well-taught youth who has been plucked half a dozen times in University examinations, is far more valuable to society than a dozen rough, and undisciplined prodigies, that have taken their degrees at the first trial. The former, will be sure to do his life's *devoir* manfully; the latter may write essays or quote Shakespeare, but will never be able to rule either others or themselves.

A brief note on the Education of Indian Princes

IT may be accepted as axiomatic that Indian children, especially Indian Princes who will one day rule over millions of their own countrymen, should be brought up from their infancy as Indians and not as Europeans or rather pseudo-Europeans.

The essential principles of their religion, whatever it may be, free from all fanaticism and intolerance, should be instilled into their minds from a very early age, and they should be made familiar with their national traditions, folk-tales and legends which play an important part in the formation of character.

A thorough knowledge of their own mother tongue should be imparted to them as early as possible with a good grounding in their national classic, the language of their sacred books. They should be taught cleanliness of body and mind, love of truth, love of fair-dealing and strict punctuality in their daily programme of work or play. Respect and reverence for their parents and elders should be carefully instilled into their minds.

They should be taught riding and shooting, and they should be brought up to love manly games of all kinds, Indian and European, and a systematic scheme should be adopted for the development of their physique. The entourage in which they are brought up, the rooms, the servants, should be scrupulously clean, and the garden round the house well laid out and pretty. Their education in English should begin at the age of about twelve. When able to read and understand English well, their attention should be directed in a special manner to the critical study of history and political economy. If the youth has a penchant for figures, mathematics (higher mathematics) will be a help in developing the mind. When the boy has reached or is about to reach the age of puberty, special care should be taken to keep him away from the company of those who drink, and from association with women of doubtful character, such as slave girls, dancing girls and others of that ilk. He should be married at the age of about 18 or 20, and married to a carefully selected girl of his own rank, pretty and of good physique, and, if possible, well educated.

The evils to be carefully and scrupulously avoided are drink and women, to which may be added gambling in any form. Any one of these evils is enough to ruin a young man for life, especially

if he is born in purple.

But how to attain these ends? They look so formidable that at first sight one would take them to be counsels of perfection. A little reflection, however, will show that they are not beyond the reach of princes and chiefs who are themselves cultured men of mature age and experience. All will depend on their selection of a proper person or persons for carrying out the scheme.

To begin with, I would place the young prince at an early age in the hands of an English governess. The governess should be a well-bred lady belonging to the better classes and of spotless reputation, known to be able to look after children. It should be the lady's duty to take care of the child, teach him to be cleanly in mind and body, to see that he has his proper food at the proper time, nurse him carefully when in bad health, insist on his attending to his religious duties, and scrupulously abstain from imparting to him the doctrines of her own religion.

A woman is a better guardian for a boy in his early childhood than a man, but it would be all the better if a gentleman and his wife were appointed from the beginning, provided the selection was a really happy one, and they were both well-bred people in the true sense of the word.

But this English governess or governor and governess will not be enough. She or they will of course be of the greatest help in giving the child a good training which is even more important and essential than education by means of books. But the young prince should also have an Indian teacher who can instil into him the essential principles of his religion and teach him to read and write his own mother tongue with accuracy and elegance. Great care will have to be taken in selecting such a man. Ordinary pundits and moulvis will not be of much use, they will do more harm than good. After all, one has to confess that the selection of the right people for either of the two appointments is a matter of luck. When the Prince is a little more advanced in age, he will need proper teachers. These it will be easier to find than the guardians in whose hands they were placed in their infancy. Both governors and teachers ought to maintain strict discipline without over-aweing their pupil and leavening his character with fear, which often breeds cowardice and habits of untruthfulness.

Above all the young prince must learn to be a true patriot, loving his country and wishing to secure for her all the good that is attainable, one essential element of which sentiment ought to be fearless and sincere loyalty to the Imperial Government whose protection will for a long time to come be indispensable for her very existence.

I wish now to say a few words about a matter which though not essential, is of considerable importance in many ways—I

mean the matter of costume and dress. Every young Indian ought to be taught to dress neatly and in clean clothes, but I would not by any means encourage him to adopt a wholly European or pseudo-European costume. This is still more important in the case of a young prince. His patriotism, his reverence for his own ancestors and for his religion, ought to keep him from adopting a foreign constume when his own traditional costume is so picturesque and neat. Gaudiness and barbaric splendour are not essential parts of the Hindoo or Moslem costume. Men and women of good taste know what is neatest and most becoming in the way of dress, and they have no cause for altering it in any essential way.

And last but not least those entrusted with the training and education of the child should do their best to develop in him a sense of pity for and sympathy with poverty and suffering, and a desire to relieve it not by indiscriminate charity such as the feeding of faqirs and other showy ways, but by real well-considered methods of affording relief. The scope of this feeling should also be widened and extended so as to embrace both animals and men. Cruelty to animals often found in little children is the outcome of curiosity rather than cruelty of nature, and might easily be converted into acute sympathy leading to a real love of all living things and a delight in helping and protecting them.

Presidential Address at the Eleventh Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference held at Meerut on the 30th December, 1896.

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADUR AND GENTLEMEN,

YOU are no doubt aware how reciters at our Moharram Passion Plays often preface their performances with the excuse of sore throat as a deprecation in advance of adverse criticism on the part of their audience. I have no such excuse ready to offer, but none the less I feel over-powered with a sense of my own unworthiness of the honour you have done me in choosing me as your President, and I rely entirely on your indulgence to deal leniently with me if I fall short of your expectations.

I invite your attention now to the business before us. In the course of the three sittings of the Conference at which you have assisted, the Standing Committee has laid before you a full report of all that has been done during the year now closing, and all that it is proposed to do in course of the next. It is for you to decide how far your representatives have been successful in furthering the purposes of this annual gathering; wherein they have failed and why; and what steps should be taken to ensure a further and continued advance all along the line towards the goal we have in view.

It may be asked, what is the goal we are seeking and what progress have we made on the road which leads to it? I think most of you will agree with me that our aim and object, as that of every people and nationality that is not quite lost to all self-respect, are, and must be, not only to preserve the name and honour of our forefathers unsullied, but to keep ourselves for ever on the forward march, and so to order our national life that in the field of moral and intellectual progress we should always be taking a step in advance; for you must remember that there is no such thing as rest or quiescence for man. We are so created that we must be constantly moving, and it depends on ourselves whether our progress is forward or retrograde. And this law applies to nations equally with individuals; we cannot escape from its operation. It would simply be ridiculous for us to delude ourselves into the belief that we might wait and rest a little; that the hour for action had not yet arrived; that

the future would, perhaps, prove a more propitious time for us than the present. The train that is carrying us, is moving on an incline, and with every inch speeds faster and faster downhill towards the abyss, making it more and more difficult for us to put on the brake and reverse our course. The time for talk, if it ever was, is past and gone; the time now is for earnest action and honest and hearty endeavour. There is no use now—nothing to be gained by—recalling the past and reminding ourselves and others what fine fellows we were at one time and lamenting over our degeneracy. From the day we lost our splendid possessions in Spain to the meetings of the present Conference at Meerut, these notes of lamentation have been sounded in our ears until we are sick of them all. It is an unmanly occupation: let us relegate it to old women and imbeciles, and turn our attention to matters of fact and to things of more practical moment to us and to our ends and aims.

One of these same matters of fact to which I would call your attention and one of the most prominent of them, is that an honoured member of our community—the most pre-eminent Mohammedan, in fact of our day—has, at the cost of labour of a life-time and of unsparing energy and devotion, at last succeeded, as you know, with the help of such friends as his earnestness of purpose was able to gather round him, in providing for us a sure and infallible means of national regeneration in the institution which he has founded. This institution is as yet a mere foundation, and it is, as you know, beyond the power and energies of any one man to complete the superstructure. No mortal, if he lived as long as Noah and was as patient as Job, could hope to accomplish it single-handed. I am here reminded of a little story that I remember reading in a Persian text-book when I was a boy. The story is that a bird (probably a crow, who is both curious and a great chatter-box) observing one day a tiny mite of an ant engaged in laboriously carrying little grains of sand out of an enormous heap on one side of a *nalah* and depositing it on the other, was curious to know what it all meant, and asked the ant, "I want to remove the heap yonder," replied the ant. "Don't you know, my good creature," observed the crow, "that if you were to live a thousand years, you could not carry away a tithe of it." "Of that I am well aware, friend," replied the ant, "but there is a young one of my race whose hand I am seeking, and her parents have vowed not to bestow her in marriage except on him who will remove yonder heap of sand to the other side of the *nalah*, where they have their nest. I have undertaken the task, and I am resolved not to be deterred or daunted by its difficulties."

Gentlemen, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's position with reference to the task he has undertaken seems to me to be somewhat similar to that of the ant in this story, unless his efforts are seconded by all his co-religionists, or, at any rate, by the more intelligent

and influential portion of the community. And this I am persuaded you are all prepared to do. I am sure you will not allow his labours to be lost, or watch the goodly edifice he has raised crumble to dust for want of co-operation and help. I do not think that, in fact, there is a choice left to you. On the one hand, you might unite together and carry on this great work to its end, and earn the approbation of your contemporaries and the gratitude of posterity, or you might let the opportunity slip and earn nothing but shame. I repeat gentlemen, you have no choice between these two courses ; and I do not wish to seem even for a moment to hesitate in predicting which course you will take, let who will take the other.

Gentlemen, you have listened to the reports read to you and you have marked the tone of despondency in which Sir Syed Ahmed Khan speaks of the way in which his appeal on behalf of his life-work has been responded to. The truth, however, is that Sir Syed pitches his expectations too high. In this respect, he is like a loving parent or kind teacher who scolds a favourite son or pupil because he has come out at the bottom of the pass-list in an examination instead of at the top, where he wished to find him.

I hope my revered friend and those who share his views will pardon me, if, with due respect, I remind them that they have no ground for such despondency, for the sick do not always realise their condition; that as yet the number of those who realise the benefits of modern culture is not large ; and that we have hardly yet left behind us the time when fathers of families amongst us were satisfied with the teaching obtained in private schools presided over by ignorant pedagogues, who for a small pittance, taught bad Persian to our children, and when the few who aspired to higher education confined their attention to theology and the sciences accessory thereto. Let me remind them that our countrymen at large are not yet reconciled to the idea of having to pay the Doctor or the *Dominie*, and that their minds have not yet got rid of the conviction that the one and the other are bound to render us their services free and for nothing. The idea of payment is a new idea, and it will be some time before it takes deep root in the daily life of our people. We are beginning to perceive that it is one of our first and highest duties to spend out of our substance on the education of our children, but the idea has yet to be brought home to our hearts and raised into a motive power affecting our conduct in practical life. I, therefore, repeat that my revered friend Sir Syed Ahmed and those who share his views, are not yet justified in pitching their expectations so high. The response they have hitherto received to their appeal, however inadequate, is not of a nature to justify such despondency, though there is nodo ubt that, if the whole of the Mohammedans of India were alive to their needs and requirements and realized the danger of inaction, they could in a moment satisfy the highest expecta-

tions and farthest aspirations of their well-wishers, and spread the means of national education from one end of the country to the other.

We must, nevertheless, admit that the help that the movement identified with the name of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has hitherto received is inadequate. It is inadequate both as to the quantity and quality of the assistance given. It is inadequate in quantity because, though it has been found sufficient for making a good start, it is not enough for placing the means of National Education on a firm and permanent basis. It is defective in quality inasmuch as the money aid has come from a few liberal Native States and patriotic individuals, and does not furnish a true measure of popular sympathy with the movement, which alone is adequate to insure it a permanent and perennial existence. With your permission, I will discuss these two points at some length, as they are both germane to the objects of the Conference and to its principal aims and ends.

You are aware that every civilization has its own ideals, and that the stage to which a country has reached in the scale of civilization may be estimated by the mode of life of the people inhabiting it, and their way of conducting their daily business—in other words by the way in which they are accustomed to deal with their points of contact with one another and with the outer world. We Indians, in our day, had attained a certain state of civilization that had its own ideals, and we lived our lives and dealt with daily problems that confronted us in our contact with the world, in a manner that fitted in with those ideals. Now, however, we are invaded by a new and superior civilization, and our brethren of the other Indian communities, who are not perhaps so tenaciously attached to their old ideals and old ways as we Mohammedans, have wisely abandoned or are abandoning them, and have adopted, or are fast adopting, the ideals that go with this new civilization and are ordering their lives in adjustment with them. The awkwardness of our position is increased still further by the fact that, while compelled by circumstances to adopt some of the new ideas, we obstinately turn our faces from others. A very trite and common-place example of this is to be found in the hundreds who use the railway for travelling and yet are unable to wean themselves from their old-world disregard of punctuality and time. Or again, look at the way in which Mohammedans clamour for Government service and complain, if they do not get it; and yet how few will take the trouble of qualifying themselves in accordance with the standard that is required. It is therefore our first duty, if we would not be left behind, cheerfully and without compulsion to adapt ourselves to the new civilization—for time will one day make us if we don't—and adjust our modes of thought and practice to its requirements. In the old days, sons of gentlemen used to receive a sort of rough military education and this satisfied their aspirations. Those who desired the learning of the day, spent laborious years in the

study of Theology and the sciences accessory to it. Learning in those days had nothing in common with matters mundane, and if it had any influence on mundane matters, it was so slight and casual as hardly to deserve notice.

Now, however, the tables are turned; modern science has invaded every walk of life; modern social organization and the daily avocations of life, hinge on the results of knowledge. The fruits of inductive research have revolutionized the world. No one can now hope to make the most of his life and live it out fully who ignores this fact. Even warfare, that we Asiatics are accustomed to regard as the very antipodes of book-knowledge, is entirely dependent upon it. Trade and commerce and all the industries of the world owe their prosperity—nay, their very existence—to Science. A judge cannot adjudicate between litigants, nor a Collector administer the revenues of his district, without it. The moral and intellectual ideals of the world, together with the standard of material well-being have made an immeasurable advance. The question therefore for us now is, how are we to obtain a share of this knowledge so as to participate in some of its fruits ?

Gentlemen, I had occasion some years ago to visit a Japanese man-of-war. The Commander, an officer of fine presence and evident ability and intelligence, received me with the greatest courtesy and hospitality and showed me all over the vessel. In the course of conversation, I introduced the subject of Japanese progress, and observed that Japan had furnished the world with a practical refutation of the universally received doctrine, that all progress was gradual and that no country could hope to rise by sudden leaps and bounds. The officer acknowledged the compliment but modestly remarked that although they, the Japanese, were making every effort to improve themselves, it was nevertheless up-hill work and they had to contend against heavy odds We Indians, however, he went on to observe, had it all made easy for us. We had found a capable guardian and instructor who was teaching us without our having, like the Japanese, to take all the trouble ourselves.

I have a shrewd suspicion that the astute Japanese meant to be somewhat sarcastic, nevertheless I take what he said to be the sober truth. I hope every Mohammedan feels, as I do, that never at any time in history has it been our lot to enjoy the facilities for self-improvement and peaceful progress with which we are surrounded under British rule and which would have been absolutely impossible had not Providence rescued us from the anarchy so graphically described by my esteemed friend Sirdar Mohamed Hyat Khan in his speech the other day, and placed us under the enlightened protection of Great Britain.

It should, therefore, be our pleasure and pride to acknowledge the truth of the remark made by the Japanese Officer, and we should be grateful to an All-ruling Providence for having sent us

a kind and considerate teacher and guardian to lead us out of darkness into light. I do not, in the least, share the sentiments of Mohammedans in certain parts of India who now and then make unreasoning complaints against the alleged partiality of Government to other nationalities. If you look into the matter, I think you will find that what they really complain of is not the partiality but the impartiality of Government towards all sections of its subjects. What they really want is that Government should relax in their favour the policy of strict impartiality which alone is consistent with the dignity of a powerful Government. They hanker after privileges, which—in my opinion, and I hope, in that of all right thinking and self-respecting Mohammedans—it would be as unjust for Government to grant, as it would be unmanly and undignified of us to expect.

But, gentlemen, the means provided for our education by Government are all of the nature of State institutions and we are aware that it is out of the power and scope of State aid to provide for the peculiar wants and requirements of any particular section or race, for the State can only take in its purview the wants and requirements common among all sections of the community placed under its rule. But we Mohammedans cannot rest satisfied with an education that takes no account of our special needs. This kind of education is denationalising, and therefore prejudicial to our interests. No education can be beneficial to us that ignores the religious element which forms the only bond of union between us. We belong to different races and nationalities: there are Arabs, Mogals, Persians, Turks, Rohillas, Pathans, Hindoo converts and others amongst us; and what welds us together into one people with common aims and interests, is the strong tie of religion. If we ignore this tie and cease to reckon with it, we cease to be a people.

Government schools and colleges are no doubt excellent institutions—far be it from my thoughts to find fault with them—I was myself brought up in Government institutions and have ample reason to be grateful to them; but I still stoutly maintain that the education given in Government institutions is insufficient, if not injurious, to Mohammedans. In the course of the sittings of the present Conference, some of the speakers have touched on the way English education imparted in ordinary schools affects the religious tendencies of the weaker of their Mohammedan pupils. The indictment is perfectly true. Boys that attend these schools from early youth grow up ignorant of the vast mass of oral traditions, religious tales, anecdotes, etc., which form the folk-lore of the Mohammedans, and which, under ordinary conditions, exercise a distinct influence in the formation of character. They cannot help knowing the simple tenets of Mohammedanism, but it is a knowledge with the element of faith, of reverence, left out of it, and is devoid of vitality and life. They grow up untrammelled by the sanctions of their religion and accustomed to treat its discipline with levity. Our Scripture

history, the lives of our Prophets and Law-givers, are unknown to them; and though well versed perhaps in the history of England and even of Europe, they are in complete ignorance of their own history. Their morals and manners are little looked after. They acquire offensive ideas of personal liberty, far removed from that true liberty taught us alike by the best in our own old literature and in the literature of ancient and modern Europe—a liberty that hugs the shackles of self-discipline and duty as its best ornaments. But not to dwell on these, education does not consist in the mere acquisition of a little knowledge or the knack of solving a few mathematical problems; its functions are much higher. It should teach us to distinguish truth from falsehood, and draw valid conclusions from the occurrences of daily experience; it should discipline all our faculties; it should make us acquainted with the best that has been said on topics of importance by the wisest of former generations, and fit us to bring this knowledge to bear on the practical conduct of life; it should inspire us with a burning desire to be ever moving onward, ever taking a step in advance; it should teach us to be sincere in our daily life and considerate of others; it should bring us up to exalt public good above our own, and to respect others as the most natural corollary of respecting ourselves. These, I take it, should be the principal aims of education, if we mean to make men of our children.

I ask you now, is this aim attainable in State schools? Certainly not. The aim in all State institutions is and must be limited to the passing of certain examinations. This is a very narrow road—no more than a foot-path, I am afraid—and one who treads it, can be expected to see neither to the right nor to the left of him. The passion for passing examinations becomes so absorbing that it leaves him neither time nor temper for any other discipline. The getting up of cribs, or the committing to memory of abstracts of text-books, is a feverish occupation, and its votaries soon cease to relish healthier pursuits. Is it to be wondered at, then, that the ordinary result of this process turns out to be so deplorable?

One sometimes hears Europeans complain that our youth, graduates of our Universities, are wanting in manners; that their information on ordinary topics is so very limited, that no entertainment is to be got in conversing with them; that though they are ready to talk about books, their talk even about books is borrowed from cribs; that they have a very superficial knowledge of the social and political concerns of their own people and cannot discuss them with insight or intelligence; that in forming opinions on the most serious subjects they seem to be burdened with no sense of responsibility, or to realise the necessity of previous preparation. While, on the contrary, the old-fashioned people among us—those who have not had the benefit of this training but were brought up in the old style—are much more capable

men, more dignified in their bearing, more courteous in their manners, with a wider and more intelligent acquaintance with matters of local interest or practical utility, though their acquaintance with modern book-lore might be very limited.

I do not wish you to think that I endorse all this formidable indictment, and I most earnestly entreat that you will not run away with the idea that I condemn all State education. Schools and colleges supported by the State are excellent institutions, provided with most able teachers and professors, who do their best for those entrusted to their care. Nor do I condemn our own youth. Do we not encounter numerous instances of high ability among them? Can we forget the distinguished Bengalees who have attained a European reputation for scholarship and original research, and who are an honour and a source of pride to us all? What I mean is simply this, that the system which the State is compelled to adopt is not suited to the national circumstances of the Mohammedans.

This being the case, we need not be surprised to find that Mohammedans have been backward in availing themselves of the education offered in Government schools and colleges. Very likely it was the instinct of self-preservation that inclined them from the first to take the matter into their own hands, and, as is usual in the economy of the world, this national motive found embodiment in the person of our revered friend whom we find seated at this table today.

Gentlemen, if you were to ask me how the idea of national education took hold of Sir Syed Ahmed's mind, I could not explain it in any other way. I confess I am puzzled to account for it. He does not belong to the present age: he is like the fly in a piece of amber. He belongs to a class whom one would expect to see preaching in a mosque instead of leading a band of pioneers in modern advancement. He does not seem to care how much he is abused or vilified, but goes on doing his appointed work and carrying out his self-imposed task.

We must be content to believe that he was chosen by Providence to rescue us from degradation and death; and well has he carried out the work of his life, for not only has he accomplished what he undertook, but, what is perhaps more important, he has, by the example of his life and by his writings, sown broadcast the seeds of advancement amongst his co-religionists, so that even his slanderers and enemies have derived nourishment and sustenance from them.

To secure for ourselves the kind of education we want, we have to provide, first of all, a sound religious training for our children. This is to be obtained not simply by appointing competent instructors but by vigilantly enforcing their teaching.

We need, secondly, a sound moral training: this is not to be obtained, I entreat you to remember, by merely committing to memory a string of moral maxims; it has to be instilled into the

minds of the young, by discipline and example, by a training that should influence motives and help towards the formation of character.

We have, thirdly, to provide a healthful training for the body: a good deal of misconception is prevalent on this point among Indian parents; many of them look upon games and sports as waste of time; they do not realise that the care and cure of our souls is impossible, unless we look after the bodies in which they are confined and which are the vehicles of our education. You cannot expect that spirit of true independence of character and readiness of resource, and that self-reliance and self-control which you would like to find in your youth, without due attention to physical education.

You need, fourthly, to secure the services of proper teachers to carry out this programme: depend upon it, a mere drudge can never be a proper school master; you cannot at this time of day educate your sons by employing a pedagogue on a few rupees a month as people used to do not long ago; European education can be properly imparted only by Europeans, and even these must be carefully chosen, for there is no use in importing incompetent teachers from Europe; you must have good men and true, capable men, of birth and breeding, who will be sympathetic towards the lads entrusted to them, and who will make men and gentlemen of them; once you have found such teachers you could not make too much of them; they should be looked upon and treated as our best friends and benefactors.

The fifth and last item that I wish to name in the list of the equipment we need for carrying out our programme is to provide proper boarding establishments, both for those who come from a distance and those who live near the College; for it is absolutely necessary above all things, that the entire life of the boys under pupilage should be controlled by their teachers, and that their hours of recreation and play, no less than their hours of instruction, should be influenced by them.

I need hardly go into further details in speaking to you, who, I am sure, know better than I do what is really wanted. But you can form some estimate from what I have said of the immense resources needed for an institution that should satisfy all these requirements. The College at Aligarh is no doubt in a flourishing state, but you must not imagine that it is all that it should be, and that no further efforts are needed in this direction. Look at the Colleges attached to the older Universities in England, and think of the princely incomes with which many of them are endowed. What has been achieved at Aligarh, is only a foundation that will crumble to dust, if it fails to receive adequate pecuniary support. The help it has hitherto received from its friends and well-wishers, especially from His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and some other Indian Princes, is no doubt munificent and entitled to our gratitude, but it is far from being enough: what we

want is an endowment that will secure the institution from peril, and assure its existence on the lines on which it has been founded. So much for the magnitude of the aid required. Next, let us consider what I have called the quality of the help. Now, there are some sixty million Mohammedans in India, and if each of them contributed a pie every year towards this national undertaking, we should have an income of some three lakhs. If only a tenth of the population came forward, the College would still have thirty thousand a year. But granting that the estimate is too high, and that no more than one per cent of the population is able to appreciate the situation, the College would have an income of three thousand rupees per month, if each of the six hundred thousand Mohammedans that the number amounts to, contributed a pie per mensem. All this no doubt looks like an idle juggling with figures; but it, at any rate, goes to prove that, if the people were to rise to a due appreciation of what they need in the way of education, it would be an easy matter for them to found and endow an institution no whit inferior to Rugby or Eton, or Trinity or Balliol. From the fact, therefore, that such help is not forthcoming, and that the work has advanced so far only with the aid of a very small number of contributors, we are obliged to conclude that the matter has not yet taken hold of the national conscience.

Gentlemen, all our hopes for the future are centred now in the Conference which brings together a large number of educated Mohammedans every year, and enables them to exchange views and talk over their experiences, and on their return to their permanent or temporary places of residence, to become active centres for the diffusion of these ideas. If I have not grievously misunderstood the whole matter, this kind of missionary work is one of the chief functions of the Conference, every member of which is in duty bound to act as a catechist and colporteur of its educational teachings.

In the course of the three days during which the Conference has held its sittings, some of the speakers have eulogized the Conference, and some have found fault with it, and I have no doubt both the praise and the blame are well founded. But, gentlemen, you will find that no great movement of this nature was ever inaugurated that was free from little errors and flaws, nor need this dishearten us so long as the movement itself is infused with life and activity. And, so far as I am able to see, I find your present movement full of elements of life. A movement that, after ten years of existence, does not show any signs of decline, but is, on the contrary, supported by increasing numbers every year as shown by the figures submitted to you by the Secretary, can hardly be said to be feeble, much less dead.

If the Conference had performed none but simple missionary functions, I should still say that it had justified its existence.

You are aware that our Law binds us to pray five times a day; it further enjoins us to pray in company, if possible, in the mosque nearest our homestead, but better in the *Jami* with a larger congregation. Twice a year we are enjoined to attend public prayers outside the town or village, where the entire adult population is supposed to congregate. At least once in our life time provided we have the wherewithal, we are enjoined to say our prayers in the *Haram* at Mecca. Are these injunctions devoid of meaning! Certainly not. For, leaving alone matters spiritual, is it not apparent that there could be no better means of creating good will and fellow-feeling among the followers of a religion that was preached not to one nation or country but to the whole world, than to provide frequent means of bringing them together? Even such, I take it, is the value of the large gatherings which the Conference encourages, and in inaugurating the movement, you have only been imitating the wise policy of your own Law-giver.

But I do not for a moment admit that the Conference had done no practical work. When I see this commodious pandal full of faces like a huge National Album, and find their owners all eagerness to listen to all that is said here on the subject nearest to their hearts, I confess I am filled with a feeling of most pleasing surprise. Had not your kindness brought me to Meerut from a distance of some fifteen hundred miles to assist at the meetings of the present Conference, and had I not seen the gathering with my own eyes, I could not have believed it possible: I could not have believed that the Mohammedans had made such immense strides within such a short period of time. I am quite certain that twenty-four years ago, when I left my country to take service in the Deccan, a gathering of this kind, for purely national purposes and not prompted by official influence, would have been impossible. And seeing this, I am obliged again to acknowledge that this immense change has been brought about by the influence of the one man whose old and battered personality has been your guiding star so long, and whose efforts and those of his friends and supporters, have not only made such a national institution as the Aligarh College a reality, but have supplied the motive power that has led to the organization of the Mohammedan National Anglo-Oriental Conference.

Gentlemen, I, for one, cannot look upon the Conference apart from the Aligarh College. To my mind they are both branches of the same tree, blossoms of the same sprig. The aim and end of all our efforts here or elsewhere are to support and carry to a successful issue the work started at Aligarh. There might be diverse ways, but the goal is the same.

Gentlemen, education has in these days risen to the dignity of a Science, and a most difficult science it is both in theory and in practice. But one of the greatest difficulties which educationists have to encounter, arises from the fact that every individual

with a smattering of the three R's as they are called, thinks himself an expert on education, entitled to have a voice in the matter. I hope the friends and well-wishers of the College at Aligarh will avoid wrecking their efforts on this shoal, and will leave all practical details to the Professors and others who have given their lives to the actual business of instruction.

Then again those engaged in the training of children have to keep themselves abreast of the times, since new methods and new principles are being brought to bear almost every year on this Art in England, Germany and other countries. It is not enough for the teacher now to know the subject he is set to teach. He must know a great deal more. If he has to deal with the plastic material of little children, he must be especially careful what burden he puts on them so as not to disturb the balance between body and mind. He has to think of the order in which different branches of knowledge are to be imparted, how best moral and religious principles are to be instilled, languages taught, and time so economized that his pupils might go out into the world well equipped for pursuing that higher and truer education which only begins when school education is ended, and which endures all our lives.

Now, with your permission, I venture to offer you some advice, not in the rôle of a teacher, which I am far from being qualified to assume in your presence, but simply as a friend who wishes you well.

First of all, I would urge you to realise that in all undertakings of a public character, purity of motive is an abiding element of success. A man who enters on a philanthropic undertaking for the sake of notoriety or from some other personal motive, is seldom successful; and even where his activity ends in some good to others, you will find that he never does any good to himself.

I need hardly refer you on this text to the well known story of Hazrat Ali and the criminal. How, when sentence was passed on the latter and he was being whipped in the presence of the Khalifah, he spat on his face. How Hazrat Ali, on this, immediately stopped the punishment, and when questioned about his proceedings, said that he was afraid of a feeling of revenge vitiating the purity of his motive, if he continued the punishment after the personal affront that he had received.

I would next beg you to consider whether or not I am right in saying that, in all national undertakings, small, separate efforts are a mistake, that it is best to unite together and concentrate our strength. A weight that can be lifted by the strength of a hundred men when labouring together will defy the efforts of ten men working separately. If we look to it that our motives are pure and there is union amongst us, we may rest assured that the grand work we are engaged in will come to a good end and success will crown our efforts.

Last, but not least, I would not forget, if I were you, that all the different races amongst whom we live in India are children of the same soil and should therefore be like brothers to us, and it is our duty to live with them in brotherly love and amity ; their success is our success ; their failure our failure ; they are our natural friends and supporters, whom it would be suicidal to alienate from us by any act of our own ; it would indeed be both bad morals and bad policy.

In conclusion, I need hardly point out to you that the laudable undertaking in which we are all of us engaged would be impossible except under a strong, just, and benevolent Government such as that of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen. In pursuing our national interests, it therefore behoves us to remember this with gratitude, and hold ourselves ready, should trouble ever come, cheerfully to give our lives in its support ; and it is also our duty, I take it, to cultivate this same sentiment of true and rational loyalty in our children, so that they might grow up loyal and peaceful citizens of the greatest Empire that the world has ever seen, and take pride in knowing that they belong to it and can claim all the priceless privileges it confers. I have not the least hesitation in saying that the Mohammedans of India yield to none in their loyalty to Government, and I am confident they will never waver in their course, or incur the odious charge of ingratitude to their benefactors.

Gentlemen, now that I have finished what little I had to say, I will beg last of all that, when in your daily devotions you pray for your Queen and your country, your relations and your friends, you will not forget to include me in the list of these last, and will remember me in your prayers.

Speech as President at the Dinner given by the Members of the Nizam Club on the 20th of June 1897 in Honour of Her Majesty the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

GENTLEMEN,

WITHIN the next day or two there will probably be not a town in the whole of the civilized world where British subjects will not have assembled, as we are assembled here to-night, to wish long life and all the blessings of heaven to our beloved sovereign the Queen, for the Queen's Empire extends over about a third of the inhabited portion of the globe, and her subjects are to be found in the rest, extending the commerce and influence of the mother country. In this assembly to-night some have the privilege of being British subjects, living under the kind and benevolent protection of His Highness the Nizam, while some are the direct subjects of His Highness who is an old and honoured ally of the Queen's Government, enjoying the priceless benefit of her friendship, and both are assembled together to bless our sovereign Lady, and wish her long life, on the completion of the sixtieth year of her reign, one of the longest ever recorded in the world.

But, gentlemen, the Queen's reign is not only one of the longest ever recorded, it is an unparalleled reign in every other way (hear, hear), for if you divide the whole of the known past of the world into several periods of sixty years, you will not find any such period to match with the sixty years of the Queen's reign in the progress made by the world in all directions of human activity. I should have to detain you all night if I attempted to enumerate even the mere heads of the discoveries and inventions of the period, the progress made in adding to the comforts and conveniences of life, in the means of locomotion and communication, in the development of steam and electric power, in the immense strides made in the diffusion of knowledge, in the extension of political freedom, in the suppression of slavery and in a thousand other directions.

I will only draw your attention to one or two of these, which seem to me to be peculiarly personal to our Queen. One of them is the immense progress made during her reign in all that appertains to the relief of human suffering and degradation, and

here her influence, her keen personal influence, and that of her high-souled consort, the late Prince Albert, are conspicuous as the mainsprings of the measures taken fron time to time, from the building of the first refuge for waifs and strays in London, to the last *Zenana* hospital in India (cheers). Though others have worked, the impetus has come from her. She has borne no ordinary measure of suffering and sorrow herself, and her heart is ever tender and sympathetic to cases of sorrow and suffering among her subjects. The messages of condolence and kindness that she has sent to people thus tried during the sixty years of her reign would, it is said, fill a volume, and her active charity to those in distress among her own immediate dependants and the tenants of the royal estates, would mount up to a fortune. In her Scottish property of Balmoral there is not a tenant, I believe, who is not personally known to her, or has not received some benefit from her royal hands. (Hear ! hear !). But t ere is another direction in which personal influence and the purity of her life have conferred priceless benefits. I mean on social life and on literature. (Hear ! hear !) It is during her reign and through her influence, silent or active, that the last remnants of coarseness surviving from the licentious times of Queen Anne and the Regency, have finally disappeared. And it is also owing to her influence that the so-called weaker sex has achieved its emancipation, and taken its proper place in the economy of the world. She has shown the world how a woman so highly placed can live a life of holiness, a life devoted to public duty, in which nevertheless no domestic duty, the duty of a wife or a mother, however small, should ever be neglected. For you must not imagine that the sovereign of constitutional, almost republican England holds a sinecure, and has nothing to do. (Hear ! hear !) The Queen, they say, has never enjoyed a complete holiday, and the greater part of every day of her life on the throne has been occupied with onerous work, dealing with affairs involving immense and far-reaching issues, and requiring a tact and knowledge of the world and of practical politics almost beyond the conception of people like ourselves, who have never seen an example of a like life in a like position. (Cheers). And yet in her domestic relations no Hindoo wife was ever more faithful or Musalman mother more devoted than the Queen, and the whole of the thirty-odd years of her widowhood has been consecrated to the memory of her beloved consort ; and in good work, self-sacrifice, devotion to duty, and holy living she has realized the ideal of Hindoo Satteedom, which recognizes the sacrifice of the body on the funeral pyre, as easier and of less merit than a life spent as she has spent it. And in the due performance of the social functions of royalty she stands unrivalled. Her unprecedented popularity not only in England but all over Europe, is the result partly of the blameless life she has lived, and partly of the supreme tact with which she has, during the sixty years of her reign, upheld her position as Queen of a consititutional Empire, amid the

fierce strife of party politics at home, and of rival ambitions on the continent of Europe. In fact, it may be truly said of her that she is the greatest living support of monarchic ideas in these democratic and anarchic times, and has done more for the cause of peace and order and true liberty than any other living sovereign or statesman. And, gentleman, we must not forget our sovereign's peculiar claim to the love and loyalty of us, Indians, for, when in previous times did we ever enjoy such peace and tranquility, such freedom to develop our personal activities in all laudable directions as in her reign? At the best of times India was never at peace in the old days. If one province was tranquil, a neighbouring province was disturbed, and men lived their lives from day to day in fear of what the morrow might bring. Now all is changed and we have no fear of any kind from year's end to year's end, if we are well behaved and law-abiding. When, again, was education so general as it is now, and when was an Indian subject such an absolute owner of his handiwork and so free to dispose of the fruits of his labour or ingenuity as he might please? And as for political freedom, that is a growth of time, and we enjoy as much of it at present as is good for us. As for those who go about talking of freedom and equality, prancing before deluded audiences in borrowed plumes, raising cries that fall as false notes on Indian ears, and singing the Marseillaise to crowds, who have never in history stood behind barricades, or dreamt of questioning constituted authority, all I can say is, that they do not know what they say. If we had complete political freedom, depend upon it we would not know what to do with it. There is not a race in India that is prepared for it. Let us, my friends, first free our souls from the rust of centuries, train ourselves in the ways of duty and self-sacrifice and devotion to public good, and prove to the world our fitness for the exercise of political freedom before we hanker for the gift, and when we have done this, I am sure the boon will be given to us without our asking.

Gentlemen, our religion enjoins us to be law-abiding. We are commanded to obey God, obey His Prophet, and the ruler over us for the time being. We are commanded to love and obey a sovereign placed over us, whatever his religion or nationality may be, if he gives peace and does not interfere with the due performance of our religious duties. How much more then are we bound to love and reverence and obey our present sovereign who not only confers on us these great advantages, but many more priceless benefits past enumeration, and not enjoyed by another subject race in Asia. In our books, moreover, a sovereign is often entitled *Zil-ul-lah*, or the shadow of God. But this is only applicable to good kings, just and merciful kings, who truly represent God on earth, whom God cherisheth and who cherish their subjects and love and protect them—kings who exemplify in their person the old Arab saying, namely, that the "Ruler of men is verily their servant." The phrase does not

apply to the rulers whose misdeeds disgrace history, and who look upon everything and every body placed under their power as if they were created by God only to pander to their appetites. (Hear ! hear !). Our august sovereign, the Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India is the ideal *Zil-ul-lah*, for has she not all her life enjoyed the direct protection and care of the Almighty, as even she has protected her subjects and cared for them. We live and flourish under her shadow, as she under God's. And, Gentlemen, to us Indians our beloved sovereign has shown her love in a special manner. Not only has she always evinced the keenest interest in our well being and well doing, but she has marked her loving kindness for us by learning our language and employing Indian servants on her staff. It is for us a privilege indeed, to be subjects of such a sovereign, a priceless privilege, as people will tell you who have travelled abroad. Therefore, I call upon you to pray to the Lord our God to bless the Queen and give her length of days, for though she is old, men and women have lived much longer, and neither England nor India can spare their beloved sovereign. And I call upon you to drink the toast of the Queen Empress of India. God bless and spare her !

The toast was drunk amidst cries of *Amen* from all present.

The peom entitled "*Beata Victoria*" was composed and published on this occasion, and is printed among the verses at the end of this collection.

Address to the Students of M.A.O. College, Aligarh

I HAVE no doubt some of the seniors amongst you have already been introduced to Speculative Ethics in the course of your studies, and are familiar with the attempts that have from time to time been made to solve the old riddle of right and wrong. Islam, as you probably know, is divided into two great camps on this point, by far the more numerous of which believes that Revelation furnishes the only test, while the minority recognises Reason as the ultimate court of appeal. But if you have given any thought to the matter, you must have perceived that whether Utility or Conscience, or the Moral Sentiments, or the Fitness of things be accepted as the real test, whether Revelation be appealed to, or Reason, in the last resort, human conduct is independent of all such speculations. You do not refer to Mill or consult Bentham in dealing with your fellowmen, your motives are governed by sanctions with which Speculative Ethics has nothing to do. Now, if you will look a little closely into the matter you will find that the question is somewhat puzzling. Certain outlying fields of human conduct that concern the peace and integrity of society, you will find, are protected by what are called legal sanctions, so that you cannot infringe on the rights of your fellowmen without incurring penalties the extreme limit of which is loss of life. But there is a vast region, you will find, left untouched by legal sanctions; the law does not punish you for being untruthful in private life, or for betraying a friend, or for overreaching an enemy. For these several distinct sets of sanctions have been offered for our acceptance from time to time. Revelation, as interpreted to the mass of its believers, attempts to act on the love of pleasure and fear of pain inherent in human nature. The Mullah admonishes us to govern our conduct by hope of Paradise in the life to come and fear of Hell, and paints for us in exuberant colours the pleasures of the one and the tortures of the other. These are the sanctions enforced by Islam, such Islam at any rate, as is preached from pulpit by the majority of our teachers. I shall come presently to another and a much higher interpretation of this doctrine. But let us inquire first into the efficacy of these sanctions. As far as one can see, the hope of Heaven or the fear of Hell has not prevented any revealed religion at one period or another of its development from degenerating into a mere religion of forms and ceremonials, as is the case with Islam now. Were these sanctions really felt

to be binding, they would surely be supported by society and enforced by means of social penalties. Is morality so enforced in Moslem Society? Is not the criminal who escapes the just punishment he has incurred by some legal subterfuge or quibble received back with open arms by his equals, if he has not the fatted calf killed for him? Is the man caught perjuring himself boycotted by his fellows? Is not official corruption looked upon as a venial offence,when it is not admired as clever speculation in risks? Are there not professed vendors of divine favour whose private lives are steeped in the most indecent profligacy for which justification is shamelessly sought in distorted interpretations of sacred texts? Matters have indeed come to such a pass that a long beard and short trousers are recognised as the only signs of orthodoxy, and Morality has no place in the teaching of the Mullahs whose breath is spent in depicting the ravishing pleasure of a sensual Heaven and the fearful tortures of Hell. Some even go so far as to look upon too great a strictness in matters of principle as un-Mohammedan. Peculation is in practice held not to be inconsistent with piety, and honesty in money transanctions is an exception with the priest-ridden rather than the rule. This state of things is predicted with unerring foresight in a remarkable passage of the *Nahj-ul-Balaghat*, a work which, whether for purity of teaching, profoundness of observation, or supreme terseness and felicity of expression is without a parallel in the literature of Mohammedans. Rendered into English it prophesies that "A time will come to men when nothing will remain with them of the Koran but the letter, and of Islam but the name; when Mosques will be replete with architecture, but depleted of righteousness; when their denizens and their builders will be the wickedest of the denizens of the earth from whom will emanate all mischief and among whom will find shelter all sin." I have nothing but admiration for the few simple, pious men whom those hopes and fears enable to live a blameless life, but I hold that for the majority they have proved a failure. They have failed to establish a high standard of social morality or to conduce to cleanliness of life. And it was only natural that they should fail, for who ever heard of any heroism called forth by fear, or any grandeur of character developed by love of sensual pleasure? If you educate children on these motives, if you supply them with no higher ideals, you will never develop in them the manlier virtues of truthfulness, courage, generosity; but cunning, craftiness, hypocrisy they will be safe to acquire. These are motives with which you may train animals but not men; even animals on occasions betray a consciousness of being somewhat above them, as witness the love and faithfulness of the dog and the horse. If man is to be superior to other animals in something more than mere speech, which is at times a rather doubtful acquisition, he must prove himself possessed of those loftier qualities which lie in a plane above the earth and seven heavens, and rise superior

to the grovelling level of sensual pleasure and pain. And what motives for striving after this ideal character, can you ask for superior to love of honour, pride of manhood, scorn of cowardcie, and above all, faith in the might and eternity of truth and the goodness and glory of god?

This is identical in spirit, if not in the letter, with that higher interpretation of the Islamic doctrine to which I referred in speaking of religious sanctions, as you can satisfy yourselves by referring, among other teachers, to the utterances of Ali the purest and most spiritual of Islamic heroes, or consulting the works of Gazzali the greatest of Moslem divines. Let me cite a noble passage from the former in support of my contention.

* * *

"I do not worship Thee, O Lord! from fear of Thy Hell or hope of Thy Heaven. I find Thee worthy of worship and therefore I worship Thee." In another place occurs the following passage:-

* * *

"The servants of the Lord are divided into three classes: those who worship God from fear, theirs is the service of the slave; those who worship God seeking reward, theirs is the service of the hireling; and, lastly, those who worship God out of love, and theirs is the service of free men. This last is the truest service of all."

Take the following from the *Ihya-ul-Oloom* of Gazzali:—

* * *

That is to say "Purity in the service of god implies that the Service is rendered without expectation of recompense in either world. This is as much as to say that the pleasures of self whether before or after death are calamitous, and the man who worships God for the sake of securing personal enjoyment by the gratification of his desires in Paradise is misguided, the truth being that nothing should be desired except the pleasure of God."

One of the greatest heroines of Islam, Rabia, is quoted in the same book:—

* * *

"I do not worship Him from fear of His Hell or love of His Heaven to be like an evil hireling, I worship Him out of love for Him and longing towards him."

If you wish to be good Mussalmans and free men, endeavour to be without fear and without reproach in the same spirit.

You will find that all the great men of the world belong to this school irrespective of caste or creed. Its teachings are of universal application, and its obligations are rooted in the very nature of man. You, who are in constant contact with men trained in similar teachings, men of high culture and noble character, and have their example always before you, you will not fail, I hope, to imbibe their spirit and learn to base your conduct on higher principles than the paltry concerns of self. I hope you will learn truthfulness from them and devotion to duty, not because you are compelled thereto by pains and penalties but because you do not choose to demean yourselves by uttering a falsehood, or be untrue to yourselves by neglecting a task you have freely undertaken to perform. I hope you will realise in your lives that death is preferable to the cowardice of a man who is afraid to tell the truth, and that there is no disgrace greater than the disgrace of being false to your plighted faith. This, as I understand it, is in part the sense conveyed by the Arabic word *hurriat* upheld so high in the older literature of the Arabs. Not law, not custom, not even the terrors of Hell itself should deter you from uttering the truth. And believe me if you are not afraid of telling the truth, your courage is of proof and you will fear neither man nor devil. Truthfulness is the highest form of courage and the fountain head of all other virtues. It is the crown of manhood, without which manhood has no dignity, no true honour. And remember that it is not only in great things and on great occasions that you are called upon to uphold truth, you should endeavour to be truthful in every relation of life, however trifling, and realise that though an occasion may be small and trivial, truth itself is never trivial.

Short as has yet been its career, the example of your College and the tradition to which it has given rise are already influencing other Colleges and other nationalities. Let us see you establish in even a greater degree the tradition of unswerving integrity and high sense of honour. The graduates of Aligarh are noted for their good manners, their *esprit de corps*, their love for their *alma mater*, and their superior *morale ;* let them in future be distinguished in a still greater degree for their zeal in upholding what is right, in scorning what is wrong, and in keeping their reverence for their faith and their loyalty to their sovereign unsullied under all temptations.

This was the lesson of your revered founder. It was his aim through life to inculcate a high ideal of conduct and a true-hearted loyalty to the Queen. He wanted the children of his race to grow up under the influences, with which it was his aim to surround them, into true Mussalmans and useful citizens. Perhaps it was because he was a Mussalman and descended from a noble and influential family and therefore all the more readily able to place himself in the position of our rulers, that he had such a clear insight into their difficulties and such a just

estimate of what should be our own attitude towards them. He was able to see that it was our duty to be obedient and loyal and that a hostile attitude towards Government was not only undutiful, it was unsafe for our own prosperity and peace, and detrimental to future progress. As a politician and statesman he was a thorough unbeliever in what are usually called free institutions. He had no faith in the efficacy of majorities, and he had a sovereign contempt for political agitation and all its juggleries. When therefore the Congress movement was set on foot he threw the whole weight of his authority into the opposite scale and effectually prevented the great body of Mohammedans from joining it. To say that he was actuated by meaner and less unselfish motives in opposing the Congress, is to belie the whole tenor of his life and labours. His patriotism was of a much higher type, and his insight into public affairs was much truer than his opponents are able to imagine.

Nothing has occurred since Sir Syed's death to alter the position. The considerations which prevailed on him to withhold his support from the movement are in full force still. No man of sense and experience is deluded into the belief that the Government has yielded to the pressure of the Congress in conceding a modification of the elective principle in the constitution of our Legislative Councils or in resorting to competitive examinations in the recruiting of the Subordinate Civil Service. Both these measures are based on administrative considerations quite apart from any popular agitation. What the movement and the numerous offshoots and outcrops of the movement have really done is to discredit Indian representatives in England, shut the door of further indulgence and put back the hands of the clock by at least fifty years. The leaders of the Congress must be blinded indeed by their pseudo-parliamentary zeal if they are not alive to these results. The day is not distant when even their eyes will be opened and they will begin to see the mistake they have made. They will see that the importation of the Shiboleths of democracy does not make India democratic, they will see that the adherence of a few radical members of Parliament, does not make the Congress a real Parliament, they will see that because now and then a few unimportant privileges are thrown to the people, like sugar plums scattered among school children, India does not cease to be a conquered country held by military force, nor does the Government of India cease to be an autocratic Government albeit a wise and benevolent one. I hope you will never be enticed by the siren voice of any agitator, European or Native, and join the movement under the delusion that you will thereby become a member of "Her Majesty's opposition." That is a term belonging to a peculiar phase of party Government which has no meaning in India. I hope you will never swerve from the traditions left behind him by your illustrious founder, which I am happy to see are loyally upheld by his successors in the College; and will never

foul the line, on which your special work is carried on, on the wire-entanglements of political agitation. Indian political life such as has been chalked out by our friends of the Congress is a *cul de sac* on which the words "*No thoroughfare*" are written in blazing letters. The door of political life, however, is not altogether closed to you; there is a wonderful amount of help you might give to the State if you threw yourselves into the work well equipped to carry it on. He takes an ignoble view of the duties and privileges of citizenship who betrays no interest in the welfare of his country. But I would have you work on a different plane altogether from that of hostile agitation. I would have you prepare yourselves to take an intelligent interest in the great economic problems of your country, so as to be able to form opinions that may be of value to the State. I am afraid very few of the common run of political agitators know anything of the real problems that concern the welfare of the masses and care less about them. They are concerned mostly with the interests of the so-called educated classes, and are bent on self-aggrandisement. If you wish really to advance the interests of the country you should take a sounder and a wider view of the duties of citizenship, and instead of hampering and embarrassing Government with vexatious criticism and ill-natured mispresentation, help it with the fulness of your knowledge in the difficult task of reconciling conflicting interests and bettering the condition of the dumb millions who have no spokesmen to represent them either in the Congress or out of it among their own countrymen. I really believe that in India the only people who give anxious thought to the welfare of the masses are our English administrators. Educated Indians know little about them, as I have said, and care less. If some of you really wish to make yourselves useful to your country, here is a field for legitimate activity, virgin ground that you may plough and from which you may reap a rich harvest. But I warn you that if you wish to busy yourselves with such questions, you must not only approach them with laborious preparation, you must not shrink from much sacrifice of personal interests, and you must expect no reward except that of an unselfish duty nobly undertaken and, let us hope, ably discharged.

The one thing to remember in this connection is that true patriotism does not consist in going about vapouring all over the country about matters outside our sphere of activity, but it consists in contributing, as much as lies in our power to the strength and integrity of the Empire and the peaceful progress of its inhabitants. The Aligarh College movement is a patriotic movement, the movement our Hindoo brethren have set on foot at Benares to give themselves a national college like yours is a patriotic movement. The movement originated by my own august Master, His Highness the Nizam which led to the formation of the Imperial Service Troops, was a measure of the highest patriotism. Anything in fact that any native of India can do

to promote peace and security, to improve the economic, social and intellectual condition of the people, to strengthen the defences of the country, or, to develop its resources is patriotic; and loyalty, genuine true-hearted loyalty to Government is the most patriotic of all. For in upholding the strength and authority of Government, you uphold the only conditions under which it is possible for your country to rise from its fallen condition and to take an honourable position in the comity of nations. And remember also that the loyalty of fear is no loyalty at all. A man who is obedient to Government because he is afraid of its power is not a good subject, he is a rebel at heart and loyal only by compulsion. This is servitude, while the free obedience of a truly loyal citizen is a matter of honour and pride. You will not have forgotten the treachery of the Turkish Generals who handed over the Danubian quadrilateral to the Russians in the war of 1877, or those others who by withholding timely help made the glorious defence of Plevna and the heroism of Ghazi Osman of no avail. Well, these Generals were not patriots, and the very existence of such treachery at the time of the war proves the rottenness of the state of Turkey. It shows that while the soldiers and the great body of the people were heroic in their loyalty, the governing classes, the sons of Circassian and Georgian slave girls, the Pashas who lived on the fat of the land, betrayed their country and brought it to the verge of extinction.

Talking of the Turks reminds me that a wave of sympathy passes every now and again over India giving much exercise to the minds of simple folk who like good Mussalmans are deeply interested in the fate of the only Mussalman State in Europe, little knowing that the same evils that have led to their own downfall in India, and are keeping them back from prosperity and progress, are also at work in Turkey and have shorn her, one by one, of many of her most valued possessions. Turkish rule is hated in Arabia, it was hated in Egypt and gave rise to the national movement against it of which Arabi Pasha was the leader. The Christian nationalities subject to Turkey to whom successive sultans have made valuable concessions, are still discontented and sometimes in actual revolt. The more thoughtful of the Turks say of their own country that "If it were not for the balance of power in Europe, the country would be gone." What then is the reason? The reason is that the forces of fanaticism and ignorance have, as with us in India, kept the ruling people back from participating in the progress of the world, while a race of Pashas of very attenuated Turkish blood has risen between the Sovereign and the people, corrupt to the core, who have usurped all authority. They keep the people down and intercept all royal favours for their own benefit. They make it impossible for men like Gazi Osman or Khairuddin Pasha to obtain influence at Court or guide its counsels. The young Turk of the progressive class, like yourselves, is kept in the background, and men of integrity and honour are not

allowed, to remain in the service of the State. Ghazi Osman was exiled from the Capital and appointed Viceroy of *Hijaz* only to be recalled soon after when it was found that the straightforward soldier interfered with the perquisites of the *Hijaz* officials. I am not repeating newspaper gossip, but actual history related by Mussalman travellers whose sympathies were strongly Turkish and one of whom was himself a Turk. There are signs of some slight improvement under the present Sultan; public education, I believe, is better attended to and some attempt is made towards an organised administration, but the fact remains that to be a Turkish subject is still a doubtful privilege, and no Indian Mussalman would find there the general amnesty and the personal liberty he enjoys under British rule. As a Mussalman, I feel a lively sympathy with the Turk and interest in his fate, and the best that I can wish and pray for him is, that he may soon be able to make his rule as strong and efficient as ours.

To return to the subject that brought me to speak of Turkey, patriotism is not to be confounded with a vain hankering after political privileges for which we are not prepared and which we should abuse if we had them. Patriotism consists in unselfishly seeking the good of your country and the benefit of your countrymen in the many ways that are open. And as patriots and lovers of your country, your own advancement in the work you are engaged in at Aligarh, is your first duty. It is not enough that you are members of a first class institution under excellent teachers, you should feel the duty of using your opportunities and making strenuous and unremitting efforts to qualify yourselves not only to be graduates of the university but really able and accomplished men with the hall mark of Aligarh on you. It is for you to make that mark a mark of honour all over India, and a guarantee that it is carried by men who may be trusted wherever they may go, and whatever position the chance of life may place them in.

Do you know what enthusiasm is? It is defined in dictionaries as "inspirations as if by divine possession or superhuman influence." That is the literal meaning from the Greek. It is a spark of the divine fire which enters into noble souls and carries them beyond themselves in the pursuit of a generous cause. It rouses them into a great rage at stories of human wrong and suffuses their eyes with moisture at recitals of heroic deeds of unselfishness or courage. Its inspiration is divine; its promptings are holy. It floated Jasan to Colchis; it made Socrates quaff the poisoned bowl; it guided Moses in the wilderness and spoke to him on Mount Sinai; it led Christ to the cross; it exiled Mahommed to Medina; it led Hossain to martyrdom; it sent Mansur to the scaffold; it brought Syed Ahmed to Aligarh; and it speaks to you tonight from the mouth of one of the humblest of his friends. If you have a spark of it in your nature, guard it with care, let neither age nor misfortune dim

its brightness, for it is the source of all that is good and great in the world, and a balm for all evils.

My young friends, I have spoken to you as I would speak to my own children, in all love and affection. If I have ventured to give you advice, some of it not quite palatable perhaps, I have done so for your own good. Here you have many friends and well-wishers prepared to give you their tenderest care. But once out of Aligarh, and thrown on the wide world, you will have only yourselves to depend upon. It is then that what you have acquired here, all the wise counsel you have received from your teachers and friends, will stand you in good stead and be your voiceless guardian in your struggle through life.

To come now to the minor concerns of your life in the College, I understand that some of you are not free from the vice common to many University students in India of shirking your studies until the last quarter of the year, and then putting on a spurt of work towards the end to pass the examination. Now, I have passed through the mill myself and can therefore speak with some authority on the subject. My experience of such cramming, and no one will deny that it is sheer down-right cramming, is that the odds are rather against than for the man who relies on this kind of work for a pass. A book-maker would think twice before he took four to one against him, provided he, the student, was not a duffer, and then he would take no odds whatsoever, for a duffer has no chance at all in such a game. But I hope you are not working for a mere pass. Judged even from the bread-and-butter point of view, a mere pass without the implied knowledge and discipline of which it should be the token, is not of much value. The market value of a degree is very low, and the young man who merely works for a pass, is playing fast and loose with his chances in life. One has constant and painful experience of this in the business relations of life. If one wants a man for even a small post requiring some ability, mere ordinary and not any out of the way ability, he has to reject many B.A's before he is suited. Now I maintain that if a young man of ordinary intelligence works steadily through the four years of his College course, he will have acquired at the end of his last term an amount of—not exactly culture, for that comes afterwards—but solid marketable training that will have fitted him to enter on any after career that he chooses for himself with fair chances of success. And I think the book-maker of whom I have spoken, will be prepared, if he understands his business, to take longer odds on him at the examination. If I was the book-maker, I would work entirely on that system and bribe the Proctors (Heaven save the mark!) to obtain correct returns of the daily work done by each candidate during the first six months of the working year of eight or nine months. So much for a mere bread-and-butter view of academical work. For those who aim at something higher and wish in after life to be known as cultured men, for them steady work and careful attendance at

lectures are matters not of choice but of necessity, for no one can prepare himself for after study on which all real culture and scholarship depend, unless he has been through the discipline of the whole period of his undergraduate career. In fact whichever way you look at it, you cannot afford to miss the excellent discipline which four years of steady work in the College are calculated to give you. And looking at the matter from another point of view, do you think it quite honest to shirk your work during the major, or indeed, any part of your course; do you think it is quite fair to your parents and guardians who spend their money on you, believing that you are giving them their money's worth in work, or quite dutiful or even courteous to the professors and teachers who are giving their best for your benefit? I think not. I think a right-minded young man cannot help feeling that he is defrauding his parents and affronting his teachers if he does not do his day's work as he is expected to do.

A word now about the study of English. English is a difficult language for us, and even when learnt well, its subtleties often escape us. In my own school days I found a constant use of the Dictionary a great help, not one of those dreadful small Dictionaries in small type, which seem to me to have been invented in the interests of the professional oculist, but any large Dictionary such as Webster's Unabridged, of which I had a copy. And now that I am for letting out secrets and telling tales out of school, I may as well tell you that, at the outset of my schooling, I learnt all my English from a book of Fairy Tales, Robinson Crusœ, and old Gulliver. These three were my first masters, and my love for them will last through life. Later in my school days, my love was transferred to Sir Walter Scott, Dumas, Goldsmith, and that American Goldsmith, Irving. I remember to this day the exquisite delight they gave me, and I am happy to say I take a delight in them still. I was not introduced to the magic of Thackeray, and Dickens till I had entered the University, and then not by my Professors but, as I love to remember, by my father. The other purely literary works exclusive of poetry, which influenced me in those days, if I remember right, were Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, Buckle's Civilization, Lewes' life of Goethe, Macualay's Essays which have a morbid kind of fascination for the raw youth, Knight's Half-hours with the Best Authors, Helps' Friends in Council, Companions of my Solitude and Essays, and a few other books. Looking back now, in the light of later experience, it seems strange to me that I was not attracted to the great prose-poet and stimulating Master, Carlyle, although he was then the vogue. Among scientific books, I remember, Tyndal's Monograph on Heat, Grove's Correllation of Physical Forces, some of Huxley's Scientific and semi-Scientific Essays; Sir William Hamilton and Victor Cousin exercised the greatest fascination on me. There were a few others of less importance. The two books that were my greatest aversion, were, if I remember right MacFarlane's

History of India, and Payne's Mental and Moral Science which came into my life at different periods of my school career.

It seems strangely egotistic in a public address to lift the veil from a portion of one's own private life, and thrust a bit of autobiography on one's hearers, but it occurred to me that you students might find it interesting to compare notes with one who has gone through the same mill that you are going through, though at a period so remote from the present as to be a matter of ancient history.

I must say in the end that I am grateful to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, your able Honorary Secretary, and your worthy Principal Mr. Morison for allowing me the privilege of addressing you to-night. I do not know when I shall have the pleasure of meeting you all again, enjoying the fine climate, and sharing in the stimulating influences of Aligarh, but you know that you have always my good wishes wherever I may be and that my best sympathies are always with you and your work.

Reply to an Address presented at Aligarh, on the 18th of February 1900.

NAWAB MOHSIN-UL-MULK, MR. MORISON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

I TAKE the cordial reception you have given me here to-day and the flattering terms in which you have spoken of me, as the outcome of that spirit of brotherhood and kindly feeling for which Mahomedans are still noted all over the world. Believe me I feel very grateful for all your kindness, especially as coming from a Mahomedan seat of learning unique in its way, and a centre of advanced Mahomedan thought towards which are turned the eyes of all who have not yet abandoned hope of the future of our race and religion. I cannot help feeling however that I am indebted for it all to your hospitality and kindness, rather than to any merit of my own.

You have referred in your address to what you are pleased to call my services to the College, but when I think, not of what I have done, but what I might have done but have left undone, I only feel be-littled by the value you so generously set on the very small and insignificant part I have been able to take in your affairs. The worth and usefulness of this institution and the principles on which it is founded are not unfortunately understood by all Mahomedans—in some parts of the country as I have recently found, they are grievously misunderstood, but those who do understand its value, those by whom the noble and patriotic motives of its illustrious founder are appreciated, feel or should feel that for a living Mahomedan of our time and generation, there is no duty higher than that of helping the Aligarh College—all else comes after and takes the second place. Any Mahomedan who, having the means, lays it out elsewhere than for the good of the College robs his country and his people to the extent of the good that his contribution might have done. Any Mahomedan who wastes his substance on pomp and show and weddings and the like, robs the college and robbing the college robs his country and his race of what rightfully belongs to them. This in my humble opinion is the attitude which we Mahomedans, at any rate, those of us who have not the plea of ignorance or prejudice to put forward, should assume towards the College. This is the only right view to take of the matter, and if those of us who think they have helped the movement were weighed in

the balance according to this standard, they would, I am afraid, be found wanting. They have not done enough, they ought to have done more.

It is otherwise with those who do not understand and cannot appreciate the work which the illustrious founder of the institution initiated and his successors, the Nawab Mohsinul-Mulk, Mr. Morison and their colleagues are so nobly carrying on. Many are prejudiced, that is to say they have prejudged the case, have made up their minds against it without enquiry, and they will not understand. There are others who do not know good work from bad and they cannot understand, men whose ignorance is their misfortune and not their fault. These two classes of men, those who deprecate the work from sheer "cussedness" so to say, and those who do not really know its value, are excusable; we can understand their holding aloof or refusing to help us, and it is our duty, I take it, to combat as much as possible the prejudice of the one and enlighten the ignorance of the other. I think if some of us were to undertake this missionary, this proselytising work, we should make many converts; for, after all, few are foolish enough to refuse a good thing when it is offered to them; and if these men had their eyes opened, if they only saw that we were prepared to give them good value for their help, they would, I have no doubt, accept the bargain with alacrity and pleasure.

For what we are offering them here is not sham but reality, sweet nourishing, luscious fruit, not the dry bitter stone like the stone of the mango from which the flesh has been sucked away. It was on this that the great founder of the college spent his life and substance. It was for this that men like your late principal, Mr. Beck, lived and died, and your present principal is devoting the best energies and the noblest impulses of a refined and scholarly life. Their one aim has been to provide for us a training that should raise us from a dead into a living and breathing people; not to teach our children mere books—for any pedagogue can do that— but to educate them. to draw out all their activities, and train them to clean living and high thinking.

Bread-getting is unfortunately a necessary pursuit, but manhood is not nourished on bread alone; the spirit also has to be provided with good, wholesome food. But not only is manhood not nourished by bread alone, the spirit, you will find, is not nourished by books alone; it is neither books nor bread that keep us alive. Books are tools of culture and bread is needed for the body, but what is really healthful for the whole man is a training that will, as I have said before. lead us to clean living and high thinking. This is the essence of culture; for what after all is life worth if it is lived, as the animals live it, in the gratification of mere physical needs or in migrations from the blue bed to the brown? The pleasure that is derived from the mere gratification of a sense is the lowest of all pleasures, common to us and

the brute creation. The real pleasure of life, the pleasure that distinguishes us from the lower animals, is the spiritual pleasure of duty performed and something added by our own striving to the sum total of human progress and human happiness. It is in other words the onward march of the ego, the self, the soul, the spirit, whatever you like to call it, the constant, and sleepless effort to rise above our surroundings from high ideals to ideals ever higher, until life is ended and we are resolved into the dust from which we sprang.

Build thee more stately mansions, oh, my soul—
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from Heaven with a dome more vast;
Till thou at length are free,
Leaving thy outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!

This is true education and not the mere teaching of books or the feeding of the body, and this is what your guides and guardians here are attempting to provide for you. It is for you to second their efforts and let the world see that there is at least one place in India where the higher ideals of culture can be achieved, and lives that would otherwise wallow in the gratification of mere physical needs, can be touched to higher, nobler, and gentler issues.

If only every Mahomedan parent could be persuaded to believe that this is what is needed and what we are straining every nerve to provide at Aligarh, I am sure the noble Sir Syed Ahmed would rest peacefully in his grave and the future of our race would be assured.

I would not have you believe, from what I have said, that books are of little use in education; books are indispensable as tools; they are the vehicles of culture and without them we should be debarred access to the wisdom of the ages and the noblest inheritance of mankind. But to participate in this inheritance in full we must needs have recourse to Western learning and Western books. We have a noble literature of our own, but it is not enough; it only represents one phase of thought. We must supplement it by the wealth of beauty and thought which has been accumulated in the West, and which is guarded neither by demon nor by dragon, but is free to all who will unlock the door and take possession of it.

We took the best of our secular learning from the West long ago, and that debt we have paid with interest. But we made the mistake of taking only the dry bones of learning and leaving the spirit behind. For what we took from the Greeks was only their mathematics and their metaphysics, their anatomy and their medicine; we neglected to take what to European nations has proved the noblest heritage of all, their taste and their culture, their high and noble ideals of beauty, literary and intellectual,

which, much more than their positive learning have influenced Western civilisation, and raised it to heights never dreamt of in the world before. By a strange fatality, in other words, we took all from the Greeks, except what was the most valuable among their possessions; and we have, as I take it, paid for our error for centuries long by the grievous lack of that Hellenic spirit which permeates all modern life and culture as fragrance permeates the rose. Even modern morality is as much indebted to the Hellenic love of beauty as to other and more direct teachings, for there is a more intimate connection between the good and the beautiful than we are aware of, and those whose ideals of beauty are gross and material can never rise to the heights of culture and refinement attained by nations who have been influenced by Hellenic thought and Hellenic civilisation. We, therefore, look in vain in our history for those elegancies and refinements, for that higher life of cultured leisure which is promoted in an essential measure by the fine arts, the arts of expression, plastic or literary—the pursuit of the beautiful, in short, in its varied forms.

We have failed equally in another sphere of activity, both speculative and practical, namely, the science and art of government, at once the greatest, and most important and the most difficult of human undertakings. And the cause again is the superficial and imperfect way in which we profitted by our contact with Hellenic and Roman civilisation. As a nation we never went to the fountain-head of the teachings we were so eager to adopt, and therefore never attained to anything beyond the dry bones of mutilated and inaccurate translations. By accident or design we never allowed ourselves to become permeated by the living spirit of the cultures with which we came in contact, with their free institutions; with their representations of human passion and human failing; with their criticism of life, or their interpretation of nature and humanity.

Let us therefore take warning from the past and avoid falling into the same error again. Put not your faith in translations and do not take your teaching at second hand, but go to the fountain-head and drink deep of its waters. Steep yourselves in the free spirit of Western methods and Western thought and, with the powerful search-light you will thus be able to command look back on your own learning, if you like, and take renewed delight in its treasures. This, in few words, is the essence of the teaching that we need, and this in some measure is what Aligarh strives to provide. But to arrive closer to the ideal we should not rest until we have realized the dream of a great teaching University for ourselves. Till we have found the funds necessary for this purpose, our ends will only be half attained; we shall never be able to do the great things we wish to do and the teaching at Aligarh, superior as it is, must remain limited in scope and confined necessarily to narrow grooves. Aligarh will never become the

distinguished seat of Western and Eastern learning that it ought to be, and we shall be as far as ever from striking out a path of our own.

But we Mahomedans have received a nobler and more sacred inheritance than our secular literature and learning, namely our God and our Religion, and were our children to forget these in the turmoil of worldly pursuits however desirable, they shall surely perish, since a people who have abandoned their God and their Conscience are like sailors who have lost their moorings and are floating adrift on a tempestuous sea without pilot or rudder.

We therefore find that the wisdom of your founder and the watchful care of your trustees have made ample provision against such a lamentable eventuality, and your able secretary and his colleagues have it constantly in their thought that religious education should receive greater attention than ever in the curriculum of the school and college, and their efforts are nobly seconded by your Principal, than whom not the most orthodox Mahomedan trustee could be more zealous in this behalf, as his writings and speeches have amply shown.

There is a feature in the training given here which distinguishes Aligarh from every other college and school in India. The founder of the institution has, in his wise and statesman like foresight, provided that Aligarh should not only turn out good scholars but also loyal and intelligent citizens; that, along with other matters, our children should receive here moral and political training of a character that should fit them to become useful and patriotic subjects of the Queen and a source of strength to the splendid empire to which we have the honour to belong. Ordinary common sense should convince you that this is the only attitude consistent with national happiness and prosperity, and the assured progress of the country. It is essential for your own happiness and for the continued prosperity of your country to know and believe that your destinies are in the hands of a wise and beneficent Government, and it is essential that your motives and your conduct should be shaped in the mould of that belief. Setting aside higher considerations, it is unwise and improvident to quarrel with a Government which you can never replace, except with anarchy and misrule. And it is to the last degree ungrateful to meet, with mean distrust and unworthy suspicion, the vast benefits you receive from those who are placed in power over your land. I am the last person to counsel a slavish and cringing attitude towards our rulers; such an attitude is, to my thinking, inconsistent with true loyalty. But what I, in common with all your well-wishers, desire to see in you is that sturdy sense of citizenship, that true and manly allegiance to your Sovereign, which should be the cherished property of a nation not demoralised by long subjection to an unjust and despotic sway. I wish to see you taking a just pride in belonging to an Empire on which the sun never sets, an Empire that is essentially

beneficent in its imperial policy, and what is more to the purpose, an Empire that holds out the only assurance of liberty and protection left for us in the world. I should like you to feel, as I feel, that you would rather be a British citizen than the subject of any other ruler, Musulman or Christian, in the whole wide world.

I am afraid fate has dealt most cruelly with you of late. First of all the gentle but strong hand and far seeing eye of your founder has been taken away from you, but you had still left one who understood his policy and had identified himself heart and soul with your interests. The untimely death of your late Principal, Mr. Beck, who may truly be said to have given his precious life in your cause, and who, while living, spent all his surplus earnings for your benefit, left you stranded in the world. But, as if these calamities were not enough, your affairs were brought to the verge of ruin by internecine quarrels which might have sapped the very foundation of the great institution to which you belong. Providence however was good to you after all, and it was decreed on high that you should not perish. That accomplished scholar and able administrator who rules over you now, with noble self-sacrifice and disregard of private interests, threw himself into the breach and rescued you from ruin ; while the tact and diplomacy of the present Secretary, a valued friend and disciple of Sir Syed, the Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, saved you from the evils of anarchy and succeeded in restoring harmony to the counsels of the College. I dread to think what would have happened if Mr. —and, may I be allowed to add with respect and gratitude Mrs. Morison, had not come to your rescue and the Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk had declined the thorny seat at the head of your affairs.

And this gives me an opportunity for observing that not the least important, to my thinking, is the part played in your destinies by the noble ladies who have from time to time been connected with the institution. I hope you appreciate and are duly grateful for their silent influence on the tone of your school ; and I hope you understand and will in after life remember what a lofty part in human affairs can be played by a pure, good and cultured woman, and will come to realize that we can never hope to rise to any height of national life unless we turn our efforts to the elevation of our own womankind. You are having here an object lesson of the most vitally important nature and I hope you will benefit by it to the full and remember it all your lives.

In conclusion I hope you will let me say a few words on another subject intimately connected with your well-doing in the world as members of what, I trust, is still a self-respecting community. We Mahomedans have received from our ancestors the acknowledged gift of good manners. We have in our time set an example to the world in this respect, and I am happy to believe we still have living examples before us in all Mahomedan

countries of dignified deportment and courtly manner—accomplishments that add to the worth and respect in which their possessors are held.

But unfortunately the younger generation in India, those especially who flock to our schools, are apt to forget that good manners is an important element in one's respect for oneself. They are apt to think an off-hand way of accosting their superiors and elders in age and experience, to be a sign of independence, while in reality it is only a symbol of caddishness and bad breeding. The first inference a stranger is led to draw, when he sees a young man behave himself without due regard to the demands of good manners, is that he does not perhaps belong to respectable parentage ; that at any rate he is not used at home to receiving deferential treatment from his inferiors and of paying deference to those above him, which are the outward marks of a gentleman. Remember that you owe it to yourselves more than to others to show proper respect where respect is due ; for, why and wherefore, otherwise, should you yourselves expect deference from others ? I have in my time heard a great deal from men ill-bred themselves, of what they are pleased to call the insolence and hauteur of Englishmen, but in my pretty large experience I have never come across an English gentleman who was not courteous where he was met by good manners and courtesy from those who crossed his path. It is only ill-manners that irritate an Englishman, as they would irritate anybody, even if he had the temper of an angel. And let me beg you not to run away with the idea that forms have nothing to do with manners. Forms are essential and indispensable, in fact forms are the greater part of manners, though, to be really perfect, forms must have kindly feeling and sincerity behind them. There is also an artistic element in forms as symbols and exponents of manners, and the deportment of a really nice mannered man is pleasing to the sight. You should not therefore despise forms. Even with intimate acquaintances and friends, with one's own wife or brother or sister, forms of courtesy should be kept up if only to prevent familiarity breeding contempt. It is only when one has no regard for a person that one treats him without any show of ceremony. Pompous and stilted manners, it is true, are ridiculous as all affectations are ridiculous, but the abuse of a thing does not justify us in condemning it when put to its proper use. I, therefore, hope that you will keep up your tradition of good manners, cherish it as much as possible amongst yourselves, and never let laziness or indifference lead you to disregard the obligation.

And now my young friends one word more before I sit down. I hope you have lived long enough, young as you are, and have seen enough of life, at any rate of school life, to understand that the most vital element of all education is discipline. School life is the world in miniature, and, if you do not learn to command yourselves now and obey the command of those placed over

you, you will never afterwards be fit to command others or take a manly part in the struggle of life. The world, unhappily, has no regard for tender skins, nor is the wind ever tempered for the shorn lamb. In life you will find yourselves constantly knocking your shins against the iron knobs of fortune, if you are not careful. However gingerly you may walk, you will not be able to escape occasional falls. The wiser and manlier part, therefore, is to let yourselves be prepared for it all, while there is time and before it is too late. Why should you not let your guardians and teachers do for you now and with the gentle and considerate hand of a friend, what the world is sure to do for you a little later with a harsher and less friendly hand. If you will only think a little and try to look at the common sense of the matter, you will realise that this view points out to you the very root and essence of school discipline, and you will then be able to submit to it more cheerfully, knowing that you are thereby being saved in anticipation from many a bitter heart-burn and intolerable misery in after life.

Last and by no means the least of all, let me thank you again for the kind things, much above my merit, you have let your spokesman, my friend Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk put into your address. I know his partiality of old, and I am much obliged to him, and to you all for all you have done for me during my short stay at Aligarh.

Presidential address at the Fourteenth Meeting of the Mohammedan Educational Conference held at Rampur, December 1900.

YOU are aware that these annual meetings of the Conference are intended to serve a three-fold purpose. In the first place, they promote friendly intercourse between the leading Mahomedans of different Provinces by bringing together many who would otherwise never have met. In the second place, they give people an opportunity of exchanging views on educational and other matters and of profiting by the experience of friends and co-religionists from all parts of India, and last and most important of all, they enable the leadingmen of our community to meet and take counsel together for the promotion of our most intimate national interests and to take concerted action in that behalf; above all, they enable us to devise means for the promotion and spread of Western culture amongst us, and, as a means to this end, help the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh to the best of our ability; for here we have ready at hand an institution founded upon principles, whose soundness has been recognized by the leaders of the community, and where a considerable amount of success has already been achieved.

The Conference first organized by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has now been in existence for fifteen years. He lived to assist at ten of its meetings, five of which were held at Aligarh and the rest at Lucknow, Lahore, Allahabad, Delhi, Shahjahanpore and Meerut, respectively, and in their order. There was no meeting in 1897. The Conference met for the first time since Sir Syed's death at Lahore, 1899, and again last year at Calcutta, and, thanks to the exertions of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur both these meetings were successful. Down to the year 1888, the Conference only performed the functions of a consultative body; it was not till the Meeting of 1889 at Lahore, that a practical direction was given to its deliberations by a proposal to organize local committees in different towns and collect funds through them for the support of the poorer class of students.

The Conference, it will be admitted, marks a great stride in the history of progress from the time when the only occasion on which people collected together in large numbers from distant parts of the country, were the great fairs of India where in the

midst of great frivolity, trade was advanced and commerce received a periodical impetus for the good of the country. Never, however, until Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his colleagues thought of organizing a National Educational Conference, did the leading men of our community at any time meet together for the promotion of our common interests as we have met here today, nor was there any opportunity for Mohammedans of light and leading to get mutually acquainted, such as the Conference affords us now once every year. If you will look round you in this very hall you will find many faces, which, but for this meeting, would never have been seen together, and if you will indulge your curiosity a little further, you will find that many of these delegates are able to exchange views in friendly meetings outside the deliberations of the Conference, and obtain valuable hints in educational and other matters in which they are vitally concerned.

The last meeting of the Conference has, I have reason to believe, stirred up the Mohammedans of Lower Bengal to a sense of their educational wants and elicited a public expression of views from several of the leading Mohammedans of that Province which cannot fail to be beneficial to the community. The principal and most important function of the Conference, however, at this moment is to place the higher education of the Mohammedans on a firm basis by helping us to make the great institution at Aligarh what it ought to be, so that it might become an abiding centre of thought and learning for the community. Our Government has generously planted schools at all the important centres of population, and brought education to our doors, but these institutions only supply local wants of a very limited kind; we cannot ask Government to undertake any comprehensive scheme of national education for us. This we must be prepared to do ourselves and for ourselves, not by isolated efforts but by an earnest and effective combination of all the forces of the entire community. Without some such combination we shall never succeed in founding and permanently maintaining a high class institution capable of influencing the whole of the Musalman population of India.

We usually take it for granted that every one is alive to the benefits of education, that at any rate every literate parent is convinced of the duty he owes to his children of giving them a sound education; but in practice the majority of literate Mohammedans are accustomed to feel satisfied that they have discharged this duty in an effective manner when they have put their children under a village pedagogue at the door, or sent them to the nearest school. They think they have made an end of the matter, their consciences are satisfied, and they give themselves no further concern about it. The result is that in the majority of cases the children grow up in ignorance and are perhaps led into evil ways for which the parents are primarily responsible. They are responsible because they have not taken the trouble to find out what sort of education is wanted for their children and how

it is to be obtained. But the plea of ignorance is no more tenable in a court of Law than it is in the Court of Nature, and they pay for their ignorance in the persons of their loved ones by not acquiring this knowledge.

Educational needs and educational methods have gone on changing with the change of times. Once a man who could string together a few clever rhymes, found favour thereby at native courts or with native noblemen. Persian and Arabic penmanship was another passport to emolument, and hundreds and sometimes thousands of rupees were paid for a superior sample of the art. When the Moguls ruled India, both Hindoos and Mohammedans took great pains to acquire an elegant Persian style and some even went so far as to learn the Chagattai Turkish. Those who sought to be reckoned learned, went to the centres of Arabic learning and spent years in the acquisition of the theology, grammar, logic, physics and metaphysics of your school.

Now, however, a complete change has come over the spirit of the dream. The art of the rhymster or the caligraphist has ceased to be remunerative. The Physics of Aristotle and Avicenna is antiquated, the Al-Magest of Tusi is useless, the Algebra of Khyam has lost its value, the Chemistry of Jabir is mere jugglery, the Metaphysics of Averroes has ceased to be studied and the Platonism of Farabi is of little account. If any scholar harks back to these studies, he does so out of mere learned curiosity or with reference to the study of the evolution of human thought.

The truth of the matter is, that we have been asleep for centuries while time has been making unceasing progress; we have been stationary, while the earth has been moving beneath our feet. The seed of decay and degeneration was sown the day we made up our minds to rest, as it were, on our oars; and content with our achievements in the past, ceased to thirst for fresh knowledge or engage in fresh research. Then truly was all lost; the energy, courage, pride and ambition of the race began to decline, and with these went power and wealth. It is a grievous mistake to suppose that the Mohammedans lost the rest when they lost their power. The lesson from history is quite the other way, and teaches us that we lost our power because we had been losing all that preserves and perpetuates power ages before.

It seems, however, that rather late in the day, the Mahomedans have commenced to realise what is wrong with them, and the meeting here to-day may be accepted as a living sign or symbol of this awakening.

They have begun to see that it is perhaps a good thing for them not only to revive their own old learning, but even to share in the progress which other countries have been making during their long slumber. I know there are to be found among us antiquated individuals who still hold that the old learning was final and cannot be improved upon, but I am happy to think that such ignorance is not general. The sharp edge of living, palpable

facts, have effectually driven such absurdities from men's minds, and demonstrated to them beyond cavil the might and power of Western civilization and Western learning, so that they are quite prepared to admit their superiority and profit by them as far as they can.

Gentlemen, believe me, it was fortunate for us that when we had lost all the virtues that belong to a sovereign people, and power thereupon slipped out of our grasp, chance did not hand us over to the tender mercy of Afghan or Marhatta, or subject us to some other barbarous or autocratic people, but placed our destinies in the hands of a nation distinguished for their love of fairness and freedom, and advanced beyond all other nations of the earth in civilization and in the art of civil government. Our new rulers at once proceeded to establish peace and security in the land to which it had long been a stranger; protected the weak against the strong; devised laws to the best of human ability for the sake of securing each man in his rights; opened the highways of commerce for us and brought us into close contact with the rest of the civilised world; granted us freedom of conscience, laying no tax on worship and interfering neither with free thought nor with conformity, stepping in between man and man only to prevent wrongdoing; opened wide for us the doors of a learning before which Aristotle, Plato, Avicenna, Averroes, Rhazès and Al-Hazen are mere school boys; and after centuries taught us anew the profound lesson that human knowledge and human thought are not immovable like stock or stone, but that human progress is limited only by our own obstinacy and fanaticism, our own lethargy and love of ease.

If in spite of these benefits some of us are still discontented with things as they are, and give vent to our discontent when and where we can in newspapers or in public speeches, the reason is not far to seek. Were there not such perfect peace in the land; were the strong arm still able to lord it over the weak; were our Rajas and Zemindars still permitted to cut each other's throats, and keep their followers perpetually at the old game of robbery and mutual slaughter, the voice of discontent would never be heard.

This, however, is now out of the question. Crime cannot go unpunished, nor can a criminal ward off the just penalty that the law awards him by pleading noble rank and high birth. A Hindoo cannot wrong a Mohammedan, nor a Mahomedan browbeat a Hindoo. A Shiah cannot injure a Sunni nor a Sunni hurt a Shiah. When undisciplined man has his evil propensities thus put under restraint, he is not likely all at once to develop very amiable qualities; his first impulse is to chafe at the restraint and snap at the restraining hand. This is the whole gist of the matter, the head and front of the offending; and being granted freedom of speech, some of us naturally give vent to our annoyance and impatience, and take advantage of our privilege

in season and out of season to abuse our rulers. Can any one do the like in the country of our neighbours the Afghans, and under the rule of our redoubtable ally, the Amir? Can a Russian subject, even of the same race as the rulers, either indulge in public or even express in private any strong criticism of his Government? I can quite believe that if our Government permitted the numerous Mohammedan sects, one to fetter the conscience of the other; if Zamindars could withhold the Government due without fear of being sold out; if a nobleman was permitted to borrow from a *bania* and then repudiate the debt at his own sweet will; if certain classes of men were given a free hand to divide the loaves and fishes of the service among themselves and their friends, the voices that are now so often raised in shrill protest would be silenced, and the periodical misrepresentation to which our ears are accustomed would be heard no more. In some Indian States, where rules are only made to be broken, and those in place and power are able to obtain immunity for themselves and their friends from their operations, complaints of this nature are seldom or never heard. But what about the dumb millions whose cry is too feeble to penetrate the walls of royal palaces or the mansions of the mighty and great?

Gentlemen, I do not hold a brief from Government. I only wish to state the truth, though the truth may taste bitter to some, and what I say is not for the sake of our Government which is well able to take care of itself without any help, such as yours or mine. I quite agree with those who believe in their hearts even if they do not choose to say it in so many words, that we would rather have our own rulers than be governed by an alien people. But I at the same time wish, as I have no doubt do all of you in this great assembly, that the country should prosper; that peace and security should reign in it; that the arts and sciences should flourish; that personal liberty should be respected; that cultivation should extend and population increase; that ever renewed efforts should be made to combat famine and ward off pestilence; that the highways and byeways of the Empire should at all times remain open and secure; that the resources of the country whether on or under the surface of the earth, should be developed; that, in one word, we should enjoy all the benefits of a powerful and a highly-civilised modern State. Now I would like you to tell me what power, what agency within the limits of this great country is able to secure us all these blessings. Supposing for one moment that some contingency compelled our present rulers to quit the country and leave us to our fate tomorrow, what would be the result? We should all be set boiling as in a big cualdron for some time, all the worst and most mischievous elements of our vast and heterogenous social fabric would be rising up to the surface, cities would be plundered, villages burnt, and robbery and rapine would rule over the land until some warlike tribe or some powerful sovereign invaded it,

either for plunder or for conquest, and put all alike to the edge of his sword. The prosperity and progress that have accrued to us in the course of a hundred and fifty years by slow process of development would be swept away in the twinkling of an eye, and the peace and security, the freedom of moral and material development, the personal liberty that we now enjoy, would disappear for ever.

I quite admit that in these modern days of enlightenment the people are entitled to criticise the acts of their Government and have some voice in the management of their own affairs, but this right, it seems to me, is not witheld from us. You will pardon me, however, for reminding you that criticism of the acts of a great Government by the subject races may be either friendly or unfriendly; and that no wise Government can for a moment tolerate hostile criticism that is ever ready to impute to it base and dishonest motives and pretends to hold it responsible for even such natural visitations as pestilence and famine. Seditious criticism from a subject people is like the germ of an epidemic that must be isolated for the good of the people themselves, and stamped out as speedly as possible before it has had time to spread and devastate the land.

The right of friendly criticism is nowhere denied us, and it rests with ourselves to make a proper use of it for our benefit and the benefit of the Government. But criticism of a complicated question of statecraft must be both circumspect and intelligent. You cannot expect sensible men to listen with patience to the frothy eloquence of half-educated and irresponsible schoolboys on measures that have been deliberated upon by expert masters of their craft. We must first prepare ourselves by a long and laborious course of training to discharge the duties of loyal citizens; we must equip ourselves with fulness of knowledge and experience, make ourselves familiar with the conditions of the problems with which we wish to grapple and learn to look at them from the point of view of the ruling power. Then if we formulate opinions or venture on criticism in a loyal spirit and with a due sense of responsibility, we may depend upon making our voice heard and our representations treated with respect. We shall then be entitled to a share in the counsels of our country, and we shall find, I venture to say, that our Government will be glad to consult us and obtain our help—a privilege, let me remind you, we have never enjoyed, look as far back as we like in our history.

No Government under the sun is perfect; perfection is not an accident of human institutions, but a Government that carries out its functions with the deliberate advice of a large body of the ablest and most experienced statesmen obtainable by a careful process of selection, ought to be as near perfection as any human institution can be; other conditions being duly considered and allowed for.

All I say is that before we venture to condemn any matter of policy or measure of statesmanship determined on by a body

so constituted, it is our bounden duty as honest citizens first to realize the responsibility and give a solemn account of our utterances to ourselves. We should never let ourselves be tempted to express frivolous opinions on serious matters or make ourselves ridiculous by allowing petty, personal or class interests, or mere love of notoriety to usurp the solemn functions of patriotism and loyalty.

A trite, though typical illustration of what I am attempting to impress upon you, occurs to me at this moment. You are aware that a Pasteur Institute has, after long and intolerable delay, been opened out on the Hills near Simla. You must also have noticed that several local associations in different parts of India thought fit at the time to protest against this attempt to combat that most dreadful disease hydrophobia, and that a protest also travelled all the way over sea and land from the redoubtable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the late M. P. These protests were all based on the plea of cruelty to animals. I do not wish to prolong the discussion but will any one tell me what these protestants have done to lighten the cruel burden on draft-cattle of their own country and their own neighbourhood ? Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has no doubt to play to Exeter Hall and bespeak votes for future parliamentary contingencies, but we who see poor dumb cattle kept in a prolonged agony of suffering by our own countrymen, both Hindoos and Mohammedans day after day, do we not assume a most ridiculous position when we pretend in the name of tenderness to animal life, to condemn the most humane of modern inventions and protest against complicated scientific manipulations, of the very nature and conditions of which most of us are completely ignorant ?

I have no doubt that there are still some old fashioned men amongst us who are opposed to Western learning and are not prepared to admit its efficacy or importance. With such men, however, I have nothing in common, and it is not my place to enter into a controversy with them. I shall take it for granted that the majority of those assembled in this Hall have, long ere this, learnt to consider it as axiomatic that there is no safety and no salvation for us except in frankly accepting Western teaching, adopting it for ourselves to the best of our ability and adapting it to our own special needs. I shall assume that the logic of hard facts has convinced you all that for success in any department of human activity, a high standard of education through the medium of English is indispensable. This being granted, we come to the question of how we should proceed to secure the best of such education. I shall be wasting your time if I opened again the question whether the existing Universities do or do not supply us with all that is needful. The matter has been threshed out over and over again in the Conference and out of it, and I think we may take it that there is a general consensus of opinion even among those who defend the present system on other grounds, that it does not reach deep enough and that it

has little influence on the formation of character or in the awakening of the more generous impulses of youth. It is also admitted that even the linguistic or scientific knowledge it helps us to acquire, is to a great extent superficial and insufficient. It has produced no great man amongst us yet, nor has it stimulated original research in any department of knowledge. Men like Sir Salar Jung or Sir Syed Ahmed Khan were not indebted to it in any way. In fact, men of light and leading are generally agreed that teaching by examinations has not proved a success, and that it somehow seems to close up many avenues of mental activity which, but for this mechanical pressure, would open to us wider vistas of knowledge and culture. An important want in this systemp eculiarly offensive to Mohammedans is, that no place can be allotted in it to moral and religious education, and consequently Mohammedan youths educated in our existing schools and colleges grow up in ignorance of the essential elements of their religion and their sacred history. We must at the same time admit that, although Islam has no church and no priesthood, a Government like ours cannot in fairness assume any other attitude than that of perfect neutrality towards this aspect of the question. And even if the religious difficulty were overcome and extensive University reforms were possible in the near future, we should, it seems to me, be no nearer the realisation of our dream of a truly national education, for after all we are the best judges of our own special needs and presumably best able to supply them. All we pray for is sympathy and patronage from Government such as has never, we must gratefully acknowledge, been refused to any community.

The infant mind, moralists teach us, is a *tabula rasa*, except for the few indelible marks left on it by heredity, and other parental influences, the rest of the tablet is left to be written up by the child's own conduct in life, and the tablet has this peculiarity about it, that evil deeds cloud and corrode it, while good deeds add to its brightness and lustre. The first righteous act makes the next easier, just as the first act of sin paves the way for further sinfulness. Such is the law of moral development; but intellectual and physical development, as we know, is governed by an analogous law, and therefore the early formation of proper habits is the most important part of the functions of a teacher. It is only when the three march together in their due balance, that youth develops into complete and proper manhood. Now it is obvious that to succeed in such a comprehensive scheme of education, we must take our youths in hand in their tender years, place them with teachers of undoubted ability and high moral character, and surround them with influences that shall mould their character in lessons of self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control, repress evil propensities and promote all the nobler impulses of manhood.

Is this the kind of training that you can expect from a

pedagogue on ten rupees, or a Babu on twenty ? Is it to be found in our schools and colleges ? Is it not true that our children are brought up under influences the very reverse of what I have attempted to describe ? Evil companionship, indifferent teachers, lifeless teaching ; do not these constitute the atmosphere that surrounds our children ; and in which we are content to let them grow up ? Depend upon it, if we would have all this reversed, if we would give our children a proper and wholesome education, we must set about it ourselves and take the whole matter into our hands without a moment's delay.

I was not aware of the depths of degradation to which want of education has brought us, until I read of a preacher proclaiming in the sacred name of religion that the means of earning a livelihood now available not being lawful, we should beg the rich among us to feed us from their superfluity. This shameful doctrine would not be worth noticing, except to show the dire effect on character of the evil influences of ignorance and demoralising environment, when a man can be found to preach that the followers of his sect should throw all self-respect, all shame, all pride of manhood aside, and glory in living on the charity of the wealthy and the well-to-do ! It is pleasant to contrast this with the noble efforts that the promoters of the Nadwa movement have been making towards self-help in the matter of education. Their aim and ours are really identical, and I, for one, give them my fullest sympathy, although I cannot approve of their methods and cannot help regretting that instead of uniting their efforts with ours they should have taken a path in which we cannot follow them. The whole experience of my life has taught me that their method, though well meant, is doomed to failure.

In the beginning of this year the courtesy and kindness of my old friend and colleague, the worthy Principal of the La Martiniere College, Lucknow, afforded me an opportunity of going over the College building and seeing the institution in full swing of work. I was struck with the magnitude and architectural beauty of the huge pile, the neatness of its surroundings, its well wooded approaches, ample play-ground and highly cultivated garden. I admired its pleasant aspect with that pretty river Gomti flowing past, its splendid dormitories and baths, extensive out-houses, the beautiful chapel in the centre, above all, the order and regularity that seemed to reign within, and the excellent discipline which seemed to prevail among its juvenile inmates. And as I was going over the building and grounds that fine morning under the kind guidance of my courteous and worthy friend, it struck me that anybody who owned this institution as his *Alma Mater* would have reason to remember it with pride and pleasure all his life. There is a similar building known by the same name at Calcutta, and another in France—all three endowed and built by one General Claud Martin for the benefit of youths of his own race and religion.

I have mentioned the Martiniere College to show you what the philanthropy of a single citizen can do for the good of his kind. I wish also to point out to you that the architectural excellence of the building, and the neatness of its grounds, and the picturesqueness of its environment are important elements in the success of an institution. They make the place and the business carried on there attractive, and dwell in the memory of those who live in them as abiding influences of an elevating kind. If you wish to have an institution for yourselves which shall mould future generations of your race, you must see that it has a worthy architectural seat and noble surroundings.

You must also take care that it is provided with teachers of wise culture and acknowledged ability whose personal influence as much as the renown of their teaching shall attract youths of your race, and mould them into men of high character and noble performance. Such was the great institution founded by the enlightened liberality of Ptolemy, one of the successors of Alexander at Alexandria, where the most magnificent library of the ancient world, together with the princely endowment granted by that monarch for the encouragement of research, brought together all the greatest philosophers of the age and enabled Alexandria to eclipse Athens itself as a seat of learning. All the sciences flourished there, but the University of Alexandria was specially noted for the advance made there in Mathematics, Medicine and Metaphysics. Galen was a professor there; there Euclid compiled his elements; and there also Ptolemy, the Astronomer, wrote his Al-Magest; and the laws of Conic Sections were discovered and reduced to writing. The teachings of Plato received there a new development that led to the foundation of a new School of Philosophy, the influence of which may be traced in Mussalman speculation to this day. To be brief, this great seat of learning reigned supreme for nearly twelve hundred years. My friends "These were men and we are men," as one of your great divines said of his illustrious predecessors. If we lay hold of our work with both hands and do it with all our might, shall we not succeed? Are we the only exceptions to the general law, and is failure alone engraved on the tablets of our destiny? Are we, of all people in the world, foredoomed to strive in vain? I do not believe it. I believe in the efficacy of earnest single-hearted endeavour, and I believe in the efficacy of endeavour without reference to fruition; for what is fruition after all but a gaol of rest, and rest is fatal to human progress. The human mind abhors quiescence when unclouded with the opiates of faint-heartedness and despair: only courage, capacity and manhood are wanted to carry on the struggle, and provided we bring these with us, we never need despair.

It is to be regretted that Aligarh does not yet possess, except to a limited extent, all the requisites of a great seat of learning. Sir Syed Ahmed found no General Martin to hand him over his

fortune for the enterprise, nor was he helped, as he ought to have been helped, by his own people. It is evident, however, that this great patriot and statesman had them all in view as any one can satisfy himself by going over the College and making careful note of what has been accomplished, as well as what, for want of funds, has been left untouched. He will then see a living record of his life-long struggle. On the one hand, he will see extensive buildings, crowds of eager youths in lecture-rooms and on the play-ground, devoted teachers, zealous friends and an admirable *esprit de corps* pervading all. On the other hand, he will see the beginnings of beautiful buildings left unfinished, walls tottering on their foundations, a fine mosque standing in an unsafe condition, and deficiencies in the staff which we have not the means of making good.

We have had to part with a friend and teacher like Professor Arnold whom we could ill spare, and we have not the means to invite him back to our side. We want a building suited for a school-house where those who can afford it might find a fitting home for their children while at school, but funds are wanting to build it, and we are constrained to rent a place that is far from suitable.

But as I have hinted before, a great deal, a very great deal has been accomplished. There is no other residential College in India like that at Aligarh; there is no other institution where scholars are so carefully looked after, or brought into such close contact with accomplished English teachers of culture and refinement, and where their religious teaching is attended to so scrupulously as here.

Although the M. A. O. College at Aligarh is a comparatively young institution that can hardly yet be said to have reached the age of adolescence, it has had to struggle through two serious misfortunes. The loss of its great founder and friend Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and the dissensions that followed, dissensions that at one time threatened the very existence of the College, and which were hardly got over when Mr. Theodore Beck, the able Principal, who had been the right-hand man of Sir Syed, and his worthiest lieutenant and successor, was carried off after a short illness brought on by hard and incessant toil. This was the man who above all others, saved the College after Sir Syed, and took the entire burden of the work on himself, who out of his limited income spent thousands for the good of the College that he had seen grow under his hands and which he loved with the love of a parent; and who, himself an Englishman and a Christian, literally gave his life in endeavouring to elevate the Mohammedans and help them to realise their highest aspirations.

It was fortunate, however, for the College that at this juncture an old friend and colleague of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's and a staunch well-wisher of his race, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, consented to step into his place. It was his tact and judgment that steered the ship of our affairs through all difficulties and

dangers, and brought it in safely to the port. But the Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, whom I have long had the honour of calling a friend, will pardon me if I add, that all his tact and all his diplomacy would have been useless if Mr. Morison had not with infinite self-sacrifice consented to withdraw his resignation and abandon for our sake his intention of severing his connection with the College. Our gratitude is therefore due in an equal degree to the Nawab, our Honorary Secretary, and to Mr. Morison, the accomplished and indefatigable Principal of the College.

It will not be out of place here to give a brief summary of the history of the College since the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, its illustrious founder. This will enable you to form a correct estimate of the present state of the institution and add weight to the appeal I wish to make to your patriotism and generosity on its behalf.

I need not recapitulate to you all the events since the College was founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his supporters. It reached its highest water-mark in the year 1895, when it had altogether 580 pupils on its books, of whom 350 were boarders and 230 day-scholars. Of these 175 belonged to the College and the rest to the School Department. At the time of Sir Syed's death in 1898, the numerical strength had dwindled down to 229 boarders and 94 day-scholars, or a total of only 232. In 1989, however, the numbers again rose to 492, of whom 394 were boarders and 98 day-scholars. Of these 180 were under-graduates and 312 belonged to the school, while the Law Classes mustered 32 students, making a total, on the whole, of 524 on the last day of 1899. Although this last figure is still lower than that of 1895, the number of boarders is in excess of that year; in fact, all available house-room has been filled up and the College authorities are reluctantly obliged to refuse further admission.

Financially, the College was not in a sound condition, when death deprived it of its revered founder. There was a debt of something like a lakh of rupees hanging like an incubus on the institution. After his death a fund was opened for the preservation of his memory, out of the proceeds of which more than fifty thousand of this debt for which the demand was more or less urgent, was paid, leaving a balance of some seventy five thousand rupees still in hand. In addition to this, we have in hand a reserve fund of Rs. 14,000 as a guarantee for the payment of the staff.

Such, gentlemen, is the present state of the College. I have already attempted to place before you a rough estimate of what I look upon as our educational needs. If you are prepared to accept this position, if you agree with me in that every father should try to arm his son at all points before sending him into the world, if you admit that it is a cowardice to be appalled at the magnitude of the task, if you admit that it is nothing short of

fanaticism to refuse to profit by the blessings of Western learning and nothing short of gross imbecility not to struggle for wealth and competence, if you allow that it is infamy for any one to be content to live a life of idleness and dependence, you will also allow that it is your sacred duty to help us to build up the College and extend the sphere of its usefulness. If there is any one in this assembly who does not admit this, if any one has the hardihood still to maintain that our old learning and our usual lethargy are enough for us, let him cast a glance at the Musalman States of the world. Let him look at Algeria from the shores of which Tarik and Musa, son of Nosair, sailed to conquer Spain; let him look at Tunis, once a great maritime kingdom, renowned in the world; let him look at Morocco, built by a Moravide Monarch and made the Capital of Northern Africa by one of the Al-Mohades. Algeria is a French possession and so is Tunis or nearly so. Morocco is about to be absorbed by the same Power, though Spain will have something to say in the process—the very Spain that its sons had at one time conquered and ruled. Egypt would have been lost to the Turks and delivered over to anarchy if our own rulers had not stepped in to save it. Persia is in a moribund condition, fanaticism having closed on her the door of progress, and she survives on the sufferance of European powers. She is little better than our Indian States; in fact, our Indian States are in a better position than Persia, inasmuch as they enjoy unlimited scope for improvement under the protection of a great civilizing Power.

I, therefore, entreat you to bestir yourselves while there is yet time and do something practical and effectual for the good of your race. The help we need just now is in the direction of education. That is for us the burning question of the moment. We have two stages of work before us, stages by which we hope to raise ourselves from our present fallen condition and compete on equal terms with the other races of the world. The first thing for us to do is to place our national College on a firm footing, and the next is to raise it in the near future to the rank of a University, where Musalman youths from all parts of India, if not of the Musalman world, may find a worthy *Alma Mater* ready to receive them and which may in time become a centre of Musalman thought and culture.

Here, at no distant time, perhaps, a modern Averroes or Avicenna may flourish to cogitate recondite problems of modern metaphysics; modern schoolmen may discover new methods of combating scepticism and doubt; a modern Rhazes or Avenzore may, with the help of modern chemistry and modern physics and modern biology, be found carrying on fresh researches in our medicine and formulating new methods of combating disease; a modern Ibn Musa may be inventing new machines; or a modern Tusi may be discovering new planets, or showing us new moons never seen before, and defining their orbits. Do you think these are

visions and day dreams ? If you do, let me direct your attention for a moment to the Kingdom of Japan. You have seen what has been the fate reserved for Algeria, Tunis, Morocco and Persia, as a penalty for refusing to accept facts, or to believe in human progress. Look now at what Japan has done for herself by following a contrary course. As long as Japan hugged her old conservatism and despised all foreigners and things foreign, she was an obscure kingdom outside the comity of nations. But Japan was wise enough, before it was too late, to see her mistake, and the progress she has made in twenty years has given her a respectable place in the European concert. She has made immense strides in the arts and sciences. She has spread the blessings of education all over the land. She has already given the world two original discoverers in the field of biology whose names are mentioned with respect in Europe, and she is able to stand forth now as a civilising influence in Asia, and as one of the world's great Powers.

Among materials which go towards the building up of a university, and with which we must proceed to provide ourselves without delay, two are of essential importance ; one Architectural and the other Scholastic. We must have suitable buildings, and we must have an extensive repertory of branches of learning to be taught and adequate means of teaching them. Hitherto Mathematics and Philosophy have been the only two groups taken up by Aligarh, which even for a college are, in my humble opinion, inadequate, much more so for a university. We must have several Faculties and we must provide proper teachers for each Faculty. We must next provide a body of tutors to take charge, as it were, of the home education of our under-graduates, one for each branch of learning. We shall also want a good and up-to-date supply of the material vehicles of instruction, scientific instruments and apparatus, a well-founded laboratory and a well-stocked library. It is quite possible that for a long time to come we shall have no other college affiliated to the University ; but this need not give us much concern. If the University performs its functions as it should perform them, other colleges, you may be sure, will spring up by its side and will only be too eager to share in its teaching. It is, moreover, nothing new to see a university founded on a single college. The Dublin University is an instance in point, and also the two distinguished Universities of Harvard and Yale in the United States of America. The fact is, that when a college like ours reaches a certain point in its upward development, it inevitably assumes all the characteristics of a university. The matter is entirely in your hands. If you will help us with the means of improving the College, and satisfy the world that you are able to maintain it at a high level of efficiency in discipline and teaching, I am sure your Government will not refuse you a charter. The cost will be great, but not so great that you cannot easily meet it, if you will only put your shoulders to the wheel.

Some of our European friends who are in sympathy with the movement and do not look upon our aspirations with disfavour, are yet doubtful of the wisdom of founding a sectarian university. They argue that a sectarian university that admitted none but Mussalmans to its precincts would tend to perpetuate old-world prejudices and develop narrowness of view.

To a certain extent I admit the justness of their criticism. That the founder of the College was animated by similar ideas is evidenced by the fact that he left its doors open to Hindus as well as Mohammedans. I have myself been brought up in a school, of which wide toleration and a courteous attitude towards other religions were the first principles. I have always held that all the different nationalities of India being sons of the same soil and subjects of the same Government, should live together in harmony and peace like brethren. I can therefore see no insuperable difficulty in leaving the doors of our University open to all comers. I am even of opinion that it will in some respects be advantageous to our own youths to work side by side with their Hindoo brethren, and have always before them the example of their undeniable industry and power of application. There is this to be said, however, on the other side of the question that the whole gist of our scheme hinges on residence, in which our Hindoo brethren cannot unfortunately follow us, and experience has taught us that non-resident students are at all times a disturbing element in the tone and discipline of residential schools. Barring this one drawback, I see no valid reason why the University should be exclusive; and should this be found to be the only barrier to our success, I have no doubt the leaders of the movement will concede the point and agree to throw the doors of the University open to all. As for the religious side of the teaching and discipline which we look upon as indispensable, followers of other creeds will naturally keep out of it. It will constitute a Faculty by itself thoroughly well equipped and for our exclusive benefit, without which the University will have no influence on Musalmans and no attraction for them.

In short, and in plain language, we want a University of our own, and we hope to make it subservient to two great national purposes. In the first place, we want the University to bring up our youths in the healthy, moral and religious traditions of the earlier era of our race, at the same time that it gives them an efficient training in Western learning. We want it, in the second place, to build up for us a centre of thought and of recognised teaching that will influence the vast Mussalman population of India in the right direction, elevate their ideals, reform their morals and manners, and, above all, purge and purify their literature. Are you aware what influence the Aligarh Movement has already had on Mussalman thought and Hindustani literature? Were all the books written in that language within the last quarter of a century examined, it would be found

that those that are worth anything, were inspired by the teachings of that school. Of the rest, including numerous works of fiction, many are worthless and without substance, others are steeped in the coarse and pernicious taste which has been left us as an unclean legacy by the most corrupt of Mahomedan Courts. Examine these productions beginning with *Fisana-i-Ajaib*, which started the tradition, down to the most flashy novel of our own day, and keep in view the one test of their attitude towards women, and you will find that they gradually recede from the vulgarity and filth of that hideous travesty of the *raconteur's* art, only to fall into the sink of the equally vulgar and corrupt taste of the lowest and coarsest of European novels, the very names of which are unknown to men of even ordinary culture and decency. The University to which we wish to give shape, will, it is hoped, be a centre of art and culture that will make such outrages on good taste impossible for the future

The point on which we insist above all others is, that the future generations of Mussalmans shall grow up in freedom from the evil influences with which their environment at present surrounds them. There is hardly a place in India where children are not brought up in close and constant association with servants and slave girls, and with the moral and material squalor of their home surroundings. You cannot imagine for a moment that these exercise no influence on a child's character, that they do not sow the seeds of an impure life, or have no effect on his moral and material well-being. Parents are no doubt responsible for the up-bringing of their children under sanction of laws both human and divine, but how many Indian parents are there who realise the responsibility? The only responsibility which they recognize in practice is that of spending as much money as they can on ceremonies in which their children are supposed to play the principal part. And even the few who realise their responsibility and would discharge it honestly if they could, are either too ignorant to know how to set about it, or too busy in their own affairs to take the trouble. To speak plainly, if you wish to bring up your children in a proper way, you should, without hesitation and without a moment's delay, send them to some such school as that of Aligarh and keep them there. Do not grudge the cost, it will be repaid to you a hundred-fold. Nay, I say to those who can afford it—to the wealthy and the well-to-do—that if you wish to be charitable, if you wish to do a good deed while there is yet time, found scholarships for the poor of your race, and send as many of them as you can to Aligarh, and you will surely find your reward.

Gentlemen, there is no body of men more worthy of respect than our *Ulima*. They keep alive for us the flame of our faith and perpetuate for us our religious traditions. But, Gentlemen, every one is not born to be a religious teacher. Even the faith itself, as you should know, would decay and vanish, but for the

help of material competence and wealth. While acknowledging the obligation laid on every Mohammedan to be familiar with the tenets and teachings of his religion, we can well entrust its higher custody to our *Ulima* and depend on their preserving our sacred traditions for us. We who have to fight the battle of the world cannot do both. Depend upon it, Islam will never let itself die out; there will always be a body of *Ulima* to keep it alive. If Islam has anything to fear, it has to fear the inanity of its followers and the results of their indifference to the needs of the times. They are apt to forget that for the majority of us the world is and will always continue to be our proper battle-field and our legitimate sphere of activity. Even if we wanted to leave the world, the world would not leave us. It would therefore be the height of folly not to make the most of our opportunities while we are in it, and take hold of our lives with both hands and work up to the best of our ability.

Gentlemen, I am sorry to have to bring to your notice a new epidemic that has lately broken out in our midst. I give it the name of Ancestor-worship. Many of our young men have fallen victims to it, the students of Aligarh College being in a special manner exposed to its virulence. Its germs were first imported into this country by three or four English and American historians and antiquarians, but some of our own leading men have since then, I am sorry to say, been most instrumental in spreading the contagion. I am afraid to mention names, but relying on your protection, I do not hesitate to say that the worst offender is your own Honorary Secretary, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Moulana Shibli comes next, and although my old and valued friend Moulvie Nazir Ahmed is not free from the taint, he is in the habit of administering the bitter pills of uncompromising truth so frequently, that they operate as antidotes on the patients. These gentlemen have created a veritable furore among the Mohammedans. One recounts the greatness of Arab culture in Spain, another transports us to the glories of Harun-ul-Rashid and Baghdad. We are reminded now of the great Universities of Cairo, Baghdad and Samarkand; and again of the great age of translation and of original production in our literature. Gentlemen, Ancestor-worship is not an irrational or unamiable cult, provided it is confined within reasonable limits. It is right that we should take a pride in the greatness of our ancestors and their achievements, but we should show our appreciation of the past by treading in the foot-steps of its heroes, and displaying in our own lives the love of learning, and the persistence in the search for truth for which they were distinguished. It is foolish and unmanly to live on their reputation like an Indian widow, and vain of a greatness of which we have heard the story from others, despise the value of modern learning and decline to accept its teachings. He has grievously misunderstood the lessons of history, who claims that the men of those days were perfect in every way, that we alone are full of faults. The germ

of the shortcomings we deplore in ourselves, existed in the day of which we are accustomed to vaunt, and was laying for us the foundations of our present evil plight. Self-knowledge is the first step towards self-reform As long as we do not take a frank account of our own faults and shortcomings, we cannot hope to remedy them. It is no doubt a painful process, like the actual cautery which, according to the well-known Arab proverb, is, nevertheless, the best of all remedies in the last resort. Never give ear to those who flatter you, they are your worst enemies. They alone are your true friends who point out to you your faults with an unsparing hand.

Gentlemen, you who have come here as delegates from different parts of India, your functions are high, and you hold an important position with regard to your co-religionists. It is in your power to carry out any measure of reform on which you may determine, provided you will bring to bear on it your united efforts. I therefore hope you will not let the present opportunity go by without taking advantage of it to initiate something practical in furtherance of the object for which we have met. If you let the present session of the Conference pass, as so many other sessions have passed, without taking some step in advance, such an opportunity will not occur again for another twelve months, long twelve months that will be lost in inaction. It is not for me to guide or direct your course, but I venture to point out that efforts should first of all be made by each delegate within his sphere of influence to collect funds, but as individual efforts, however well directed, are apt to get slack after a time, it seems to me that we should here and now settle on a plan of concerted action under some form of central control. You will pardon me if I remind you that the meetings of the Conference have hitherto been used more for platform oratory than for practical work. Some very useful resolutions, it is true, were passed in the course of its meetings, but they remain imprisoned within the four corners of reports and have never been properly carried out.

Thus, a resolution was passed at a meeting of the Conference to the effect that " Local Committees should be organised at different centres to report on the condition of Mohammedan Education and Mohammedan Schools." Some work was done in this direction for a short time, but after the fourth session of the Conference it entirely ceased. Another useful resolution decided on collecting statistics as to the number of Mohammedan children not under instruction, and finding out how many of them were children of parents who could afford to send them to school but did not, and how many were really poor. The late Mr. Beck took great interest in this inqury and for some time it was prosecuted with vigour. Had the work been completed as it ought to have been, you would have been able to see for yourselves in what a shameful state of neglect Mohammedan parents are content

to leave their children. I can tell you as the result of my own experience that the talk we so often hear of the want of religious teaching in Government schools, is little more than mere talk. Mohammedan parents are generally as indifferent to the religious as they are to the secular education of their children. This is seen in schools where religious education has been made compulsory as in the Deccan. The parents give little or no help, everything is left to be done by the teachers who find it extremely difficult to enforce religious discipline or instruction. Speaking generally, and with reference to education in general, whether secular or religious, Mohammedan youths are seldom indebted to their parents for any distinction they may attain.

Another very valuable resolution had reference to the collection of funds for the support of poor students. Efforts were made in this direction in 1898-99, and signatures were obtained for some eight thousand rupees, but only Rs. 3,922 were actually paid for Aligarh and Rs. 580 for the Himayat-ul-Islam School at Lahore. Nothing, however, was done after the first success; had the call been pressed I have faith enough left in my own people to believe that considerable additions would have been made to the amount subscribed.

But the most important resolution of all was the one carried after Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's death, wherein it was resolved to raise the Aligarh College to the status of a university, and collect ten lacs of rupees by subscription for this purpose. This proposal evoked a considerable amount of enthusiasm at the outset, valuable literary contributions were elicited on the character and scope of the University, deputations were sent to different places to ask for contributions, but in the end only Rs. 1,25,000 was collected. The year that is now drawing to a close brought no addition to the fund except one large sum of Rs. 25,000 generously contributed by His Highnesss the Nawab of Rampur. A lac of rupees out of this amount has gone or will go towards the debts contracted by the College. In the meantime the enthusiasm that was evoked at the outset regarding this scheme is cooling down, and unless renewed and strenuous efforts are made in this direction, and persisted in systematically and by means of some suitable machinery organised for the purpose, the pleasant dream that crossed the vision of Sir Syed for a moment will never be realised. Should you, gentlemen, agree with me in thinking that the scheme is worth carrying out, and that therein lies the only hope of regeneration for our race, you should not leave this Hall before you have come to some conclusion as to the method that ought to be pursued for the purpose of securing contributions from different parts of the country. Were I asked to make a suggestion I would advise you first of all to appoint a paid official to take charge of the Head Office of your Standing Committee at Aligarh, whose duty it should be to correspond with different centres, with their local Committees,

or local leaders of the movement, and see that the resolutions of the Conference are carried out. But as mere correspondence, or the distribution of manifestos or other literary vehicles of advertisement will not be enough, I would suggest the appointment of two or three travelling agents who should proceed from centre to centre, call meetings, popularise the educational views of the Conference, win over opponents, and stimulate the zeal of the lukewarm. Men should be selected for this work who combine some oratorical powers with a pleasant address and missionary zeal. To meet this extraordinary expenditure, I would suggest the opening of a separate fund to which contributions might be invited from those interested in the movement. A sum, say, of Rs. 2,500 would be sufficient, I think, for the first year. We shall then be in a position at the end of the year to judge what amount of success is likely to attend the measure and take further action accordingly. If suitable agents are selected, and their work watched with care and vigilance, I am sanguine of success. I am fully persuaded that the discouragement we are accustomed to feel at the apparent indifference of Mohammedans to their national interests is much exaggerated, and that when their patriotism or pride is appealed to in the right way, they are not behind other nationalties in responding to the call. Only the appeal must be made in a suitable way and at the proper time. It will never do merely to mark out a few men, and lay their purses under contribution every time we want to raise funds for some purpose. If we really wish to do something for ourselves, it is high time we gave up talking, or wasting our time in vain regrets for the past and were up and doing. These grand meetings and the fine speeches with which we edify them, will otherwise have no practical result and will all vanish in thin air.

Gentlemen, I must ask you to pardon me for having trespassed so long on your time and attention. I have to thank you for listening so patiently to what I had to say, and I now beg you to call upon members who have charge of the resolutions to be put before you, to come forward and begin the work of the session. But, before I sit down, it is both my duty and pleasure to thank the good people of Rampur, especially His Highness the Nawab, for having invited us here and treated us with such princely hospitality. His Highness is one of the principal benefactors of the Aligarh College, and has very recently shown his enlightened liberality by contributing largely to our funds. Nor must I forget His Highness' staff and the members of the reception Committee, whose courtesy and thoughtfulness have contributed so much to the comfort of the delegates.

Nor must I lose this opportunity of reminding you of the other patrons and supporters of the Aligarh College, chief among whom must be named the august name of His Highness the Nizam, without whose munificent liberality the College could never

have come into existence.

It is also my duty, before I sit down, to recall to you the blessings we enjoy under British rule, without which the very idea of such an organisation as the Mohammedan Educational Conference would be inconceivable. We have the happiness of living under a Government ever ready to look into our wants and help us in all our legitimate aspirations; a Government that leaves us free to follow all lawful pursuits without let or hindrance. We should remember with gratitude the debt we owe to the Government of these Provinces from which the Aligarh College has at all times received valuable aid, especially under the present Lieutenant-Governor, who came to our rescue at a most critical period in the history of the College and has shown himself ever ready to help us with sympathy and advice.

The year that is now drawing to a close has been, gentlemen a year of peculiar trials for this great Empire. To the ravage of plague and famine were added the drain of the war in Africa and the troubles in China. But God has been good to us, and the forces of Her Majesty, our beloved Sovereign, and the ability and devotion of her lieutenants have triumphed over all difficulties, so that the year ends better than it began for all parts of the Empire, and is now leaving us in peace to pray for long life to her, and continued prosperity to her rule.

Speech Delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1902

The Hon'ble Mr. Bilgrami said—The last sitting of the winter session of this Council, when the Budget Estimates prepared by the Financial Minister of the Government come on for discussion, bears a remote resemblance to the voting of supplies in democratic Senates with all the stormy debates and other amenities with which newspapers and reports have made us familiar. It is perhaps by reason of this far off resemblance that the custom has grown up for honourable members of Your Lordship's Council to take advantage of the present occasion for remarks on the general policy of Government, or for a particular representation of grievances.

With your Lordship's permission I will avail myself of this privilege in order to offer a few observations on topics affecting the prosperity of the country, and the cause of good Government in which both the rulers and the ruled are equally interested

One of the questions that have of late been agitating men's minds is that of famines in India and the poverty of the people. It is alleged that the system on which revenue is raised from land under British rule, is responsible for the want of staying power betrayed by the cultivating classes under pressure of scarcity, that in point of fact famines now are money famines, not grain famines, and that the sin of having brought about such an economic catastrophe lies at the door of Government. The ability and moderation with which these views have been advocated, have elicited from Your Lordship one of the most remarkable state papers of our day, based upon information furnished by expert administrators in all parts of India, whose sympathy with the people is unimpeachable. It has been shown that the condition of the cultivating classes is not so bad as has been represented, that it has all along been receiving anxious attention from the departments concerned, and that still closer attention will, in future, be paid to the problems raised in this controversy.

If, however, one, who does not pretend to expert knowledge and can only speak from casual observation, may be permitted to speak on a matter that is engaging the attention of the ablest men in the country, I would crave Your Lordship's indulgence for making a few very brief observations.

1. In the first place then I wish to state that I have not

seen any sign of the grinding poverty that is said to exist. Agricultural labourers in many parts of India no doubt live on inferior varieties of grain such as madwa, ragi, jowari, etc., but this has been their staple food from time immemorial. The better classes of produce such as rice, wheat, etc., they are accustomed to convert into cash. On the other hand, observation leads one to conclude that the level of domestic comfort has risen within the last fifty years among peasant proprietors and cultivators. They are better clothed and live in better built cottages and are altogether in better plight than their fathers. It has been observed that they resort oftener to law-courts and spend more on their weddings and other ceremonies.

2. But granting the poverty of the kind complained of does exist in some parts of India, the causes that have brought it about should, it seems to me, be sought elsewhere than in the weight of assessments. The increase of population in some provinces, and the total absence of other industries has a constant tendency to increase the number of mouths to be fed on agricultural labour, and hence it comes to pass that wages do not keep pace with the rise in prices, and the earning of the labourer tends to gravitate to a figure that will just keep body and soul together. If the natural resources of the country were better developed, if more capital were sunk in indigenous industries, an increasing proportion of the surplus population would be tempted off purely agricultural pursuits and the pressure on land would thus be relieved. Such industries as are to be found in the country are mostly in the hands of foreigners and although they employ native labourers, their proportion is not a hundredth part of what it would be, if native capitalists came forward to open new industries for their own benefit and the benefit of the country.

3. There can be no doubt that there is more money in the country now than there was, say, in the year 1800. This is proved first by the enormous rise in the price of commodities, secondly by the steady increase in imports, and thirdly by the net imports of the precious metals. I do not propose to have much to do with figures, but I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the value in rupees of the imports for three years, each a quarter of a century apart. The imports in merchandise in 1850-51 amounted to Rs. 11,55,87,890; in the year 1875-76 they had risen to Rs. 38,89,16,552 and in 1900-1901 they had amounted up to Rs. 80,89,45,896. The gross import of precious metals in 1850-51 amounted to Rs. 1,15,53,100 in gold and Rs. 2,65,64,980 in silver. In 1875-76 the imports rose to Rs. 1,83,63,811 in gold and Rs. 3,46,48,413 silver. In 1900-1901 the amounts imported rose to Rs. 11,89,89,197 gold and Rs. 12,67,87,421 silver. The net imports for both metals amounted to Rs. 3,27,05,190, Rs. 3,10,04,801 and Rs. 13,48,91,692 for the three years respectively. This seems to me to be an evidence, not of increasing poverty, but of increasing wealth.

4. Famine in any locality in the old days meant a total disappearance of food as shown by the extraordinary height to which prices rose. It affected, moreover, a population less dense among whom proprietary cultivators very considerably outnumbered those who were merely field labourers dependent on daily wages. Now in times of famine the rise in prices is nothing like so high, and it may therefore be concluded that the catastrophe is not so acute or so crushing. But this advantage is counterbalanced by the fact that land has now more mouths to feed of a class utterly unable to offer much resistance, day-labourers in fields and villages notoriously improvident by nature and by habit, and living from hand to mouth. Some idea may be formed of their numerical strength from the following figures. Out of a population (omitting thousands) of 212 million souls, there are 31 million field and casual labourers, and 53 million landowners and cultivators in the British Provinces.

5. The experience of famine-relief officials points to the conclusion that since the early sixties peasant proprietors are seldom to be seen on relief works in times of famine. With the one exception of the last great famine, which was preceded in most of the affected areas by a cycle of bad years, and which involved a wholesale destruction of cattle from want of fodder and drinking water and the complete loss of crops, by reason of which cultivators in large numbers were obliged to resort to these works, day-labourers and artisans alone avail themselves of such means of relief. May not one conclude that economic conditions have improved since 1860, and that if the great famine of 1899-1900 had not been so absolute and widespread, involving, as it did, an area equal to nearly one half of the whole of India, and if both cattle and crops had not been so utterly destroyed, peasant proprietors and cultivators would still have kept away as before from relief works ?

6. There is no reason to believe that famines are more frequent now than in former days. Thirty or forty years ago every well-to-do native household harboured one or more so-called slaves obtained sometimes in return for a small measure of corn from their parents in famine times. Parents still resort to this mode of saving their own lives and those of their offspring, but their number is nothing so large as it used to be. In pre-British times there was practically no India, there were a great many subahs and principalities but no consolidated Empire, and calamities that befell one subah scarcely ever affected other subahs and were seldom heard of, certainly never recorded in Blue Books or other annals. Now-a-days a famine in any part of India, however remote, is not only known and recorded at once, but is predicted with greater or less precision long before it has made itself actually felt. Season reports keep the public *au courant* with crop prospects indicating different degrees of shortness by means of a sliding scale of proportionate figures. There was no census in

the old days and no one knew, except by a round guess, if any one took the trouble to guess, how many were swept away by famine or other scourges. Now the number of deaths is estimated and recorded with as near an approach to accuracy as possible and all the world is soon placed in possession of the figures.

7. In well-watered regions famine is seldom heard of, as witness Lower Bengal. In the Rohilkhand Doab in the North-West there has been no famine, to speak of since 1837-8. In the region irrigated by the Krishna and Godavery canals in the Madras Presidency famines are rare and the people are prosperous. I think we are entitled to infer from this that the less a Province depends on the monsoons for its crops, the rarer are the visitations of famine in that Province.

8. The increase of litigation in Behar, Oudh and other Provinces I take to be a sign of growing prosperity. The great increase of pleaders, mukhtars and the smaller fry who in one way or another live and thrive on work connected with litigation in district towns, in tahsils and in munsiff's courts, affords indubitable proof of the growing prosperity of peasant proprietors and cultivators.

9. An impartial observer is bound to admit that if our peasantry were less reckless in borrowing money far beyond their means, to spend on ceremonies, if they were less prone to ease off labour when sufficient has been earned wherewith to pay rent and have in hand, something over to live on during the year, we should hear very little of distress and poverty in ordinary times of scarcity. It is also to be remembered that famine in an isolated Province is now often a godsend to neighbouring Provinces where crop returns have been normal. This adds considerably to the recuperative power of our peasantry. Agriculturists have been known to recoup their previous losses three or four times over in a single prosperous season from a sudden rise in prices.

10. Whether the State or the peasantry are entitled to the whole or part of the unearned increment, is a question not to be determined by the theoretical economist but by the actual administrator according to the needs of the administration. Preparedness for the defence of the country from all possible external or internal foes, the development of its resources, the construction of roads, railways, and canals, the diffusion of knowledge among the people, in fact all progressive advancement from good to better, and from better to better still must depend, in an entirely agricultural country like India, on the continued and progressive enhancement of the surplus left over after allotting the cultivator his fair share of the net value of his outturn over and above the cost of cultivation and other such almost constant items of expenditure. If this surplus becomes stationary or grows less from year to year instead of increasing, then we may take it the State is in a decline and that it is time for the statesman at the helm of affairs to look about him, for there are surely

rocks ahead. If, on the other hand, the surplus increases from year to year, we are entitled to infer that the country is prosperous and that the State has the means at its disposal of continuing on a path of progress all along the line.

11. This surplus from settlement to settlement amounts to as much as four or five times the original amount in some of the Indian Provinces where a thirty years' settlement is in vogue. This I take to be a sign of growing prosperity not of impoverishment, and if the cultivator was provident enough to save the progressive increment within the term of the settlement, he would for years to come be ensured against any famine short of such a famine as that of 1899-1900.

12. The allegation that light assessments are preventive of famine is, I submit, fallacious. Take for instance the assigned districts of Berar. This is notoriously the most favoured province in all India. Nowhere else are assessments so light or the cultivators more prosperous. According to the Famine Report for 1899-1900 there had been no drought in the Province and no failure of crops until the partial failure of 1896-97 and the total failure of the monsoon in 1899. This reduced the outturn to 2·5 per cent. of the average of the previous ten years, with the result that nearly 20 per cent. of the population went on relief-works although the price of grain was never very high, and there was plenty of it in the country. Yet the census of 1901 returned a decrease of 144,000 souls in the population! In the famine of 1869 in Ajmere, on the other hand, people were found dead of starvation who had money in their pockets.

13. It ought to be possible to make an organised effort in rural districts to persuade the cultivating classes to adopt more moderate expenditure of money at birth, marriage, affiance and and other ceremonies. If such efforts have been successful among a proud people of immemorial traditions like the Rajputs of Central India, there is reason to hope that earnest efforts in this direction by some of our able and disinterested patriots, who wish to serve their country, would bear good fruit. A few men of light and leading, working on this noble mission among the people, would not only be able to help in arresting the advance of agrarian ruin, but would by personal observation throw invaluable light on the economic condition of the country and the truth or otherwise of the alleged growing poverty of the people.

14. It is sometimes urged that the action of Government has led to the gradual disappearance of village communities, and that when these institutions existed, the peasantry belonging to them were better able to withstand the pressure of famine than now. This again is a question which can only be solved by expert administrators on the evidence of settlement officers who have dealt directly with the cultivating classes, and have had opportunities of studying phenomena with which outsiders can have but a superficial acquaintance. The common sense view, however, of the

matter seems to me to be that it is the general, moral and material progress of the country—the establishment of peace, the security of the highways and by-ways of trade and intercommunication, and the rise of individualism, that is really responsible for the disintegration of the old village communities the importance of which, I am not sure, we are not apt to exaggerate. The growth of personal freedom and individualism is indeed answerable for much more than this, if the truth must be told. It is slowly dissolving the time-honoured caste system of India and the system of rigid guilds among artisans and craftsmen which is so closely allied to it. Whether these changes make for progress or the reverse is a question which, in the phase of transition through which we are passing, needs a great amount of assurance to answer one way or the other. It seems to me, however, that the causes at work are beyond human control unless it is contended that a reactionary return to an already remote past could be achieved by a simple compact between the rulers and the ruled. It is sometimes suggested that village *punchaits* should be revived along with village communities. But intelligent country people whom I have had occasion to consult, discourage the idea. They contend that the institution does not any more carry the sanction of village public opinion and has lost the saving quality of finality. A great native statesman, whose views did not favour the judicial system of British Provinces, once initiated an extensive and elaborate experiment in this direction, not in villages, but at the capital of the state. He tried to get petty litigation disposed of by simple *punchaits* in each *mahalla* of the town. The experiment however, proved a failure.

15. It must be borne in mind, after all is said and done, that until the civilised world is able to solve the economic problem of poverty, States kept free from conditions retarding the normal growth of population, will always have on their hands a certain varying proportion of the poor and the indigent. In European countries where the low temperature attained in winter is an added evil, distress is much severer than we have any conception of in our warmer and more generous climate. The fact of the existence of poverty then has to be accepted in all countries and all that the Government or the people can do is to endeavour, year after year, to alleviate its intensity and narrow its limits.

Indian administration, my Lord, has given birth to two distinct schools of thought widely divergent in their principles and methods which may be briefly described as the personal and impersonal schools. The first was more in favour in the days of the East India Company, but the opposite method has been gaining ground in these latter days. The advocates of this method would eliminate the personal element altogether from the administration, turn it into an automatic machine and reduce everything to rule of thumb.

But it seems to me, My Lord, that for the mild, simple law-abiding and thoroughly loyal character of the masses in India, an impersonal, automatic Government, however well intentioned, would be the most crushing of tyrannies. The personal equation can never be eliminated; it is and it will continue to be the most powerful factor in Indian administration. The people will take much and cheerfully at the hands of an official who enters into personal relations with them and is ready to take an active interest in their affairs, but the best intentioned acts of an unapproachable automaton are received with sullen acquiescence if not with positive distrust. The greatest danger of this Empire lies in too great centralization and too much red tape. At least in one great Province which is best known to me, the complaint is becoming more and more general, I do not know with what truth, that the new drafts in the services show less and less consideration for the feelings and susceptibilities of the people among whom they are placed. Now, I submit, My Lord, that if overwork has raised this barrier between District officials and the people, the sooner the barrier is broken down and demolished, the better it will be both for the happiness and contentment of the people and the stability of the Empire. If in some cases it is temperament, and not overwork, that stands in the way, then, my Lord, the sooner such officials are relegated to departments other than executive the better it will be for their own reputation and for the country. Indian administration is not their *metier*. The Indian Government cannot afford to lose touch with the people for the sake of men whose sympathies are not widely human and who only seek service here for a career.

I believe, My Lord, that no sacrifice will be too great to bring the Government into touch with the people. In my humble opinion that is the one point towards which all effort both of the rulers and the ruled should be directed. If the fetish of centralization is an obstacle in the way, let the fetish be dethroned and let us revert to the days when there was less complication of procedure less reporting but more direct Government. The Viceroy represents the might and majesty of the Empire, but the Viceroy is not so potent as the District Officer who has found his way to the hearts of the people by taking an interest in their affairs, listening to their little grievances, and treating their faults and shortcomings with that good humoured tolerance which is one of the characteristics of the born ruler of men. I believe, My Lord, that the Indian people love an autocratic official provided he is sympathetic and just. They even prefer a high-handed man if he is accessible and kind. But a weak man with an irritable temper, a man without power of initiative, or a man overridden by precedents and red tape they secretly laugh at and despise. Above all, they love a gentleman and will do anything for him. Many an English administrator has left behind him a name which is a household word in our villages and towns, and is written indelibly on the hearts of the people.

We want more such men if you can give them to us. It will be said perhaps that competition is not a respecter of persons and does not recognise caste. Be it so. We do not quarrel with competition, but at any rate let the choice of those who have to enter into direct relation with the people, fall on selected members of the service who have shown a capacity to rule.

It is usual, My Lord, in European no less than in Asiatic countries to mark occasions of great national rejoicing, such as is about to be celebrated both in England and in India, with manifestations in some form or other of the Royal prerogative of kindness and mercy towards the people. May not then the people of this great dependency of the English Crown and its brightest jewel, look forward to some such mark of royal favour when our Gracious Sovereign is crowned Emperor of India ? May we not hope that, as far as financial considerations will permit, a little of the burden of taxation that falls on the very poor will be lifted, and that perhaps my honourable colleague, Sir Edward Law, will see his way to reduce to some small but appreciable extent the tax on salt which reaches down even to dumb animals ? Perhaps also, if seasons are propitious and it is found that that honourable gentleman's estimates of revenue receipts in some directions were too cautious, it may be possible to raise the minimum of taxable income from Rs. 500 to 1,000 or even 2,000 rupees.

May we not also entertain the hope that in view of the help ungrudgingly rendered by us, in Africa and in China, the value of which has been freely acknowledged, part of the addition to our military burdens amounting to nearly one-and-a-half millions pounds or over two crores in rupees will be remitted. I refer mainly to the moiety of the increase due to bounties given to time expired men in order to fill the gaps in the garrison of this country caused by the African war. This item which for the two years 1901-1902 and 1902-1903 amounts to over sixty four lakhs of rupees, should, I submit, like the other moiety, be borne by the Home Government. The cost again of taking a contingent of volunteers and native troops to England for the coronation amounting to a little over five lakhs should, I submit be borne by the Imperial Treasury, seeing that we are going to expend a much larger amount on the same ceremony here. In fact, it is in the just, if not generous, adjustment of the accounts between the two countries that the greatest hope of the people of India must lie for a long time to come. Even if circumstances should favour us with better surpluses in the near future than are anticipated in 1902-1903, these surpluses should go towards the lightening of the burdens of the poor and in making provision against famines, rather than in contributing towards expenditure with which we cannot be held to be justly chargeable and which a rich country like England can well afford.

Speech Delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1903

MY LORD,

THE congratulation with which your Lordship has been greeted in the Council Chamber today, will be echoed through out the country, and though the taxpayer at large may not understand the skill and economy that have led to the signal financial success revealed in the Budget Statement of the year, he will none the less appreciate the relief which your Lordship has been able to grant him from a part of his burden. Nor will the good deed go unrewarded, for I am persuaded that the remission of eight annas on salt will lead to an increased consumption in future years, and reduce appreciably the loss estimated to accrue from this source.

But, while the relief afforded by the reduction of duty on salt, will take some time in reaching the consumer, the raising of the limit of taxable income will be hailed at once by thousands of petty traders, clerks and pensioners and be a pleasant remembrance and happy augury to them of the year of His Majesty's coronation.

The recuperative power of the country, and the wise measures taken by your Lordship's Government for its development, have resulted in a succession of four prosperous years, and we may be permitted to hope that these four years will be followed by many more of increasing prosperity. If the monsoons don't fail us, and war is averted, we may indeed count on recurring surpluses and a condition of stability in the finances of the country to which she has long been a stranger. With such a prospect before us, it may not be out of place to consider what use might be made of our anticipated prosperity, and in which direction our future surpluses might be employed with the greatest advantage to the country.

I believe, my Lord, in the efficacy of education, and I believe that, as times permit, we should ask your Lordship's Government for increased expenditure in this direction, and ask year after year until we get it. Much of the poverty, a great deal of the oppression of which we hear, is due to ignorance. Reforms in administrative departments may polish the surface, the real evil remains beneath, and will never be reached until the people come

to know their rights, and are able to resist the petty oppression of subordinates. The simplicity of the Indian ryot is easily imposed upon. The most benevolent measures only reach him in an emasculated condition, if they are not turned into fresh engines of extortion. One of the best abused departments is the Police in India, but half of its evil odour would evaporate if the people whom the Police is supposed to protect, were not ignorant of the most elementary concerns of life. The administration of plague measures would give little trouble but for the same reason. The remission of part of the duty on salt which your Lordship's Government has so graciously conceded will not, it is apprehended, reach the poor consumer at once, because in his ignorance he wil let the middle-man pocket the difference. Many an epidemic would be isolated and extinguished, many a serious riot would be prevented, but for the most childish misapprehensions bred of ignorance. In short, instances might be multiplied *ad infinitum* to show how the best intentions of our rulers often miscarry owing to the simplicity and ignorance of those who should benefit by them.

I venture to submit, my Lord, that funds spent in dispelling this ignorance, would be remunerative expenditure, remunerative, I was going to say, as funds spent on irrigation, though in a different way. If its direct benefits are only moral not material, it will indirectly and in its ultimate results, bring in returns convertible into rupees, annas and pies. It will promote order, fortify and enhance the prestige and power of the executive, and help to reduce expenditure in various directions, and in time even directly increase the receipts of the State. It is not an exaggeration to hold that no industrial revival on which so much of the future prosperity of the country must necessarily depend, can take place until the general intelligence of the masses of its inhabitants has been raised to a higher level by the spread of education.

Yet how has the work of educating the people been done up to this time? India is spending something under a crore of rupees from Provincial funds, on education for the service of a population of 232 million souls. A comparative study, in this connection, of the outlay on education from public funds in the foremost civilized countries of the world is very instructive.

Taking the year, 1896-97, for convenience of comparison, one finds that, while India was spending Rs. 95,22,009 in round numbers on education, both direct and indirect, England was spending on direct education alone no less than Rs. 12,03,54,000; France was spending Rs. 12,42,98,000; Russia Rs. 5,24,81,000; Germany Rs. 5,19,78,000 and the United States of America Rs. 11,61,86,000!

It will be seen from a tabular statement which I will, with your Lordship's permission, take the liberty of laying on the

table, that, taking the respective populations of the countries concerned, the cost to the State per head of population works out at Rs. 3·9 for England ; Rs. 3·2 for France ; annas 6·4 for Russia ; Re. 1 for Germany ; Rs. 1·6 for the United States of America ; and pies 7·7 only for India !

Total expenditure on education from all sources including endowments, subscriptions, the large item of fees, local and municipal funds, etc., was for the same year, Rs. 8,52,00,000 in round numbers, so that the net contribution of the State towards education was less than one third of the total cost. And yet, the total cost, not quite a third of which was borne by the State, will not work out to more than annas 2·3 per head of population, so that if we wished to overtake even a backward country like Russia, we should still have to spend little short of three times the amount we are spending now from all sources, public and private.

When we remember that in some of these countries vast sums are contributed by private munificence to the higher education of the people, and that State funds are mostly appropriated to primary education, we can form some conception of the disparity of the position India occupies in the civilized world. Even Russia where the subject population is kept in a state bordering on slavery, spends nearly ten times as much as India !

So much for State expenditure on education. Now let us enquire how many children are under instruction in India compared with other countries. I find for the same year that, while we had some 87 lakhs of children under instruction in our schools (including aided and recognized private schools) out of a population of 232 millions, England had 65 lakhs out of a population of 31 millions, Japan 46 lakhs out of a population of 43 millions and Russia 45 lakhs out of a population 129 millions ! If we were moving at the rate of our British fellow subjects, we should have 480 lakhs under instruction ; if we took Japan for our model, we should have 248 lakhs ; but, if we were content to follow the lead of a backward country like Russia we should still have 80 lakhs in our schools ; another tabular statement which I take the liberty of lying on the table, will bear out my contention.

I think I have shown, My Lord, that His Majesty's Indian subjects are far behind every other civilized nation in the world in the matter of education. It is as much to the advantage of the rulers as of the ruled that this disparity should no longer be allowed to exist, and that the State should help us to overtake fellow travellers who have left us far behind them on their onward way. To argue, as some will argue, that our condition would be a great deal worse if our affairs were not cared for by our English rulers, would be neither just nor generous. We are grateful for the innumerable blessings we enjoy under British rule, but we claim the right of backward and struggling people to be

helped to work out our salvation out of taxes paid by ourselves. India is a poor country : if it ever grows rich again, it will be with the help of its generous rulers. In a matter of vital importance, like that of education, it would be fatal to wait till we can help ourselves. That would be reasoning in a vicious circle. Hitherto when the need for economy has risen, the shears have been applied impartially, and education has not been spared. In years of financial depression this was perhaps inevitable, but now that prosperity has once more made its appearance and promises to stay with us, what better use could be made of it than to make a more generous grant towards education and extend its boundaries forward in all directions. The people in India expect a great deal from your Lordship, in this and in other directions, and they have no doubt that they will get it before you leave her shores.

I would have ventured to indicate another direction in which financial prosperity might afford relief to India, I mean the abolition of some of the duties that hamper our industries, but I feel persuaded that the question of the economic freedom of India will have to be fought on English not Indian ground, and when the battle is joined, we know from past experience on which side your Lordship's voice will be raised.

I do not wish to trespass on your Lordship's time much longer, but there is one small matter to which I will, with your Lordship's permission, call attention. The history of this Council, I need not remind your Lordship, has been one of slow and cautious progress. There was a time when the Ordinances of the Governor-General issued at his own initiative, or with the consent of the Executive Council, had the force of law. Judges of the Supreme Court were sometimes invited to help in the elaboration of enactments, but there was no representation of any kind. The next step was taken in 1861 by the constitution of the Legislative Council and the appointment on it of a few non-official members, Indian and European, nominated by Government. In 1892 a further advance was made, and the number of non-official members was increased; and in 1893 a restricted amount of representation was conceded which has over and over again sent to the Council members, both European and Indian, who have proved an ornament to the Legislature and a source of strength to its deliberations. The right of interpellation granted at the same time has often proved a means of clearing away misunderstandings and of justifying the Government to the public. At this point, however, the progress of popular principles has rested since 1892. There has been no further expansion, and considering all interests it is difficult to indicate in which direction further expansion is possible in the near future. There is one point of procedure, however, which your Lordship might consider without making the smallest change in the constitution of the Council. The present practice is to allow one day for the presentation of the Budget and another immediately afterwards

for what is called the debate. The interval between the two proceedings is far too short to permit of the non-official members offering their views and criticisms with any fulness of preparation, while the official members have hardly time to deal fully or adequately with any controversial matter that might have been brought up in the course of the debate. I therefore, venture to suggest for your Lordship's consideration whether it would not be in the best interests both of the Government and of the public in future to grant an extra day, and if practicable, to increase the interval between the budget statement and the debate.

Statement showing amount of grants for Public Education in America

(*a*) Sum-total of direct and indirect expenditures * from *Provincial Revenues*. *Vide* General Table IV. Cotton's Report.

(*b*) Current (direct) expenditure only, detailed as follows :—

	Dollars			
Government annual grant for elementary schools	2,24,05,930	*Vide* page	4	Vol. I Comr's Report
Government fee grant for Elementary schools.	1,13,51,725			
State appropriation for Normal schools for elementary teachers	7,95,489	do	6	
Government annual grant to Scientific and Art Departments	39,60,229	do	34	
Total ..	3,85,13,373			

= Rs. 1,20,354,291. (1 dollar = 4s. 2d. or 50d. = 50 as. or Rs. 3-2-0).

(*c*) Current expenditure only. *Vide* page 1088. Vol. I Comr's Report.

(*d*) (Actual) State Finance ordinary expenditure on Public instruction. *Vide* page 994, Statesman's Year Book.

(1 Rouble = ½ dollar = 2s 1d. = Re. 1-9-0)

(*e*) Detailed as follows :—

Receipts from State taxes for common (Public Elementary and Secondary) schools ..	3,61,97,338	*Vide* page 13 Vol. I Comr's Report.
United States Government Appropriation for Universities and Colleges	982,047	*Vide* page 1,600 Vol. II Comr's Report.
Total ..	3,71,79,385	

(*f*) Immediate expenditure from State funds on Elementary education .. .. *Vide* page 640 Statesman's Year Book.

(20 Marks = £1 = Rs. 15).

Comparative Statistics of Scholars under Instruction.

Country	No. of Students under instruction (excluding unrecognized Private schools)	Population	Remarks
INDIA			
Number on 31st March, 1897	3,788,382 (a)	(b) 232,490,022	(a) *Vide* General Table III, Cotton's Report. Either figure may be used in working out the cost per pupil.
Average monthly No. 1896-97	3,640,273 (a)		(b) *Vide* General Table I.
ENGLAND			
Total enrolment in Colleges and Schools (rough estimate)	(a) 6,525,404	(b) 31,055,035 (6) *Vide* page 10. estimated for 1897.	(a) *Vide* page 9, Commissioner's Report, Vol. I. Includes figures for Universities and 4 technical institutes for 1898 and those for the Secondary, Primary, Normal and Primary schools also Science and Art Department schools for 1897.
FRANCE			
Number enrolled in Public and Private Schools and Colleges	(a) 6,494,845	(b) 38,517,975	(a) *Vide* page 1088, Commissioner's Report, Vol. I. Includes figure for Universities for 1898, those for the schools for 1897. (b) *Vide* page 1085 for 1896.
RUSSIA			
Number in Universities, Middle Schools and Elementary Schools	(a) 4,507,762	(b) 129,000,000	(a) *Vide* pages 988 and 989, Statesman's Year Book. (b) *Vide* page 982.
UNITED STATES			
Number in public and private Colleges and Schools	(a) 16,733,362	(b) 73,960,220	(a) *Vide* page 12 Commissioner's Report, Vol. I. (b) *Vide* do do estimated.
GERMANY			
Number in Elementary Schools only ..	(a) 7,925,000	(b) 49,28,470	(a) *Vide* page 640, Statesman's Year Book, fig. for 1891. (b) *Vide* do do on Dec. 1 1890.

Comparative view of State

Country	Source of Information	Year for which figures are taken	State portion of expenditures on Education	
				In Rupees
INDIA	Cotton's quinquennial Report, 1896–97	1896-97	..	(a) 95,522,985
ENGLAND	Report of the Commissioner of Education, United States, 1898-99 Vol. I.	1897	(b) 3,85,13,373 dollars	12,03,54,291
FRANCE	do	1898	(c) 3,97,75,615 dollars	124,298,797
RUSSIA	Statesman's Year Book 1902	1900	(d) 3,35,88,128 roubles	52,481,450
UNITED STATES	Report of the Commissioner of Education U.S. 1898-99 Vols. I & II.	1898-99	(e) 3,71,79,385 dollars	116,186,578
GERMANY (for Elementary Education only).	Statesman's Year Book 1902	1898	(f) 6,98,05,000 marks	51,978,750

Expenditure on Education.

State portion of the cost of Education per pupil	State portion of the cost of Education per head of Population	Remarks
Rs. 2·5	Rs. ·04 or 7·7 pies	(*a*) Sum-total of direct and indirect expenditures from *Provincial Revenue*. *Vide General* Table IV. Cotton's Report.
Rs. 18·4	Rs. 3·9	(*b*) Current (direct) expenditure only details as follows– Govt. Annual grant for Elementary Schools .. 22,405,930 } *Vide* page 4 do fee do 11,351,725 } *Vide* page 4 State appropriation for Normal Schools for Elementary Teachers. 795,489 *Vide* page 6 } Vol. I: Comr's. Report. Government Annual grant to Scientific and Art Department. 3,960,229 *Vide* page 34 } Vol. I: Comr's. Report. Total .. 38,513,373 =Rs. 120,254,291 (1 dollar=4s. 2d. or 50d.=50 as. or Rs. 3-2-0).
Rs. 19·1	Rs. 3·2	(*c*) Current expenditure only. *Vide* page 1088, Vol. I. Commissioner's Report.
Rs. 11·6	Rs. ·4 or 6·4 as.	(*d*) (Actual) State Finance ordinary expenditure on Public Instruction. *Vide* Page 994, Statesman's Year Book. (1 rouble = ½ dollar. = Rs. 1-9-0)
Rs. 6·9	Rs. 1·6	(*e*) Detailed as follows :— Receipts from State taxes for common Public Elementary and Secondary) Schools.=36,197,383 dollars. *Vide* Page 13. Vol I. Comr's Report. United States Government. Appropriation for Universities and Colleges=982,047 dollars. *Vide* page 1,600. Vol. II. Comr's Report. Total... 37,179,385 dollars.
Rs. 6·5	Rs. 1·0	(*f*) Immediate Expenditure from State funds on Elementary Education. *Vide* page 640, Statesman's Year Book. (20 marks=£1=Rs. 15)

The Mohammedan University

IF the Mohammedans of India were a united people, conscious of a community of interests and accustomed to work in concert in all matters that concerned the common weal of the community, an institution like the Aligarh College, which contains the nuclei of all the separate elements which go towards the constitution ef a teaching University, might well be left to develop into one in the natural course of evolution. But the Mohammedans of India are not a united people and their conception of their best interests is as divergent as the localities in which they live. It is therefore to be feared that, if left to itself, the Aligarh College would not only not develop into anything higher, but would in all probability degenerate into an ill-taught and worse disciplined *maktab* of the old type, if it does not altogether cease to exist. It is therefore necessary for Mohammedans of light and leading in all parts of India, who would look upon such an event as little short of a national calamity, to contribute towards the preservation and further development of the only national institution they possess by helping it in every way in their power.

It has sometimes been said, and will probably be said again that if the Government colleges are good enough for the Hindoos, they ought surely to be good enough for us, and that it is a work of supererogation on our part to seek to establish an institution of our own. But I am not at all sure that we have seen the last of what our Hindoo brethren are prepared to do for themselves. They have hitherto lain under the glamour of political aspirations (kindled by the unwise procedure of their leaders) and have not been able to look to their more practical needs. I feel quite certain that, when they once perceive that the direction which they are trying to give to their national energies leads to a *cul de sac*, they will turn their attention to social and educational reforms, in which, I hope, they will have the sympathy, and, if need be, the help, of all right-minded Mohammedans. We may rest assured, however, that once their attention is awakened in this direction, they will not be hampered with the difficulties that well nigh broke the heart of the great man and true patriot, who was the leader of the movement we see in full force today, and who laid the foundation of the noble institution which we wish now to enlarge and improve. Instead therefore of citing their example in favour of inaction, we should be proud of having in this one instance stolen a march over our Hindoo fellow-subjects

and made a good start on the road to an independent intellectual career of our own. For leaving other considerations aside, whatever one does for oneself, any worthy end attained by strenuous exertions of our own, at the cost of generous self-sacrifice and with wise disregard of the pleasures of the passing day, and provident forethought of the needs of a near or distant future, is for the very reason of the effort and sacrifice involved, much more valuable to an individual and still more so to a people, than eleemosynary gifts from another, even though that other be the Ruling Power of the State.

There are, however, various other considerations pointing to the need of a well equipped educational institution of our own. The Universities of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were chartered a little less than half a century ago on the model of the London University of those days, and have, in spite of the limits within which their sphere of usefulness was confined, done good work in their way. But limited as their scope was to the holding of certain stereotyped examinations, the schools and colleges that sprang up to carry out their behests, necessarily began with coincident limitations, and, as was only natural, crystallised into institutions for the manufacture of graduates. Distinctions that in their attainment involve no physical exertion or peril of life or limb, have a peculiar attraction for the weaker races, and they were all the more eagerly sought after, because they served as passports to employment and power. In a short time University degrees attained a market value perhaps unexampled in the history of the world, the art of cramming came into existence, and the compilation of cribs, notes, abstracts and other mnemonic devices rose to the dignity of a profession. The popularity of a lecturer came to depend not on the width of his attainments or the excellence of his teaching, but on the number of candidates that under his training obtained passes at the various examinations prescribed by the Universities. If a scholarly teacher, and of these there is no lack in our colleges, ever felt tempted to leave the beaten track and teach a subject instead of teaching a text book, he soon discovered that his pupils were intent not on listening to his exposition, but on reading cribs and note books of their own under the cover of their desks. The thousands who flocked to our High Schools and affiliated Colleges, lived where they could, most often in environments and exposed to influences little calculated to foster excellence of conduct, purity of morals or cleanliness of life. There was no tie between them except the University examinations; to parody a common saying, it was a case of every one for himself and the Examiners for all. There was no common school life, no field for the cultivation of the more generous impulses of youth, no foundation for the exercise of discipline that goes towards the formation of character. It was not an uncommon experience to hear Indian gentlemen of the old school express their horror of the arrogance, conceit and want of manners betrayed by children of gentle birth after even

a short sojourn in these institutions, accounting to a considerable extent for the reluctance which Mahomedans of the past generation felt in giving their children the benefit of an English education.

So patent were these evils and so obtrusive their results, that one of our ablest viceroys took the matter into serious consideration, and issued a circular which is only memorable now for having led to nothing. There was a little talk at the time about moral text books, as if morals and manners could be tested by competitive examinations, a futile attempt in one or two instances to enforce discipline, and there was an end of the matter. Laudable as the effort was, it failed, because the root of the evil was left untouched. Discipline is the foundation and more than half the superstructure of culture, and discipline was impossible under the system that had taken deep root amongst us. Things were so ordered that provided our youths passed their University Examinations, it mattered little to them what else they did or did not do. Degrees led to preferment and power, and it was degrees, therefore, that were desired at whatever sacrifice of physical or moral health. The kind of life and of toil and effort that this involved, has committed fearful havoc among our youth sending many a weakling to an early grave; and destroying in many of even the more robust, the germs of all healthy and vigorrous physical and mental life. And the result has been helped by the character of the tests appointed by the Universities, making no allowance for individual idiosyncracies, and paying no regard to the natural bent of different minds.

There will always be some endowed with native vitality and force too great to succumb to the strongest adverse influences, but the effect on the generality of our youth has been disastrous. I will not venture to estimate what percentage of them turn out really capable men, but no one will deny that the majority are singularly devoid of the many-sidedness, the *savoir faire*, the "sweetness and light," the power to assimilate experience, which we are accustomed to look for in a cultured man; and it is well to observe here, that these are the very qualities which a corporate school life under wholesome discipline is calculated to foster. We educate our sons not to turn them into book-worms of the cloister, but to enable them to make an energetic use of their lives and of such powers as Heaven has given them. But our colleges turn out youths more fit to shine in the one rôle than in the other. They seem to develop no power of observation, or of a just criticism of life, no artistic aptitude no sense of proportion, none of that capacity so useful in the battle of life, of putting themselves in the position of others in order to deduce a right view of themselves and their merits. One practical issue of this arrested development is the disastrous mess many of our educated countrymen make of their politics (in allowing themselves to be deluded with aspirations singularly out of tune with

the whole tenor of their political position and their just political claims). Another is their incapacity to form a correct estimate of the responsibilities and natural limitations of the Empire to which they belong. A more vigorous and versatile training, a healthier and manlier use of the opportunities of youth would have saved them from these errors and given them a juster view of their rights and duties.

To turn to another side of the question, we are perhaps the only people in the world who have submitted without protest to a system of public education divorced from religion. It is not necessary to be a professedly religious man to perceive that the weakening of the sanctions provided by religion, strikes at the root of national life, and that a loss of reverence is premonitory of national degeneration. The State has gone out of its way to act as a pioneer of higher education, but it cannot teach us morals or religion. In an Empire like that of India, which is made up of a congeries of States and communities widely divergent in character, language and religion, the very existence of a great controlling Power must of necessity depend on the observance on the part of that Power of a policy of strict neutrality. It is for us, not for the State, to see to our own national needs and provide ourselves with means of progressive national development. Is it not enough that our lot has been cast under a Government ever ready to stretch out to us a friendly hand of no uncertain helpfulness, if we will only prove that we are prepared to help ourselves. In what other Asiatic kingdom do the subject races enjoy such unfettered freedom of action, such a boundless field for expansion, or such unstinted sympathy from the State in all useful directions of human activity ?

We have, therefore, no reason to relax, on the contrary we have every reason to redouble our efforts in the direction of providing a proper seat of learning for ourselves, untramelled by conditions inseparable from State direction, and better suited to our national wants than Universities based upon strictly neutral and secular lines can ever be. We, Mahomedans, have hitherto maintained an attitude of reserve towards the learning of the West as dispensed to us by State institutions, and we had, perhaps, our reason for doing so. The men of learning amongst us, our Logicians, Metaphysicians and Juris-consults of the old school, saw samples of the new learning only in the raw, half-educated youths turned out of our schools and colleges, and hastily concluded that it was like them, eminently superficial. The utmost concession they were prepared to make was, that the Westerns excelled in the *hikmat-e-amali* (practical sciences) which have never been held in high esteem by school-men of either the East or the West, but they scoffed at their *hikmat-e-nazari* (speculative sciences) and believed that thay were not even known to them except in the most crude and elementary form, and that, at least in this most important branch of learning,

the East could still give lessons to the West. There are learned Mahomedans in all parts of India, who still believe that the skill of European nations is confined to the building of great railways, warships, formidable guns and other infernal machines, and that thay have no aptitude for the sciences which deal with abstract subjects or the phenomena of the mind. And this ignorance will not be dispelled, or the ground cleared for the reception of the splendid heritage which our Western rulers are willing to share with us, unless we set to work and complete the task we have begun. And what we are about to undertake is nothing new or isolated. We are carrying on, on the banks of the Ganges, work that was initiated on the banks of the Euphrates twelve hundred years ago. It is true that the learning and wisdom that our rude and warlike ancestors borrowed from Europe in Baghdad in the day of the great Abbasides, they gave back with interest at Cardova under the great Omayyid Kings of Spain. Are we, then, to hold aloof now, from a sentiment of false pride as suicidal as it is base, if the pendulum has swung back and we find ourselves again in the position of those to whom the rich store-house of philosophy and science was opened for the first time ? Indeed, if the lessons of the past have not been lost on us, we ought to be wiser in our generation, and instead of being content with the partial and second-hand teaching to which alone our ancestors had access, we ought to go to the very fountain-head of the new learning, and assimilate as much of it as we can, instead of absorbing it indiscriminately and in an indigestible form as some of us have hitherto been content to do.

These ends, however, will never be attained, unless we part company at the threshold with the stereotyped system of passing examinations which the old Universities of Bengal, Madras and Bombay have brought into vogue, and build our new *Alma Mater* on the lines of the venerable seats of learning that have made Oxford and Cambridge famous all over the world. The nucleus of a corporate school life exists in the boarding arrangements of the Aligarh College ; let it be expanded so as to furnish residence, say, for a thousand youths. We have three European Professors living within the College bounds, and intimately associated, as they should be, with the resident students. Let their number be increased until we have a competent European Professor for every branch of Western learning that we wish to cultivate, and a tutorial staff that may in time be partly recruited from among the graduates of our own University. But we must always have not merely a good leaven, but an actual preponderance of highly paid European Professors and Tutors at any rate for a very long time to come. On this one point there must be no delusion. If any one offers us a different advice, if we are told for example, that where Indian graduates are available, we need not go to the expense of engaging Englishmen on high pay to teach us, we may rest assured that the advice proceeds from absolute ignorance of the very rudiments of western culture.

I hope the leaders of the present movement will not give ear to such counsel. In any scheme for the institution of a national University on the model of Oxford or Cambridge, the allotment of funds sufficient for the employment of an ample staff of well paid European Professors and Tutors and the maintenance of a carefully devised system of discipline are the two essential points, the rest is of secondary importance and a mere question of detail. It is no doubt possible to secure the services of excellent Indian masters for about a fourth of the salary that will have to be offered, if we resolve as I hope we shall, on securing competent English scholars to help us in developing the scheme, but between the two there will lie the whole difference between substance and shadow, between reality and sham. The best of Indian teachers, among whom, let it be freely admitted, we count some ripe scholars and most admirable men, can only impart to us the knowledge and culture of the West at second hand. Nothing but close and constant contact with European scholars and gentlemen will penetrate through the almost impermeable crust of sloth, prejudice and ignorance which has accumulated on the Mahomedans of India, during the inglorious period following the palmy days of their dominion. Our youth need to be taken out of their homes and home surroundings, and placed in uninterrupted view of high ideals, of which they can form only a faint and distant conception from the study of text-books for the passing of examinations. It is only by intimate association with living men of high scholarship, good manners and pure life, that they can be expected to learn to value these qualities and exert themselves to attain them. It is in their leisure hours, in the refectory and on the play ground, more than in the lecture room, that the best part of the education of youth, that which influences character, is really carried on. It is there that the lessons of unselfishness, fair dealing, pluck, habits of truth, manly pride and obedience are to be learnt, lessons without which the learning of an Aristotle or an Averroës were vain and valueless.

But we should be doing less than well for ourselves if in fitting up a place for the cultivation of Western sciences we were to neglect the vast stores of valuable thought that we have received as a heritage from our own ancestors. No one can hope to be able to interpret the West to the East, to graft Western on Eastern culture, who is not familiar with both. A finished European scholar will be able to do well for himself, but he will be able to do little for the mass of his countrymen and co-religionists, if he cannot bring home to them the precious knowledge of the West in terms of Eastern learning. We need some scholars who will make it their business to effect a reform in the modes of ratiocination stereotyped among our schoolmen by exposing its fallacy. This is the only way in which we can hope to penetrate into the very ark of the citadel of sophistry and verbiage with which ages of blind faith in medieval methods have encrusted

our philosophy of knowledge. We need men able to give our own old-world Maulvies a newer organon than that of Aristotle and Averroës, and introduce them to the more fruitful tests of truth which Modern Science has placed in our hands.

We have hitherto had no one to do this service for us, for the simple reason that few have interested themselves in such recondite issues, and those who have, to them the instrument and the means have been wanting. I know of only two Mahomedans who have made an attempt in this direction, one of whom died before he had taken more than the first step, and the other, his son, is still in the full vigour of youth, and from him we have reason to expect much fuller work than he has hitherto set forth. To them—to the father as well as to the son—was given the divine gift of a vigorous mind stored with what is best both in Eastern and Western learning. It remains to be seen, if the survivor will have the leisure to devote to the task which remains to be done and which he alone, perhaps, of all living Mahomedans is able to do.

I have no sympathy, however, with those who would organise a distinct Faculty of Oriental learning in connection with the Mahomedan University. We may rest assured that Mahomedans, left to themselves, will never let their old learning die. We have well found d schools at Deobund, Arrah, Hyderabad and other towns, where Mahomedan learning is kept up as it should be, and a movement has recently been set on foot for a more systematic inculcation of it which commands the sympathy of all right-minded Mahomedans. The University should in my opinion, confine itself to a combination of Western culture with that of the East as represented in their language and literature (Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian), specialists being encouraged to go deeper into them after a certain stage of University education, which can be determined in working out the details of the scheme. If we had amongst us a public spirited philanthropist and patriot like Mr. Tata of Bombay, or the late Sikh nobleman in the Punjab, we might listen to those who would institute a distinctly Oriental side in the University. But as it is, I think we shall have reason to congratulate ourselves, if we succeed in raising the ten lakhs to which the Memorial Committee has modestly confined its expectations. Let us not dissipate the little we may collect, in an attempt which, if successful, is not likely to help us much towards the progress and advancement which are, at the present moment, most needed and most to be desired.

It will serve no useful purpose at this early stage of the movement to enter into details or draft a complete scheme for the proposed University: this is a work for which a Sub-Committee will have to be appointed, when funds have been provided, and practical operations have to be commenced. But it will not be out of place to remark here that the University will be

incomplete, if, like the Aligarh College, it is not able to found a a Faculty of Physical Science and Biology with properly fitted up laboratories for the experimental exposition of the different studies that group themselves round them. I have singled out this Faculty for special mention, because I hold that there is no discipline more suited to correct the peculiar errors of the Mahomedan mind than a study of these branches of knowledge in the light of modern methods. If we have to commence work only with the minimum number of Faculties, this group should, I think, in any case be one of those selected. There are four others that are in my opinion equally indispensable, namely :— (I) Languages, (II) Mathematics, (III) Philosophy and Logic, (IV) History, Political Science and Economics. These five, to begin with, should furnish a sound foundation for the young University. Law is another indispensable discipline, but for his we can afford to wait until funds can be spared ; we can also afford to wait for the European Classics and Modern Languages groups ; I do not think they are essential.

In spite of what I have said about Oriental learning, I do not think I would make the higher study of Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit compulsory on all, but I would encourage it by holding out valuable pecuniary rewards. As for that matter I would encourage all specialization and thoroughness of study, be it in a group of cognate languages, or in some special branch of Science or History. For every graduate need not be a profound Oriental Scholar, any more than every graduate need be a Scientist or a Mathematician ; our aim should be to encourage all branches of learning, leaving each under-graduate free to choose according to his natural bent of mind.

It remains to be asked, in conclusion, what is to be done with the School Department now attached to the College ? I, for one see no reason for making any change. As the College grew out of a school, so will the University grow out of the College by what may be likened to a process of gemination from within. The College will remain in existence and so should the school. When the number of under-graduates has outgrown the accommodation available in the Boarding Establishments already in existence, and we are pressed for room, it might be housed separately with an independent establishment of its own, but still under the eye of the University authorities. The influences that will be brought to bear on under-graduate life, should not, I think, be denied to the school, in which they are supposed to receive their preliminary training at an age much more impressionable than when they enter the University. In fact the school ought to be kept in an increased state of completeness of equipment and efficiency as a model for other Mahomedan schools that wish to act as feeders to the higher institution. School work even at Aligarh is by no means what it might be, if only funds could be spared for its improvement. There is room for the introduction

of many of the more modern methods of training, such as the Kindergarten, manual training, etc., and the employment of increased European agency, specially that of European Lady-teachers in the manipulation of infant classes. But all this is a question of funds. For the present our last word and final resolution in this connection should obviously be to make everything subordinate to the foundation of the University.

In hazarding the preceding observations I have taken it for granted that our pattern has already been chosen but in reality we have three to choose between, namely, the Universities of London, Edinburgh and Oxford or Cambridge. I need say nothing about the first, because the promoters of the scheme seem all to be of one mind in discarding the system which that University represents as unsuitable to our needs. Edinburgh is something between London and Oxford; for, unlike London, it is a teaching not a mere examining University; and yet, unlike Oxford and Cambridge, it does not attempt to guide or influence under-graduate life. We, however, want something more than this, we want our youth influenced to high issues, their lives moulded after the best European models of excellence, and their mental and moral tendencies guided towards lofty ideals. We shall do wisely, therefore, to follow Oxford or Cambridge and copy on a modest scale the methods that have helped to mould the national life of the greatest and most civilised country in the world. Now, the main feature of these Universities and the secret of their success lies in the tutorial system of training to be found in the Colleges grouped round them. Each College has a staff of tutors, one for every branch of study encouraged within its precincts. His functions are threefold; he lectures on the subject which he has made his own; helps in the internal government of the College; and acts towards the under-graduates as their guide, philosopher and friend. In this capacity he is constantly accessible to them; often has some of them over to tea or breakfast; hears them read their weekly essays or translations to him, and in other ways gives them assistance and advice in their studies. He encourages them to converse freely with him on politics, literature or art, pointing out their errors or otherwise influencing or guiding their thought. They are able to take to him all their little difficulties, because he has their confidence, and they know that they have in him both a teacher and a friend. And as the tutors are generally men of profound learning, high ideals and loftiness of character, and as an under-graduate comes in contact with several of them in the course of his studies it follows that, by the time he takes his degree, he has unconsciously imbibed, according to his temperament and capacity some at least of the good to be found in each and all.

But even a tutorial staff like that of the great Colleges of Oxford or Cambridge would be of little avail, if there was no discipline among those placed under their care. In a corporate

community collected together for some common pursuit, there must be, as the first condition of success, strict obedience to the laws of the community, and the necessity is all the greater when the community consists of youthful individuals with callow and unformed minds, brought together for the purpose of education. We must, therefore, have rules and regulations carefully devised, not by outsiders ignorant of the aims and objects of modern education, but by men who have themselves received and are capable of imparting the highest culture of the day. And rules once framed must be strictly carried out without outside interference of any sort or kind.

Going back for a moment to the subject of Oriental studies, may I be allowed to add that, while deprecating any attempt to burden the University with the dead-weight of a purely Oriental Department, I would lay every possible stress on thoroughness of work in the Oriental studies taken up in combination with English and other subjects. I have hitherto carefully abstained from entering into the details of the scheme, because these, in my opinion, should be left to be worked out, by a Committee of experts appointed in that behalf, but I hope I shall be pardoned if I venture to point out here what seem to me to be the line and direction which Arabic studies should take in a Mohammedan University. For an ordinary scholar who took up the combination, I think it would be enough if he acquired a fair knowledge of the language and its literature; in other words, if he was able to read and write in classical Arabic without difficulty. But for specialization in this branch, I would suggest four alternative courses :—

I. Arabic Language and Literature including higher Grammar and Rhetoric, History of Literature, Bibliography and Philology.

For this school, as it may be called, I would suggest the following books among others :—

Mugni and *Mofassal* with their commentaries.

Agani. *Al-kamil* of *Mobarrad*. The *Koran* with commentaries.

Motawal. All the poets of the first and second period.

Nahj-ul-Balagat with the great commentary of the *Motazali*.

Hadith as in some one of the six collections.

The prose works of *Imad-e-Katib*. Other names can be added, but these will suffice to indicate the direction such studies should take. For Philology recourse must be had to European works on the Comparative Philology of Semitic Languages.

II. Mohammedan History including Biography and Bibliography. The reading for this subject should include the

works of *Ibn-e-Hisham, Tabari, Ibn-e-Athir, Mas'udi, Ibn-e-Khaldun, Ibn-e-Khaelakan,* and some of the available *Tabakat, Hadith* being consulted for side lights.

III. Philosophy and Logic. I think the attention of the student should, in this branch, be confined to the older writers such as *Ibn-e-Rushd* (Averrose), *Abu Ali ibn-e-Sina* (Avicenna), *Mulla Bakar, Tusi, Sadr-ud-din* and others.

IV. Theology.

This should obviously include a thorough acquaintance with the *Koran* and its chief commentaries; Hadith as represented in the six principal collections; Law and Jurisprudence. Attention should be specially directed to controversial questions of importance, such as the limits of Authority and Reason according to different schools; the authenticity of historical and traditional evidence; and similar other matters of importance in laying the foundation of a new school of criticism and thought. Let me add that no study in this school would be complete that does not include an intelligent historical survey of the doctrine and practice of Sufism.

Apart from this school, practical, religious teaching should to some extent form part of the general education of all Mohammedan youths, taking in only the essentials, and leaving doctrinal details and controversial matters to specialists. Mohammedanism is a very simple faith, there is nothing mysterious or recondite in its creed; nothing complex in its ritual. All that is really necessary could be brought together within the compass of a couple of pamphlets of moderate size, in the Hindustani language, which school boys could learn before advancing to higher studies. Nothing would remain to be done except to make the observance of all obligatory religious commmandments part and parcel of the scheme of collegiate discipline. It would, in my opinion, be a grievous error to insist upon anything more elaborate except in the case of students who take up the theological school. I venture to think these limitations are quite consistent with the best Mohammedan teaching of the day, and will, I hope, be accepted by those who will, by their position, have an influential part in shaping the course of the University.

I submit these observations to the members of the Memorial Committee and the Mohammedan Educational Conference of Lahore with a considerable amount of diffidence, because I am aware that among them are gentlemen of light and leading much better fitted to shape the course of future Mohammedan culture, and with a much better title to lay down the law that should govern our future educational policy. What I have ventured to put before them are merely tentative suggestions, contributions to the fuller discussion of the subject by abler and more experienced men than myself.

Memorial drawn up for presentation to H. E. the Earl of Minto then Viceroy of India

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF MINTO,
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G.,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

AVAILING ourselves of the permission graciously accorded to us, we the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, talukdars merchants, and others, representing a large body of the Mohammedan Subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with the following memorial for your favourable consideration.

2. We have no need to be reminded of the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to divers races, and professing divers religions, who form the population of the vast continent of India. Nor can we forget the chaos and misrule from which British arms extricated us when the country was a prey to an innumerable host of adventurers bent on rapine and plunder. We have good reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom, and liberty of worship that we now enjoy, and, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive and that India will, in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

3. One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has, so far as possible, been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature of all Indian problems.

4. Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in

different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance; and, finally, by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, Local Boards, and—above all—in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Commission appointed by Your Excellency at the initiative of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, with the view of giving it further extension; and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation that we have ventured to approach Your Excellency on the present occasion.

5. The Musalmans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two millions, or more than one-fifth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian Dominions; while if the Native States and Burma were excluded from the computation and a reduction made for the uncivilized portions of the community enumerated under the heads of Animists and other minor religions, the proportion of Musalmans to the whole population of British India would be found to be approximately one-fourth. In these circumstances, we desire to submit that, under any system of representation, extended or limited, a minority amounting to a quarter of the population—and in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European Power, except Russia—may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State. We venture, indeed, with Your Excellency's permission, to go a step further than this and urge that the position accorded to the Musalman community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance; and that, in estimating the latter, due weight should be given to the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

6. The Musalmans of India have hitherto placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that has always characterised their rulers and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing; but earnestly as we desire that the Musalmans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

7. We, therefore, pray that the representation we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views and

wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with Your Excellency's earnest attention.

8. We hope Your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are, entirely opposed to the genius and traditions of Eastern Nations, and many of the most thoughtful members of our community look upon them as totally unsuitable to the social, religious, and political conditions obtaining in India. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of their own immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mohammedans cannot any longer, in justice to our own national interests, hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. We must therefore acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Musalmans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of Your Excellency and your illustrious predecessors in office, and the heads of Local Governments by whom the Mohammedan members of Legislative Chambers have with scarcely one exception been invariably nominated; but we venture to submit that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things has, in existing circumstances, been unavoidable; for while, on the one hand, the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection, on the other hand, of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy. As for the results of selection, it is most unlikely that the name of any Mohammedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted, unless he is prepared to forego the right of private judgment and undertake to vote with the majority in all matters of importance. We submit that a Mohammedan elected on these terms necessarily ceases to represent his own community and becomes a mere mandatory of the Hindu majority. Nor can we, in fairness, find fault with the desire of our Hindoo fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindoos, are pledged to vote for the interests of the Hindoo community. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindoo fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality. We Musalmans have, however, additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities and these have hitherto suffered grevious loss from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the

Provinces in which the Mohammedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent in the Punjab; but in a more marked degree in Sindh and in Eastern Bengal, where Mohammedan interests have suffered, owing partly to the backwardness of the community in education, for which they are not wholly to blame, but still more to their ignorance of the arts of self-assertion and political agitation.

9. Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mohammedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due. Our first prayer, therefore, is that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to issue strict orders that, both in the Gazetted and the Subordinate and Ministerial services of all Indian Provinces, a due proportion of Mohammedans—to be locally determined—shall always find place. Orders of like import have, at times, been issued by Local Governments in some Provinces, but have never, unfortunately, been strictly enforced, on the ground that qualified Mohammedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however true it may have been at one time, is no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting, the supply of qualified Mohammedans, we are happy to be able to assure Your Excellency, is greater than any possible demand.

10. As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests, affecting to a great extent the health and comfort of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit, for a moment, Your Excellency's attention to the position of Musalmans thereon before passing on to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of Self-Government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people. Yet the position of Musalmans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality for example, is divided into six wards, and each ward returns one Hindoo and one Mohammedan Commissioner, and the same principle, we understand, is adopted in some other Municipalities, but in many localities the Musalman taxpayers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindoos and Mohammedans entitled to seats on Municipal and Local Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength,

social status, and local influence of either community—in consultation, if necessary, with their leading men.

11. We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might, so far as possible, be similarly dealt with; that there should, in other words, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mohammedans are entitled to be represented in either body, whether by selection or nomination or both.

12. We now proceed to the consideration of our share in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would suggest that, as in the case of Municipalities and Local Boards, the proportion of Mohammedan representatives entitled to a seat should be determined and declared with due regard to the important considerations which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this Memorial; and that the Mohammedan members of District Boards and Municipalities, and the Registered Graduates of Universities, should be formed into Electoral Colleges, and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as Your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

13. With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council, whereon the due representation of Mohammedan interests is a matter of the utmost importance, we would solicit:—

(1) That in the cadre of the Council, at least, one member out of every four should always be a Mohammedan.

(2) That, as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; and that in any case the majority of members should be appointed by election.

(3) That for purposes of choosing Mohammedan representatives, Mohammedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mohammedan Fellows of Universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by Your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

14. The methods of election we have ventured to suggest are necessarily tentative: they may even be found, in certain respects, defective; but they are the simplest and the least complicated of the two or three that have occurred to us in the very limited time at our command. But, provided the choice be left free and unhampered in the hands of respectable and educated Mohammedans, we shall have no hesitation in accepting any other method that may be considered more practicable.

15. We have reason to believe that the generality of Mohammedans in all parts of India feel it a grievance that Mohammedan Judges are not more frequently appointed on the High Courts

and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts only three Mohammedan lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all three of whom have happily justified their elevation in a most signal manner. It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on their behalf that, whenever possible, a Mohammedan judge should be given a seat on each of these Courts. Qualified lawyers, eligible for these posts, can always be found —if not in one Province, then in another, and seeing that a Bengalee Judge sits on the bench of the Punjab Chief Court, there should be no objection to a Mohammedan, provided he is qualified being transferred from one Province to another.

16. There has lately been some talk, we understand of the possible appointment of one or more Indian members on the Executive Council of the Viceroy and the India Council in England. Should such appointments be contemplated, we beg that the claims of Mohammedans in that behalf may not be overlooked. More than one Mohammedan we venture to say, will be found in the ranks of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Services fit to serve with distinction in either of these august Chambers. We have at this moment, a retired Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, domiciled in England, who, by his ability as a lawyer, his standing as a scholar, and his reputation as an experienced and versatile man of the world, cannot fail to be an ornament to the India Council: we mean Mr. Syed Amir Ali, in whom the Mohammedans of India repose the fullest confidence.

17. In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency that in assisting the Musalman subjects of His Majesty at this crisis in the directions indicated in the present Memorial, Your Excellency will be strengthening the foundations of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundations of their political regeneration and national prosperity, and Your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servants,

Congratulatory Address by Honourable Mr. Bayley the British Resident at Hyderabad on the occasion of Nawab Emad-ul-Mulk Bahadur's appointment to the India Council in 1907

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MRS. BAYLEY and I have asked you to meet us here to-night in order that we may all join in drinking the health of our honoured friend Mr. Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur, and in wishing him God-speed and all happiness and success in the new phase of his distinguished career on which he is about to enter.

You are all aware of the circumstances which are taking him from our midst; how His Majesty's Government desire to give the natives of this country a larger share in its administration than they have hitherto enjoyed, and how, as one means to this end, the Council of the Secretary of State for India has been enlarged by the addition to it of two Indian members. This measure, though carried into effect by a Liberal ministry, has met with the unanimous approval of both the great political parties in England, and of nearly all shades of public opinion in India. The importance which public opinion has attached to it in India has been shown by the eager speculation which was rife for some time in both the English and Vernacular Press as to the probable selections for the new appointments, and by the vigour with which the claims of particular candidates were urged, though had this not been the case, the necessity for starting so momentous an innovation on right lines by putting the right men into the right places would have been obvious to all. It is interesting to note that not one single writer anticipated the selections which have been made, and no stronger proof than this could have been afforded of Mr. Morley's statesman-like desire to number among his advisers and colleagues men of sound sense and experience who have never identified themselves with any political party. I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Gupta, who doubtless owes his selection in a great measure to the fact that he has risen to a higher position in the executive service of Government than has ever been held by any native of British India since the establishment of British

supremacy in this country. I can, however, safely say that when Mr. Sayyid Husain's appointment was announced it was generally recognised both in British India and here in Hyderabad, where he is best known, that no more judicious selection could have been made. It is no exaggeration to say that the appointment commands the entire sympathy, not only of the Musalman community, but of all those who are most qualified to form a correct opinion as to what is best for the welfare of India. It has been hailed with general satisfaction, and we here have special reason to be proud of the honour which has fallen to the lot of one whose career is so fully identified with the Hyderabad State, and who has won his way to distinction by loyally serving his august Chief, His Highness the Nizam. No one, I believe, was more surprised by the choice than Mr. Sayyid Husain himself, and the modesty which prevented him from thinking of himself as a possible selection, has only been surpassed by the readiness and courage with which he responded to the call to enter on a new life in a distant land at an age when most men ask for little more than the enjoyment of well-earned and dignified leisure among the surroundings in which they have lived. That this had been our friend's ambition is clear from the fact that he had applied for pemission to retire from his appointment as Director of Public Instruction before the engagement of the Council was contemplated. You will, I am sure, all agree that a man who, in this way, gives up the afternoon of his life to the service of his country is deserving of the highest praise. Nawab Imadul-Mulk Bahadur has, during the last few days, been the recipient of so many proofs in the shape of fare-well entertainments and addresses, of the esteem in which he is held that he may well be a trifle weary of hearing the events of his career recapitulated. I will therefore try to spare his blushes on this occasion and will merely remind you that he was selected over 30 years ago as one of the distinguished band of young men brought into the State by that great and sagacious administrator, Sir Salar Jung, whom he served as Private Secretary and whom he accompanied to England, that he afterwards became Private Secretary to His Highness the Nizam, and that he has for many years filled the post of Director of Public Instruction from which he recently retired, carrying with him a token of his master's regard in the shape of a special pension, and that esteem which can only be earned by a man of scrupulous rectitude and high character, and by one who has fearlessly done his duty in the state of life to which he has been called. His services to the younger generation have not been confined to Hyderabad. He has always taken an active and sympathetic interest in the great Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh, and he has constantly impressed on the young the principles of loyalty and self-control. He has also never failed to use his utmost endeavour to bridge over the gulf which seems sometimes to separate Europeans from Indians, not by urging a mere surface imitation of manners

and habits and that constant social intercourse which the customs of both races render so difficult, but by pointing out to each all that is best in the other, and by striving to promote real friendship and regard founded on the only firm and lasting basis of mutual understanding, confidence, and respect. I have just mentioned Aligarh and I am sure that you will pardon me if I digress for a moment to express my deep regret at the great loss which the College has sustained in the death of its Honorary Secretary, another distinguished Hyderabad noble, the Nawab Muhsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, and my hope, which is shared by all who have at heart the welfare of Islam in India, that a successor may soon be found fit in all respects to follow in the footsteps of the Secretary who has just passed away and, a still more difficult task, in that of the great founder of the College, Sir Sayyid Ahmed.

Nearly all of you who are present to-night have had the privilege of knowing Mr. Sayyid Hussain longer than I have, and are better qualified than I am to appreciate him at his true worth. It has however been my good fortune to see much of him during the two-and-a-half years that I have been here, and I can say with truth that his departure will mean for me the loss of an esteemed friend whose visits have never failed to afford me both pleasure and advantage. In a letter which I received from him the other day he referred in most kindly terms to the fact that his family and my own had been united for three generations by ties of mutual friendship and regard. I am very glad to think that this is so, and I trust that the presence here to-night of his four sons and of my own eldest son, who is just beginning his Indian career, is an earnest for the continuance to at least a fourth generation of the friendly relations which have endured so long. It is relations like these which do more than anything else to promote that good understanding between the English and Indian subjects of His Majesty which we all desire and which we are told sometimes, though I hope without sufficient cause, is less common now than formerly.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer and I now call on you to drink with me to the long life and prosperity of Mr. Sayyid Husain, and to congratulate him on the very high honour which has been conferred upon him. May he live to enjoy it for the next seven years, and return to India to pass the evening of his days in that rest which the call of duty has for the time being interrupted.

Reply to the Honourable Mr. Bayley's Address

MR. BAYLEY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IT is difficult for a man in my position to find suitable words wherewith to return thanks for the kind way in which Mr Bayley has proposed my health and the cordiality with which you have supported it. Mr. Bayley has alluded in flattering terms to my selection to fill one of the two seats on the Secretary of State's Council reserved for the first time for natives of India. It is indeed a high distinction—the highest to which an Indian subject of His Majesty can aspire, but I assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel the kindness and encouragement I have received from all sides since the announcement of my appointment, specially my reception here to-night, as a still greater distinction.

I shall soon be leaving my country, where my work has hitherto lain, to take up new and more onerous duties in the great metropolis of the Empire, and, diffident as I naturally felt at first in accepting these duties I have received so much encouragement since, from my friends, that I have almost ended by believing that I may be, after all, a fit man to fulfil them. But having once had the temerity to accept the position, I will endeavour to do the best that lies in me in the service of my king and country—and no one can do more. It has pleased Heaven for our own lasting good to place our destinies in the hands of England, and the interests of the two countries have become one and indivisible. I yield to none in the love of my country and of my people, and it is my firm belief that the more loyally and well I serve my king, the better shall I be serving my country. If I did not think so, if I honestly believed that the interests of the two countries were not identical, and that it was for us to carve out our future destiny apart from, and without the help of, England, I should not hesitate a moment to go over to the other side and join the ranks of the malcontents, and then perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Bayley would not be prepared to give me quite such a warm and cordial reception.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, apart from all interested considerations, apart from the lasting good that we expect from the union of England and India, it is to me, as it should be to every native of India, a matter of pride to belong to the most glorious and the most beneficent Empire that the world has ever seen.

In the course of the two or three years that Mr. Bayley has been our Resident, I have received innumerable kindnesses from him, but that is nothing new. Three generations of people of my name have been accustomed to receive kindnesses from three generations of his, as he has been good enough to tell you himself —only he has glossed it over with his usual deprecation of all expression of gratitude from those whom he has obliged. They are all like it, ever ready to do a kindness, but most reluctant to receive thanks in return.

Mr. Bayley belongs to an old class of Indian officials not often seen now—men whose names are household words in provinces in which they have served, and the best wish an Indian can have for his country is that there should be more Bayleys and Drummonds and Dampiers in India. If there were, I am sure we should hear no more of the unrest which is talked about so much just now.

In the end I beg to offer Mr. and Mrs. Bayley my sincerest and most grateful thanks for the splendid send-off they have given me.

Address Delivered at the Convocation of the Madras University, November, 1916

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IT has long been the custom in this University occasionally to select-one of the ordinary members of the Senate and commandeer him for the duty of delivering the usual Convocation Address of the year. It is due to this custom and not to any merit of my own, that I stand here today in obedience to the commands of His Excellency the Chancellor. If I had any choice in the matter I would prefer to sit among the audience and see my place occupied by some other and abler member of the Senate, in closer contact with the University, and more intimately acquainted with its history and operations than an outsider like me can claim to be. I therefore crave your indulgence for the possible crudeness of what I have to say and your forgiveness for my deficiencies.

I remember the time when, in Northern India, Madras was usually mentioned in newspapers and elsewhere as the 'Benighted Presidency,' and was treated with indifference, if not with actual contempt. This was probably due partly to ignorance and partly to the fact that the capital of this Presidency was neither so brilliant nor so wealthy as Calcutta and Bombay. Be the cause whatever it may, certain it is that the old estimate was entirely abandoned when Madras came to be better known, and it was discovered to the utter discomfiture of those who used to talk of the 'Benighted Presidency,' that education had made greater and more widespread progress here than anywhere else in India. Shall we be wrong in presuming that this progress and development, carried on from year to year without fuss or beating of the drums was the work of the Educational Department and of the University of Madras which has always endeavoured to maintain a very high standard of learning and culture among its *alumni*. Remember the galaxy of eminent men this Presidency has produced, men eminent as statesmen, administrators, educationists, lawyers, journalists, like Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir K. Sheshadri Aiyer, Srinivasaragava Iyengar, Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer, Sir Bhashyam Iyengar, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Ramaswami Raju, T. Subba Rao, Rai Bahadur Venkayya, P. Sundram Pillai, Mr. Snull and others, men of whom any country might be proud.

And yet we must not forget that the pre-university days were not devoid of high culture. Calcutta and Bombay, and also I have no doubt Madras, could boast of many eminent scholars and public men before the charters laying the foundation of the first three Universities were granted by the Crown. In fact some old 'fogies' like the present speaker, believed, and still believe, that the last sixty years, in spite of rapid, and what may be called enforced progress, have not so far produced men to match the eminent men of pre-university days. It is claimed that Ram Mohan Roy, his son the first Indian Judge of the High Court, Dwarka Nath Mitter, Mookerjee, the founder of the *Hindu Patriot*, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Ishwar Chandar Vidyasagar, Krishto Das Pal, Shambhu Charan Mookherjea and others have not been matched since. The same is alleged about some of the eminent men of pre-university days in Bombay like Ranade, Telang, Bhanderkar and others.

Be this as it may, there is not the least doubt that the three older Universities, and the two chartered later, have revolutionized India. The good they have done is incalculable, and if we Indians look upon the matter soberly and without prejudice, we cannot help being filled with wonder that these institutions should have been imported into our country by an alien race of rulers, who had little to gain and, if they took a selfish view of the matter, much to lose by their liberality. The Germans certainly would never have done such a thing. It is well known that they laugh at the liberal policy of the British and look upon it as suicidal. So much the better; our rulers have had their reward. It is due to this noble liberality that, upsetting all the calculations of the enemy, India to a man has come forward to offer her loyal devotion to Great Britain in her hour of need; and with the exception of a few misguided men, probably won over by German emissaries and German gold, not a single soul from one end of the country to the other has betrayed signs of disloyalty or rebellion. This splendid loyalty is due, I say without fear of contradiction, to our Universities, and to other civilizing influences introduced by our rulers. These influences have, on the one hand, uplifted the standard both of morality and of intelligence, and raised the level of national character, while, on the other hand, they have given birth to high political aspirations and taught the people legitimate methods of seeking for their attainment.

But, unfortunately, after all is said and done, there is no unmixed good in the world as there is no unmixed evil. Incalculable as are the benefits conferred on us by the Universities, they have brought in their train evils which all thoughtful men are begining to see and are doing their utmost to remedy. For years since their foundation, the Indian Universities were merely examining and not teaching bodies, in which the personal influence of the professors counted for nothing. The personal influence of a man like the famous D. L. Richardson did more for Calcutta

in pre-university days than the personal influence of any professor that I can recall in my own undergraduate days. The reason is not far to seek. The passing of examinations was the goal, the final end and aim of education, and nothing else was considered to be of any value. As might have been expected, the result was widespread harm both to body and mind. From the colleges recognized by the Universities down to the schools of varying grades which served as feeders to the colleges, cramming was the dominant master whose behests none but a few daring spirits were at liberty to dispute. This way of acquiring knowledge evidently prevailed all over the world at one time, since a German physician of the name of Treichler I remember, was one of the first in the late eighties to raise his voice against it and to sound a note of warning. He asserted that habitual headache had increased among both boys and girls, that their headache not only destroyed much of the happiness and cheerfulness of life, but that it produced impoverishment of blood and loss of intellectual tone, and reduced many a highly gifted soul to the level of a discontented drudge. I will not cite all the counts in his indictment which are numerous and possibly a little exaggerated, but he comes to the conclusion that overwork frustrates the real objects of education, namely, mental discipline and the creation of a desire for the continuous cultivation of the mind.

There was a time not very long ago when the lower classes of primary and secondary schools used to be crammed, and they are now for all I know, with boys of a very tender age who had to begin their drudgery thus early in life in order to be able to go up for their Matriculation Examination at the age of 16 or 17. In the course of eight or ten years of their school life, they had to become acquainted with the elementary branches of knowledge such as Arithmetic, Geometry, History and Geography, through the medium of a difficult foreign tongue. This compulsory grinding kept them so busy both at home and during school hours that they had no time to devote to their own mother tongue, their religion, their manners and customs, their national traditions, or the endless stories out of their mythology or anecdotes of prophets, saints and sages such as in Indian domestic life used to be imparted to the children by their parents and elders. These factors, trivial as they may seem to some of us now, are assets of immense value in the formation of national character.

The evils resulting from such a deficient education are manifold, one of them being the evolution of a hybrid generation of youths who mimic western ways and manners, trample on things held sacred by their elders, and ridicule their own time-honoured traditions and customs. They cannot write their own mother tongue correctly or with elegance, while with English they have a very superficial acquaintance. Their brains, moreover, not having been allowed to lie fallow during the first eight or ten

years of their lives, and develop freely, their intellectual powers become cramped and stunted, and their health suffers. Most of our village elders, Patels, Patwaries and farmers of the old type, compare favourably with the common product of our schools; they show more self-respect and respect for others, more solidarity of character and a better knowledge of the world, of their own narrow world if you like, but a better knowledge.

Allow me moreover to call attention to the fact that in spite of years of unwholesome drudgery in our high schools, many of the pupils who go in for a University career, carry with them such an imperfect knowledge of English that almost the whole of their first year is spent in trying to understand the spoken words of their English lecturers. Then there is always a large percentage of failures at the final examination, and even of those who succeed not more than four or five per cent are able to make their way in the learned professions; while the great majority have to be content with earning a bare subsistence as teachers in schools or clerks in offices on ridiculously small salaries.

But why in the name of commonsense, it may be asked, should every young man who can pass the preliminary test, or secure a good School-Leaving Certificate, enter on a University career adapted only for those who wish to follow one of the learned professions including Government service, or who are in a position to look forward to a life of leisure among their books, or in learned research? There are hundreds of our youths whose scanty resources would be better employed in working their way into some one or other of the many vocations which need only ordinary literacy combined with hard work and perseverance, to ensure success. The fact however is that neither Government nor private enterprise has yet, to any appreciable extent, attempted to open the way to those minor trades and professions which are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance to our national well-being.

The evils to which I have ventured to direct attention were at one time prevalent in our schools and colleges, and they are not all swept away yet in spite of the wholesome reforms both in university and school education that have been carried out of late. The rules recently enforced in this Presidency for the conduct of primary and secondary schools are admirable, and in the hands of earnest and competent inspectors and school teachers they ought to prove of the greatest benefit to the people. In my humble opinion, this is one of the most important reforms introduced since the foundation of the University and one calculated to cure many evils.

The primary schools with which we were content until recently, did not compare favourably with indigenous, essentially democratic system of education, prevalent in India from time immemorial. I need hardly remind the audience that every village of any importance had its own *patshala* kept up by the

people themselves, without State aid or State interference, in which reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught in a very efficient manner and where always the strictest discipline was maintained, which no doubt went a considerable way towards the formation of character. Mental arithmetic was carried to perfection in those schools, and village elders still laugh at the pupils of Government Schools who cannot do an ordinary sum without the help of slate and pencil. The Muslim colonists introduced *maktabs* almost on the same model as the Hindoo *patshalas*, only here the writing was done in pen and ink on small wooden boards and finally on paper, instead of on the ground or on palm-leaves, and more reading and writing was done than arithmetic. The discipline, however, was even severer than in the *patshala*, and was sometimes carried to the verge of cruelty. But the pupils submitted cheerfully to their masters who were never interfered with by the parents. I know a high-born Muslim landholder who used to point out with pride the mark he carried on his body of the severity of his teacher, when as a boy he sat in the *maktab* with other boys of his time. But my point is that both the *patshalas* and *maktabs* produced much better results than the Primary schools of British India until these recent reforms the results of which have yet to be seen.

For higher education were provided seats of learning famous all over India, to which pupils flocked from all parts of the country and out of their own free will, without compulsion, spent years of hard work coupled with privation in order to carry away with them some of that wealth of learning which was imparted gratuitously to all comers without a farthing of fee. High and much prized academical titles were conferred at these centres of learning on deserving pupils without intervention of the bugbear of public examinations. At Benares, (Kashi) Bikrampore, Nuddea, Madura and other centres such schools of high erudition existed from time immemorial. Nor were the Muslims behind-hand in this respect. They had similar seats of learning scattered all over the country, such as Gopamow, Khyrabad, Bilgram, Lucknow, Rampur, Jaunpur, Deobund, and other towns in what are called the United Provinces now. Some of these centres specialized in Logic and Metaphysics, others in Literature, others again in Divinity and Muslim Jurisprudence and so forth. To these Muslim seats of learning students flocked from all parts of India, Afghanistan and even Bokhara. The well-to-do residents of the towns thought it their religious duty to shelter these pilgrims of knowledge, each according to the accommodation at his disposal, and provide them with their daily bread, which was often nothing more than the barest sustenance. The life of hard study, privation and self-repression that they led stood them in good stead afterwards when they came to take their share in the battle of life, and many attained to positions of eminence and renown. I have had the honour of being acquainted in the old days with Hindoo and Muslim gentlemen of this

type of whom any country might justly be proud—men who owed their success in life solely to the strict discipline through which they had passed and to the thoroughness of their oriental education. Those days are I believe gone never to return. We live in a changed, perhaps in many respects, a better world. Our needs now are different. Still, I venture to maintain that a combination of modern European with our own old and venerable learning would be the most perfect, the ideal culture for an Indian; just as profound Greek and Latin scholarship combined with modern learning was until lately the ideal culture in Europe, and is still held in high esteem.

But long years, passed under the influence of the old examining Universities, when cramming the contents of the so-called 'Notes' and 'Keys' to text-books was everything, and the personal influence and guidance of professors and teachers counted for nothing, have made us forget the esteem and honour in which a teacher was held in the old days. It has made us forget how proud we were to submit to his control even when his severity was carried to the verge of cruelty. We have forgotten how strenuous and self denying were the years which those of our countrymen who aspired to high erudition had to pass at the feet of renowned Pundits and Moulvies far away from their homes and their people. In one word we have ceased to appreciate the value of discipline and self-denial and the duty of submitting to the guidance of our teachers, while behaving towards them with the almost idolatrous reverence and respect enjoined on us by immemorial custom. We older people hear now and again with shame and regret of the outbreak of a rebellious spirit among students in colleges and schools in different parts of India, and we wonder in our own minds if there is going to be an end to all real education.

The reason for such unfortunate occurrences is not far to seek. The growing laxity of home discipline is to some extent responsible for it, but it is mostly due to racial prejudice combined with perverted ideas of liberty imbibed by our youths in their superficial contact with western civilization. In refusing, however, to submit to the rules of conduct laid down by their teachers, they forget how strict and imperious is the discipline of schools in England and still more in our own indigenous, national institutions. They forget that true liberty is as far removed from license as heaven from earth or virtue from vice, and is only to be attained by willing obedience to law written and unwritten—the written law of the land we live in, and the unwritten law of honour and morality imposed on us by our conscience. The state of mind which enables us to submit cheerfully to these limitations when grown up, is the outcome of early training and discipline at home and in schools. But we must remember that the world is a much harder task-master and those who rebel against such discipline when young, have often to pay much more galling penalties afterwards and endure greater hardships than home or school

discipline could impose on them.

On these and other considerations I have arrived at certain conclusions which I now venture to submit for the approval or condemnation of my hearers.

To begin with, children up to the age of ten should, in my humble opinion, have no tasks assigned them which they must carry out whether they will it or no, under penalties of one kind or another. Their brains should be allowed to lie fallow and left free to grow and develop in a healthy, natural way. During these tender years a good deal of useful information can be imparted to children orally, and without much exertion, if parents and teachers will only take the trouble. On the moral and religious side they should be taught the value of truth in a practical way so that nothing now or in later life will induce them to tell a lie. As lying is the root of all evil so is truthfulness the root of all good in a man, and the foundation of a high personal character. The principles and traditions of their national religion, whatever that may be, should be imparted to them together with stories and anecdotes of their prophets, saints and rishies, such as are to be found in all nationalities, and they should be enjoined faithfully to perform all the simpler and more binding rites prescribed by their religion. On the secular side they should be taught their mother tongue thoroughly and well. If only the proper method is employed, children can be induced to learn simple reading and writing in no time without resorting to processes of compulsion that have to be adopted in schools, *maktabs* and *patshalas*. The more elaborate and scholarly knowledge will come afterwards when the time arrives for school work. Physical training should also go hand in hand with moral, religious and secular training. I attach the greatest importance to physical training because it helps to produce manliness and self-respect, and as a consequence, self-control, in later and maturer life. A young man who feels that he can defend himself against uncalled for assault or wanton insult, will always respect himself and others and never lose his temper.

Boys and girls who have been brought up in this way will learn English much quicker, and in a much shorter time, than those who undergo the drudgery of school education from a very tender age, and will enjoy much better health. I would also urge all Indian youths to acquire a sound knowledge of their own classics before they begin English. I have known young men who did so take their bachelor's degree in seven years instead of fourteen or fifteen, and stand high in the First division in this as well as in the two preliminary examinations.

A scholarly familiarity with their classics, be it Sanskrit or Arabic, gives all youths a perfect mastery over their vernaculars besides imparting to them their religious and spiritual doctrines at first hand, in all their original beauty and purity.

My address, such as it is, will not be complete without a brief reference to the more recent events of importance in the history of the University. First and foremost of all I must recall the fact that in May last the Honourable Sir John Wallis, Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, Madras, ceased to hold office as Vice-Chancellor of the University after a tenure of eight years during which he directed the operations of the University with marked ability and sound judgment. He was at the helm during the whole period of transition from the old By-laws to the new Regulations to which I shall presently draw attention, and the University could not have had a better or surer guide at this critical period of its history. He was succeeded by the Honourable Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar K. C. S. I., who has previously had intimate experience of University work for some years as a most respected and valued member of the Syndicate. To Sir Sivaswami belongs the distinction of being the only Indian Vice-Chancellor in the history of the University with the exception of Sir S. Subramanya Aiyar K. C. I. E., who held office for a few months in 1904.

Nor must I forget to mention with regret the removal by death during the year of several well-known members of the Senate, such as Mr. C. Nagoji Rau, Mr. Appa Rau, who was in his time a recognized authority in Telugu language and literature, the Rev. J. Cooling, Mr. Ganapati Aiyar, Mr. Cook for many years Principal of the Central College, Bangalore, Sultan Muhi-ud-din Khan Bahadur, a retired Presidency Magistrate, and, last but not least of all, Mr. A. Subramanya Aiyar the distinguished Professor of Mental and Moral Science in the Presidency College and Chairman of the Board of Studies in Mental and Moral science.

The changes that have taken place on the recommendation of the University Commission appointed by Lord Curzon mark an era in the history of this as well as other Indian Universities. I shall proceed now to give a brief sketch of these changes. In the year 1906, the University, newly constituted under the Universities' Act 1904, was engaged in revising its old By-laws and drafting new Regulations to take their place. The old courses and examinations were still in existence: the colleges affiliated to the University had undergone the first regular inspection by the University, and were being advised and directed as to the steps to be taken in order to provide adequately for the new conditions. At the close of that year, 1906, the Government of Madras published the new regulations of the University. The new courses of study were begun in the schools and colleges in the year 1909, the first Matriculation Examination being held under those Regulations in that year, the first Intermediate Examination in Arts superseding the old First Arts Examination, in 1911, and the higher examinations in correspondingly later years.

These reforms aimed at testing the intelligence of pupils in preference to mere memory and the exclusion of untrained private

candidates from University examinations. A further reform in this direction was inaugurated in 1910, authorizing Principals of affiliated colleges to admit holders of completed School-Leaving Certificates under the various schemes in force in Southern India. This privilege, however, it has been found necessary to curtail, and a list of Certificate-holders from among whom alone such admissions may be made, is now to be published annually by the Syndicate.

The old First Examination in Arts, called F. A., for short, has been abolished making room for the new Intermediate Examination which is, indeed, now the first, instead of being the second sifting process applied by the University to the pupils admitted to Colleges under the new Regulations. The result has been that while during the last five years of the old F. A. Examination, the number of candidates was always under 2,700, the number of candidates for the Intermediate Examination which replaces the F. A. was over 4,600 this year. The truth probably is that while the old Matriculation examination frequently debarred a large number of suitable students from the higher courses, the new system of admission to colleges under the School-Leaving Certificate scheme, has resulted in even a larger number of unfit candidates being admitted. It is however too early yet to pronounce this method of admission a failure. Let us hope that, in the hands of proper Inspectors and headmasters of schools, the scheme will come in time to adjust itself to the standard upheld by the University and satisfy its requirements.

During the last five years of the old F. A. Examination the minimum of passes was 680, and the maximum 1,087; while for the last five years of the Intermediate, the minimum was 686 and the maximum reached at the last examination, was as high as 1,241 notwithstanding the fact that there were nearly 74 per cent of failures this year!

It is interesting to compare the total number of passes in the three Universities down to the year 1915. The figure for Calcutta is approximately 30,267 of whom 17,000 were B. A's., 3,050 M. A's. 7,000 B. L's., and 1,715 graduates in Medicine and Surgery.

The total for Bombay is approximately 13,402, of whom about 7,584 were B. A's., 705 M. A's., about 2,289 LL. B's., 863 Civil Engineers, and about 1,537 graduates in Medicine and Surgery including 18 M. D's.

The total number of passes for Madras was about 19,504, of whom 14,000 were B. A's., 1,200 graduates in Pedagogy, 3,100 B. L's., and 579 graduates in Medicine and Surgery.

When we remember that the Calcutta University was for years the only chartered examining body licensed to confer degrees for the whole of Northern India including the Central Provinces, the Punjab, the North Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, besides the large province

of Burma outside Indian boundaries, the position occupied by Madras in this comparison will be easily understood, and it will be seen that the figure 19,504 of Madras does not compare unfavourably with the 80,267 of Calcutta.

In the higher examinations there have been no very radical changes, except that the students are now allowed to specialize earlier than before and the study of oriental classics on western lines is encouraged which, every right-thinking man will grant, is a move in the right direction.

In the year 1910 the University finally adopted Regulations which had been long under consideration instituting courses and examinations in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, entitling the successful candidates to oriental titles of fairly high standing. So far however this laudable scheme for the encouragement of oriental scholarship has been a failure, especially among the Muslim inhabitants of this Presidency.

Another very important step in advance is the appointment of University Professors. Three such appointments have been made up-to-date—Professor of Indian Economics, Professor of Indian History and Archæology and Professor of Comparative Philology with special reference to Sanskrit. A fourth professorship, that of Dravidian Philology, has yet to be filled up.

These professorships will no doubt prove a great help to those engaged in post-graduate courses, and will encourage self-study and research.

All these reforms however are mainly academical. They mark, no doubt, a considerable step in advance, and will serve to increase the number of students who receive the hall-mark of the University every year, and very probably that hall-mark will be of greater intrinsic value than before. But does this satisfy all our needs? I am afraid many will answer this question in the negative, since the one item most important to the growth of a healthy mind is altogether left out of practical consideration—I mean the personal influence of teachers and the environment and atmosphere in which students spend their undergraduate days. I consider these of more importance than mere academical success in the growth and upward advance of a people. And these advantages can only be secured by the establishment of a number of properly equipped residential Universities on the model of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge of the old days. To allay the fears of those who think such Universities would limit the range of higher education in India, let the present Universities continue to exist and do their work, they cannot harm the others or interfere with their success.

The Hindoos have inaugurated a University of their own under the happiest auspices at their ancient seat of learning and their most sacred city, Benares. We all hope and trust that the Hindoo University will be a signal success and remedy some of the older

Universities founded by Government. Mysore, which among Indian principalities takes the lead in every direction, has established a local University which promises well. Other enlightened Indian States will, no doubt, follow the lead of Mysore in course of time. Let us hope that the long talked of Muslim University at Aligarh will sooner or later come into existence. These are promising signs of the times and encourage one to hope that the country will before long be strewn with residential Universities which will, in course of time, not far distant, raise India to the level of the leading nations of the world. But this hope will only be realized if our indigenous Universities will set up a high standard of culture and scholarship and resist the temptation of spreading a spurious education by cheapening their degrees.

And now Ladies and Gentlemen, with your kind permission I will say a few words regarding a topic which, at this moment, engrosses the anxious attention of every thinking man or woman all over the world. I mean the life and death struggle that has been going on for the last two years in Europe. You will perhaps ask : what has education to do with the War ? I hold that education has everything to do with it. The kind of education dispensed in all civilized countries except one, the education to which we are accustomed in India, the education imparted in schools and colleges and Universities in England, France, America and other civilized countries teaches mankind, above all things, the value of Truth, Justice, Mercy, personal and national freedom, in short all the characteristics which distinguish us from wild beasts. In Germany however it has a different function. There it teaches men to set at naught these moral values and aim solely and at whatever cost, at the acquisition of power—the *summum bonum* of all human endeavours. This astounding doctrine which had its birth in the brain of Nietzsche, has permeated all Germany ; and great German leaders like Bernhardi, Trietzsche and others are its ardent and unscrupulous adherents. The civil population has, as a result, been reduced to the condition of moral serfdom, and any one who dares to raise his voice in protest against the violation of moral law has to face degradation and death. We thus see how, saturated with such an atrocious doctrine, the Germans have in this war trampled under foot all obligations, moral and national, which the world was accustomed to hold sacred. We see how, in the pursuit of their long cherished ambition of dominating Europe, and securing the command of sea and land all over the world, they have not scrupled to commit the most inhuman atrocities on innocent men, women and children. They have invented endless lies whenever it suited their purpose. They have destroyed undefended towns and places of worship, burnt valuable libraries and famous works of art, and have driven their coach and four through international compacts to which they were themselves solemnly pledged. The atrocities of the wild hordes of Tartars, under Hulaku Khan and others, were as nothing compared with the deliberate crimes committed in the

name of civilization by those who, of all people in the world, were once supposed to have reached the highest pinnacle of culture and refinement.

Now I beg my countrymen, in all seriousness, to think and realize what would be the fate of our coast towns and cities from Karachi to Calcutta, our trade and commerce, our exports and imports, if the British Navy was not strong enough to prevent German Dreadnoughts, destroyers and submarines entering our seas and doing their will without let or hindrance, let alone the chance of their invading the interior, and carrying fire and sword throughout our peaceful and prosperous country.

We have not forgotten what havoc one solitary *Emden* was able to commit among our shipping. Why, even this great town, Madras, if I am not mistaken, still retains evidences of the damage that could be done by a single adventurer of that type. What then if some dozen *Emdens* were let loose on our waters? If, therefore, there is anything like gratitude in the world, in our world, should we not be grateful for the security we enjoy? And if we realize the magnitude and importance of this boon, is it not our duty, I say, the duty of each one of us, to give up for a short time some of the luxuries he enjoys and contribute voluntarily and without compulsion anything he can spare towards the expenses of the navy? I am not insisting now on the sentiment of loyalty or our duty to the State: of these let each one form his own estimate and follow any line of conduct his conscience may dictate. I am only concerned at the present moment with the bounden duty, the noble duty of gratitude, gratitude for being saved from overwhelming disaster such as would inevitably overtake us but for the protection afforded by a powerful Navy towards the up-keep of which our country contributes little or nothing at all. I do not deny, nay, I repeat it with pride, that India has played a noble part in coming to the help of Great Britain in this unjust war; and even this portion of India, I mean Madras, has contributed liberally towards the up-keep of a Hospital Ship and other expenses. I only say this is not enough. It may not be out of place to remind those for whom this appeal is intended that the cost of the war is said to be something like six million pounds sterling per diem, in other words nine crores of rupees in British currency, and that the approximate cost of the Navy before the war was nearly sixty million pounds per annum. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and even the small colonies of Hongkong and Strait Settlements have raised large sums of money to help in this war, while we have only raised some four or five millions sterling, and that not as a War Loan but for domestic purposes. I will say no more gentlemen, but will leave it to your own good sense and good feeling to deal with the matter as you like.

Not to trespass any longer on the patience of my hearers I will now close my discourse with a few words of advice to the

fortunate young men who have received the hall-mark of the University today.

My young friends! Remember that you are leaving the University now to seek admission into another and a wider and more strenuous University, far less indulgent to faults and failings, and far more prompt to enforce discipline on all who venture to enter its precincts. But if you will remember the solemn promises you have made today and endeavour throughout your lives to carry them out, you shall have nothing to fear. Whatever your sphere of life, be it by your own choice or by the force of circumstances, if you have courage and manliness at your back, if you have "Self-reverence, Self-knowledge, Self-control" for your guides, all will be well with you. Remember God and do your duty without fear or favour. What is enforced as an obligation on the true monotheist, the firm believer in one God, in the following beautiful Persian verses is intended to apply to all the moral obligations of humanity.

موحد چہ در پائے ریزی زرش چہ شمشیر ہندی نہی بر سرش

امید و حرا سش نبا شد ز کش ہمین است فرمان توحید و بس

which translated freely means 'The firm believer in one God whether you pour streams of gold at his feet or hold a naked Indian sword over his head, nothing shall either tempt or intimidate him. Such is the sole dictate of firm belief in one God.'

The fields of activity open to you all are many and various, but let it be throughout life your endeavour to raise yourselves and those under your influence to a higher and ever higher level as long as you live. Remember and make your own the stirring words of an American Poet:—

Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past.
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven by a dome more vast;
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thy out-grown shell by life's unresting sea.

A liberal education such as the University has imparted to you naturally gives rise to many political aspirations among others, for which no one can blame you. But do not waste your own time and that of others in crying for the moon. All political development is gradual and evolutionary, and the ultimate goal, no doubt, is Self-Government in some form or other—for us Self-Government on colonial lines. In the course of historical evolution the time will come when our rulers will not be able, in all

fairness and justice, to withhold this boon from us. But it is, in my humble opinion, an utter waste of time and energy to agitate for it when a hundred and one obstacles, arising out of our own deficiencies, place it outside the sphere of practical politics. The time and energy so wasted would be much better employed if each generation of educated youths amongst us were to devote themselves heart and soul to the one task of endeavouring to bring that much coveted prize nearer our grasp. The moral, intellectual and social level not of a few fortunate individuals, but of the great majority, if not the entire nation, must be raised higher and higher until the goal is brought within our ken. Until that fortunate day arrives, it is futile to agitate and clamour, and waste time and money over such hopeless pursuits. I admit that, barring such waste, no real harm is done, at any rate in your part of India, by the agitation which, after all, only gives vent to the pent-up energies of a few enthusiastic souls : but unfortunately many of your youths are tempted to take part in it whose time and energies would be better employed in fitting themselves for the boon some day instead of joining their elders in clamouring for it now.

Farewell my young Friends ! and God be with you. Be true to yourselves, to your king and country, and never forget the obligations which the solemn ceremonies of this important day impose on you for life. Again farewell.

POEMS

Uncertain Harmonies

There is a charm that silence wields
  In sylvan solitudes,
Where twilight dwells enthroned in leafy bowers,
And blossoms drop like dew in golden showers,
  A music that preludes
Sweet songs, perchance rehearsed in fair Elysian fields.

By far off sweeps of yonder stream
  And reaches verdurous,
Where trees foregather round a pool embayed,
While at their feet is oft a breeze delayed
  For frolics venturous
In the cool depth below where shadows lie and dream.

Or in some Himalayan grove
  Of redolent deodàr,
And gnarled oak and rhododendron red,
With tawny moss and fern well garmented,
  While marshalled not afar
Watch veteran peaks of snow that seem to live and move.

And on the velvet, piled beneath
  By many an autumn's spoil.
Empurpled shadows glancing to and fro
Hold in the glinting sun a fairy show,
  Wherein a living coil
Of teeming gems is disentangled on the heath.

Here haply once a Rishi dwelt
  Favoured of mighty Brahm,
Close comrade long of rock, and snow and storm,
Familiar friend of every forest form,
  In contemplation calm
Of God's pervading sense in all he saw or felt.

And haply many an autumn night
  Ere winter storms began,
Behind yon copse he watched the eastern skies,
And darkling saw the lambent planet rise,
  Beheld her fingers wan
Transfuse a dismal world with circumambient light.

Or where in faint remembrance of
A half forgotten dream,
With borrowed blooms and skill of light and shade
Man has, perchance, a feigned Eden made
By some still lake or stream,
Where spring may dwell a passing day and waste his love.

Here in such spots of God's fair earth
Away from jarring strife,
Some favoured soul, though prisoned, still may hear
Faint far off echoes of another sphere
Where spirits sing of life
Informed with love divine of pure celestial birth.

As erst the Broad-browed Grecian knew;
Of he that heard the stars
Sing like an angel, in their orbits dim
"Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubim;"
Or the blind bard of Mars;
Or Nature's pontiff priest who wore the laurelled brow.

These heard it—these and other seers
And singers of all time,
And steeped their souls in harmony divine,
And drinking deep of that ethereal wine
Broke forth in strains sublime
Of prayer or praise or love to bless unending years.

It hath uncertain harmonies
Tuned to the listner's mood:
Now sad as is the sight of dying wave,
And now with joy's omnipotence to save
Despairing souls that brood
In darkening hours of life o'er Fate's funereal seas.

April in Upper India

1

The west wind moaned among the trees,
  The sad leaves shook and fell,
The distant murmur of the bees
  Came faintly down the dell.
Love lay among his wasted flowers;
  Love sighed and sang—"the day is long;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

2

The dapple shadow of the leaves
  Lay trembling on the grass;
Upon the yellow stacked sheaves
  There watched nor lad nor lass.
Love strayed among his fallen bowers;
  Love moaned and sang—"the day is long;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

3

Lazily sped the long hot day,
  The dust was in the wind;
Beyond, the burning breath of May;
  The sweets of March behind:
Love grew aweary of the hours;
  Love pined and sang—"the day is long;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

4

The fierce sun shimmered on the land,
  The birds their nests forsook;
The hot wind quivered on the sand
  That marged the dying brook.
Love languished vainly for his mate;
  Love sighed and sang—"the day is long;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

5

His mate came with the brief springtide,
With springtide she was gone,
His mate came home when far and wide
The sweets of March were strewn ;
But now the land lay desolate ;
Love moaned and sang—" the day is long ;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

6

Fair *Jamuna* ! thy limpid plain
Where laved the village maids
Of *Brij* (whose graments once their swain
Purloined)—lay in braids
Of glist'ning sand, and feath'ry reeds ;
Love sighed and sang—" the day is long ;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

7

The *lala** stalks lay sere and wan,
And woeful blew the breeze ;
And bloomless drooped the *nafarman*,†
And cheerless stood the trees.
Love sickened with the day's long pains ;
Love sang—" the day is very long ;"
Time laughed and would not hear the song.

---

* Poppy † Larkspur

Old Year

Year ! old year ! fast fading year !
Hast thou no word to say, no dying word,
Between the gloaming and the gloom
Of thy sad doom ?
Or is the poor, frail, failing voice unheard,
Unseen the wan, weak tear ?
Year ! old year !

Year ! old year ! fast fading year !
Eternity was once in fierce travail,
And Fate of all things most forlorn
Ere time was born :
Did not her primal agonised wail
Pierce thine unborn ear ?
Year ! old year !

Year ! old year ! fast fading year !
When from the shoreless sea rolled one more wave
World-ward, and the Lord knew'twas thou,
Upon thy brow,
Scrawled He the gaunt old legend of the grave,
In foam-flakes dank and drear ?
Year ! old year !

Year ! old year ! fast fading year !
Was thy last sun not pale for pity's sake
Or love's ? Nay ! gliding otherwhere,
O'er marsh or mere,
Glanced he not back upon his wasteful wake,
Or shed a wistful tear ?
Year ! old year !

Year ! old year ! poor, lost old year !
Thy knell is tolling now ; the tale is told
Of thy brief days ; thy life is done
With scarce goal won :
Time claims his dead, and lays thee stark and cold
Upon his misty bier,
Year ! old year !

Year ! old year ! poor dead old year !
Thy face was comely once, thy voice once sweet.
To hear, and once athwart thy brow,
Not dark as now,
Shone glow-worm gleams of hope, some flashes fleet
Of joy that came not near !
Year ! old year !

Nay, what was thy message, year ?
Of old leaves withered, or of new loves gone ?
Of joy that will not tarry long ?
Or of sweet song
Silenced ere half the singing time is done ?
Or of dead hope and sere ?
Year ! old year !

Yea, thy fruit, thou sped old year,
Was dead-sea fruit sprung of salt ooze, and fed
On bitter gall and bitt'rer rue ;
Whereof the hue
Was death ; whereof the taste was molten lead,
Cold ash, or frozen tear.
Year ! old year !

Butterfly and Moth

A pansy-pinioned butterfly,
Flitting from rose to mignonette,
Espied a moth on wings to hie
To where an open casement met
The dusking day with timid light,
That ev'ry minute grew more bright.

Said butterfly in moth in jest,
"What wings you, cousin, on your way?
The sun is all but gone to rest:
They tarry now who tarry may,
For flowers here are sweet to see,
And sweeter still for company."

But here the busy trifler spied,
Ere half his jesting speech was done,
A tall white lily by the side
Of a steep bank that kissed the sun;
And flitted forth incontinent,
On ever-changing pleasure bent.

The moth scarce seemed to heed the song,
But sped demurely on his way,
As one impelled by purpose strong
Whom way-side trifles might not stay;
Till past the curtained casement frame,
With deathless love he fed the flame.

But ere his life was half consumed,
I seemed to hear some murmuring,
As of a soul to silence doomed
(Though Death for him was reft of sting)
Who still would voice his inmost pain,
And would not make his passion vain.

That sweet sad wail no mortal ear,
Though kindred passion give it name,
May in the body ever hear,
For singeing wing and hissing frame—
Burnt-offerings of steadfast love
On the high altar reared above.

With inward sense he sees the light,
He feels it in his inmost soul:
He finds it fair, he knows it bright:
He seeks it for his destined goal:
Welcome to him the chastening fire,
For love is one with love's desire.

Shall love at love's hand seek for good
Alone—soft sun-shine and sweet shade;
And way-side blooms; and blithe abode
In yonder smiling valley-glade;
Smooth paths that will caress the feet;
Sweet wines to drink, sweet food to eat?

Shall love at love's hand wince or cry,
If e'er frosts sting, or hot suns smite;
And bitter tears that bite the eye
Well up unbid; and aches that write
Strange wrinkles on the anguished heart,
Swart galley-marks that ne'er depart?

Go to! thy creed is wearisome.
Nay! may not love once smite for love?
Is travail vain? Do trials come
In wrath alone? Nay! up above,
Thy fire and light, thy wrath and ruth,
Are witnesses of one same truth.

Say which slays soonest—light or fire,
The sun speeds swiftest or the day?
Why needs the fearless heart enquire
If wrath may quicken, ruth may slay,
When faith and hope are given to love,
And all consecrated above?

A voice calls! and the exiled soul
Rejoicing, answers back—"I come!"
What boots it how the goal is won,
The way was long and wearisome,
The way was long, and bleak and strait,
And 'twas an agony to wait.

An unsung Idyll in his life,
The little fragile moth reveals,
The primal lay of mortal strife
To win the light that death conceals:
And dying thus he leaves behind,
A burning message for his kind.

Song

O ! sweet was love and sweet desire,
And love's young blood was all a-fire,
And *is* knew not the dread to *be*,
When last my love came home to me.

The sun was sifted mellow in
The casement starred with jessamine,
And on the glass-pane buzzed the bee,
When last my love came home to me.

And roses red as martyr-wound,
Were on the trellis-shed festooned ;
Blue-bells hung from every tree,
When last my love came home to me.

And larkspurs on the way-side grew,
And poppies pearled with silver dew,
Pink passions made them flowers three,
When last my love came home to me.

I took from love close kisses three,
One kiss for love and one for thee,
And one for way-side company,
When last my love came home to me.

I took from love close kisses seven,
Some were for Hell, and some for Heaven,
And some for the thing that was to be,
When last my love came home to me.

Love's Sadness

There is in love a gentle sadness
Which only lovers know,
A sorrow much akin to gladness
In its supernal glow.

True love is truly complemental
Completing soul to soul,
And so the sepal and the petal
Of flowers make the whole.

But still in giving all it giveth
The heart is not content,
For love's a trade that ever thriveth
On lavish gifts intent.

Beside the meed of love it needeth,
Its own great gifts untold
The heart that loveth no more heedeth
Than dross to purest gold.

It giveth all its wealth of feeling,
All that it has and more,
Never stinting, naught concealing,
Yet oweth as before.

Thereof is born a gentle sadness
Not deepened into pain,
A sorrow much akin to gladness
Like sunshine blurred with rain.

Song

Linger, linger, happy hour
When my love is nigh,
When my love is far away
Fly ! fly !

When my love is in my arms
Sing merrily lark and thrush,
But when in the arms of sleep
Hush ! Hush !

Spring and sunshine fill my days
When my love is near,
When my love is gone away
Winter drear.

Blithe my heart in shine and shower
As the day is long,
When her smile I see and hear
Her song.

Live we while our lives are ours,
Love we while we may,
Life to death, my sweet ! is but
A day.

Live no laughless day, my love !
Live no loveless hour,
Weep no tears in shine, my love !
Or shower.

Triplets

Even as the flowers are, so art thou,
  Bright and sweet and joyous,
Maiden of the sunny brow!

Even as the morn is, so art thou,
  Fresh is the virgin dew
Upon thy golden brow.

Even as the stars are, so art thou,
  The poetry of heaven is
Under thy arched brow.

Even as the soul is, so art thou,
  And love and life and light
Are circled round thy brow.

Green bank of grass and maiden hair
  Wound round a purling brook
In summer, 'tis passing fair:

Where roses climb half way
  To trellised jessamine,
Soothing the sultry day;

And showered blooms of *Vakul** spread
  Beneath, and yellow *Champa*,†
Blithe Spring's own bridal bed,

'Tis ever sweet; but sweeter thou
  And fairer, aye, and rarer,
Maiden of the golden brow!

Do I love thee? Ask not again:
  The stars above thee answer yes,
And the flowerful plain.

---

* Mimusops Elengi (Hindi Naulsiri). † Michelia Champaca.

Song

I met love walking on the heath
Wearily,
His foot was swart with clotted gore
From stinging weeds beneath:
And walking he made moan,
Ah me!

And when he clomb upon the hill
Wearily,
The wild wind smote him on the mouth,
And his sore heart was chill.
He was alone, alone,
Ah me!

He stood and looked at the cold, cold sea
Wearily,
The sea will kiss the rock, he said,
But it will kiss not me.
Alas! so fair, so far!
Ah me!

At nightfall when he groped about
Wearily!
The shingle bruised his hand and knee:
And in his heart was doubt,
And in the heaven no star,
Ah me!

A Dream of Youth

Methought I dreamt a dream,
  Delicious, sense-enthralling,
That one, forsooth may deem
  Was come of Heaven's own calling.

The joys of life were there,
  Such joys as never pall,
And all of earth of air
  Seemed beautiful withal.

The joy that beamed within me
  Shone mirrored all about,
And my notes of ecstacy
  Were echoed with a shout.

Each phase of smiling nature
  To me was full of glee:
With every living creature
  My heart had sympathy.

Each tiny little flower
  In garden, sward or heath,
Aye! every blade of clover
  With nought but joy did breathe.

In every rustic maiden
  I saw a thousand charms,
With homely virtues laden
  Worthy my loving arms.

And nought of vice or failing
  Peopled my vision world;
No sorrow, no bewailing
  Was ever seen or heard.

And "always to be blessed"
  Was not the lot of man,
For blessing I confessed
  O'erflowed our mortal span.

In such a world methought
  I lived and had my being,
Where faith was sold nor bought,
  Where seeing was believing.

And then there came a waking
My happy dream was gone;
The shadows of my making
All vanished one by one.

Alas! it was no dream
But stern reality,
The type of what I deem
Youth's ideality.

On lightning wings it came
On lightning wings 'twas gone
Youth is an empty name
The blushes of a dawn.

Fragment

Dear friend ! if we are spared a while
To wander in this vale of tears,
We'll meet again and mend the chain
Though snapped in twain by sundering years.
Once more the faded flower will smile,
The sun will haply shine again.

But if the Fates untoward prove,
And if your friend in exile die,
Pray hold excused the sorrow bruised
That far from you so cold will lie.
Ah me ! how many a longing love
Lies cold in death, its fruits refused.

Beata Victoria

Mother of men ! nay by what sweeter name
Can we invoke thee in our prayer ? For Fame
Is but a giftless almoner of thine,
Until thou fill his hand with gifts divine,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Supreme of woman-kind, supreme in all
Thy sex's highest sanctities ! No call
Of Queenly duty light or heavy-laid
Might find thy dauntless woman's heart afraid,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

All gifts were thine—all trials too that chasten,
Uplift, ennoble, for none might stay or hasten
God's hand : thine too all homely joys, and glories
Of war or peace that live in deathless stories,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Thy triumphs are all merciful : not as
Imperial Rome, oft flaunting to the gaze
Of crowds debauched with godless sights and games,
A captive nation's ills and cruel shames,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Thy casket held far other gifts than erst
Pandora's. Hers of lurid fire accurst,
But thine, Victoria ! came on angel wings
Blazoned with Heaven's own radiant quarterings,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Which of thy gifts was highest none may know :
But surely Heaven's foreknowledge would bestow
Fortitude first for hours of straitest trial,
Most nobly borne in lifelong self-denial,
Great Mother—Empress —Queen !

Wisdom came next with balanced self-control
Controlling worlds regenerate. Thy soul
Is law to souls, thy mind to other minds,
And so thy rule a mighty empire binds,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

When alien lands, not alien now, were given,
Great realms for which great kings had striven,
He gave thee Clemency—an added grace,
With equal love Who loveth every race,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Thy lieges, legions in this land and sea
Swayed by the sun in fealty to thee,
Turn them for help and succour to the west
Where faith and hope at last have found a rest,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Oh ! that my country could behold thy face
And carved brow, wherein is queenly grace
Woven with weft of many-tangled care,
Pale with high thought, but kind and debonair,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Once stood I in thy presence, even I
Thy bondman, and beheld thy majesty ;
Bent my knee in service ; heard thee speak
Kindly accents, and spoke back in rev'rence meek,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

Oh ! may thy life be long for us, great one !
And when in God's own time thy work is done,
Then may thy many-dowered mantle fall
From son to gifted son in slow recall,
Great Mother—Empress—Queen !

In Memoriam

C. K. L.

OBIIT. 16-8-94

Weep, weep poor child ! poor stricken child !
Thine eyes have need of welling tears ;
Brief months have been for thee as years :
He sleeps who late had fondly smiled,

Gazed fondly at thy up-turned face,
To read the welcome in thine eyes—
Cærulean as our summer skies,
And pure as is a thing of grace.

Aye, sleeps : and he will wake no more :
But summer skies will still be clear :
And when the rain comes in mid-year,
Brooks will run and torrents roar :

Between the tombstones grass will grow,
Flowers in fields and thriving corn ;
And trees late of their brav'ry shorn
By autumn, make a braver show :

Many a moon will wax and wane,
And thou wilt mark her fickle race ;
But he that sleeps with tranquil face,
Will not, can not wake again.

Call him fond names by love held dear ;
Put thy heart's passion in thine eyes :
Alas ! the stricken cannot rise ;
He will not see, he will not hear.

What were his days that they should fail ?
What was thy love it should haste—
A dainty garden all laid waste
By sudden blast of sleet and hail.

A lily in the valley grew,
A pure white lily tall and fair—
A gem that grows not everywhere ;
A ray that takes not every hue.

A little lamb of speckless white
Marked by the shepherd for his own,
And petted when the day was done,
A lamb that might be lamb or sprite.

These were but yesterday. Today
I see the lily pale and sere,
I see and weep a silent tear,
For grief that will not pass away.

Was it a wolf that scared the lamb—
A grim, grey wolf with hungry maw ?
The lamb lies bleeding on the straw,
Between the stricken sire and dam.

* * *

One holds the world is all askew :
One that the fittest will survive,
None other : one that we who live
Will die. Oh God ! If these be true.

* * *

Mark yonder pile of built up fire :
Nay, stray not near it as you go ;
No living thing may brook its glow,
Consuming as a funeral pyre.

A little while, and fingers deft
With toil and tools of simple make
From out the flames a crucible take,
And lo ! 'tis gold that fills the reft :

Aye, yellow gold, but chastened much ;
Gold free of dross or base alloy,
Purged by a fire that might destroy
An element of flimsier touch.

* * *

Not vainly was the human soul
Made kin to sorrow from its birth,
That so its elemental worth
Be chastened for the Heavenly goal.

Is not God's pity sweet to have
And sweet to hold ! If this be so,
Then too is sorrow sweet to know,
Sweet for the spirit that is brave.

Out of the fire thy soul may rise
God-helped to purer, holier life;
And memory of a by-gone strife
Be held a portion and a prize.

God's cunning hand we cannot tell:
He has a salve for broken hearts;
And though the wounded surface smarts
In His own way He makes it well.

Peace, then my child! Nay wipe thy tears:
Listen to the Healer's voice aloft:
He speaks in accents tender-soft:
Listen, for he that hearkens hears.

In Memoriam*

I.

The sun is murky in mine eyes,
And in the stars at night
I seem to see no answering light,
I find no solace in the skies.

And though in yonder garden close
Cool March is lavish of his gifts,
He cannot fill the gaping rifts
Of grief with mignonette and rose.

March is the year's great almoner,
And pours abroad with stintless hand
His largess over field and strand
And valley-glade and mountain-spur.

But not for me his healing grace
Or quick'ning power, not for me
His lavish eleemosyn'ry,
His genial warmth or kindly face.

II.

To me his breath is arctic cold
And in his gorgeous mantles' glow
I only see the garb of woe,
I see no glitter in his gold :

I see no flower in his wake
But poppy white and immortelle,
I only hear a dying knell
Where bells are ringing for his sake.

The *Koël* with a tireless throat
Sends forth his call from copse and tree
To swell the season's minstrelsy ;
But I who once did love his note,

Welcomed this herald of our spring,
I take no pleasure in his song
Who seems to mock me all along
With his persistent twittering.

*Written on the death of Sir Sayyid Ahmad of Aligarh.

III.

The reaper reaps the yellow corn,
And fruit that weighs the laden bough
Hanging in golden clusters now,
Mellowed will fall to-morrow's morn

To greet the early-rising maid ;
And on its luscious flesh will meet
Lips that are haply full as sweet,
Of other lips as unafraid.

The golden grain is gathered in ;
The day is yellow with the gleam
Of russet straw, and on the stream
The harvest smell lies soft and clean.

And fruit in orchards weighs no more
Recumbent boughs, but rosy lips
And hands to swelling finger tips
Are purple with the life it bore.

IV.

Thus corn and fruit ; but in their seed
Lies potency to recreate
With cycling seasons soon or late
In closed grange or open mead

Of its own kind a hundred-fold ;
And ever as year follows year
The corn will ripen in the ear
And fruit will follow fruit untold.

For Nature's wealth is so conserved
That, as the seasons come and go,
In every lack and overflow
The balance just is still preserved.

She orders in her lordly way
That present failure be a pledge
Of past or future surplusage,
To prove the justice of her sway.

V.

But man, alas! man comes and goes
We know not whence, we know not where,
We only know that in the air
His last frail breath expiring flows:

We only know that earth to earth
His cherished lineaments return:
We only know from grave or urn
No response comes of grief or mirth;

No counsel for the day of fear;
No fillip for the heart that fails;
No undertone that still avails,
As erst, for solace or for cheer.

The hand, that for caress or care
Was once so apt, lies cold in death,
And in the bosom is no breath
For high resolve to do or dare.

VI.

Death plies his busy scythe unkind
Regardless of the hour of day,
And all the swathe is swept away
Nor left the faintest trace behind.

The soul will flit to other spheres
All heedless of its shell of clay—
A shell fore-doomed to swift decay—
And freely mingle with its peers.

The soul has neither kin or kith.
It leaves nor son nor seed behind,
Lone as a mountain peak enshrined
Or consecrated monolith.

Aeons may pass, the world wax wise
Or foolish, but for loss or gain
Time of the lost one will remain
Orphaned until the dead arise.

VII.

We think our thoughts but all alone;
We view the world but none the same;
We are impelled for praise or blame
Each by an impulse of his own.

We worship or deny our god
Each in his way but none alike;
The tangled roots of thought we strike
Are bedded in a diff'rent sod.

The streams of life run side by side
In countless floods, yet every stream
Preserves its native hue and gleam,
Its shoals and depths, its time and tide.

Not e'en in death alike we stand:
Some drop amid the busy throng
Like autumn fruitage mellowed long,
While some are wrenched with ruthless hand.

Green from the bough, ere summer glows
Have swelled their luscious flesh with juice,
Like as the southern oak or spruce
Might hope to thrive in polar snows.

VIII.

One gift alone is given us here—
To leave the heritage of our thought,
To leave the work our hands have wrought
As deathless heirlooms at the bier.

These will bear fruit of which the seed
Self-sown in furrows new or old
Will yield a harvest manifold
Of good or ill in thought or deed,

And be a blessing or a curse
To years and ages yet unborn,
Thus passing on their love or scorn
Before the entrance of their hearse.

Part II.

I.

Revered friend! I lay this wreath
Of way-side blossoms on your grave,
Gathered by hands unskilled to save
The upland perfume of their heath.

I lay it on your grave and pause—
For an approving look or smile,
Or grip of hand that rests awhile
On mine in silence of applause?

The look and smile have had their doom,
Like glints of sunshine on a bay
That sweeping mists might wipe away
And leave the world in sullen gloom.

The hand is gripped in grimmer hand,
And for disciples old or young
For ever silent is the tongue
That once could counsel or command.

The lines of meditation bold
That furrowed deep that massive brow
Alas! are furrowed deeper now
Into the ooze of slimy mould.

The soul that looked through thoughtful eyes—
The self-forgetting sleepless soul
That ever sought some lofty goal—
Is surely now in Paradise.

II.

When we foregathered in the fall
Of that his last completed year,
None could have guessed the end so near
Who heard him in the Council hall

Time sits not lighter on a rock
Than sat his four score years on him:
The wine not yet had touched the brim:
The hand not yet gone round the clock.

Surely, said I, another Yule
And yet another God will spare
And keep him in his kindly care,
Spare his servant yet to rule

The counsels of a sinking race :
I said : That steady hand and voice
And undimmed eye will yet rejoice
In life, nor sink to death apace.

I said : The work is incomplete !
The arch still lacks the coping stone ;
We see the basement walls alone,
Will they not crumble at our feet ?

It needs the Master's hand, I said,
His skill of hand and watchful eye
To crown it as the moments fly
With due success ere life be sped.

III.

Little knew It' was all but sped,
That ere the turning tide of March
Was spent, adown would fall the arch
Which held the bed-rock to its bed.

But he knew well the end was nigh
Who long had watched its slow approach,
Had left it day by day encroach
Content to wait without a sigh,

Content to meet his coming fate ;
Yet not without regret he died
For work unfinished by his side,
For steps arrested at the gate :

The lofty purpose of a life—
A great achievement—half achieved ;
An all but conquered quest bereaved
Of knightly prowess for the strife.

IV.

And we who live and mourn our lack,
Alas ! we live and pay in vain
The usury of long-drawn pain
To linger in his vanished track.

In vain we listen for his steps,
In vain we wait to hear him call
Some favoured name in room or hall
Of wonted frequence on his lips.

Where children crowd like clustered stars
In their accustomed field or ground,
A timid whisper passes round
" Shall he not watch our mimic wars.

Again ? His praise was ever sweet ;
He loved us with a father's love,
And if our prayers are heard above
The lawn again will press his feet."

V.

He harboured no uncomely thought
Nor aught unworthy swayed his mind ;
A lofty impulse was behind
The smallest work his fingers wrought.

His passions bound in silken thong
Obeyed him like a beardless page,
Except when fired with baresark rage
At sight or sound of human wrong.

He worked in no unwonted ways,
No trumpet blare or gonfalon
Flaunted his favoured scheme or plan
Before a crowd's uplifted gaze.

He laboured in his silent way
To lift his brethren from the slough
Wherein was sunk from stern to bow
The ship that bore their shekinah.

There were who fain would stay his hand,
Fain mar day's work in stealthy night,
Like slinking curs that shun the light
And thieve in darkness o'er the land.

VI.

Some were by envy led or hate ;
While some were purblind, could not see
Their suicidal hesitancy
Provoked destruction soon or late.

Some might not help but sting, like wasp
Or scorpion crawling on the door
Or ambushed in the matted floor
To wait a child's unheeding clasp.

And some impatient of a debt
For good conferred in hour of need,
For timely help by word or deed—
Ignoble minds that always fret.

To feel unrendered gratitude,
And fain would ease the groaning load
By wronging most where most is owed,
By haunting malice still pursued.

VII.

With daring hand he touched the loom
Of life that haply he might leave
Some brighter threads for Fate to weave
With sombre warp of human doom :

A glorious future for his race—
The lengthened shadow of their past
Transfigured on the landscape vast
Of Western culture, Western grace :

A wise acceptance of *what is*
Divorced from fainéant discontent,
And girdle girt for each event
That in the future might arise :

And faithful service toward their Queen
Rendered with free-born love and pride,
Not with the show of those that hide
Their mocking hate behind a screen.

VIII.

These were the dreams for which he lived
And died, not all unrealised,
These the achievements which he prized,
His sons and heirs that have survived.

He sought not glory or renown,
They came to him as comes the shade
Where e'er a vaulting roof is laid
On builded walls in thorp or town ;

They came to him as come they will
For one who fights a doubtful fight
With all the heart and all the might
Of one assured to conquer still.

God rest his soul! His be the meed
Of those who strive to give their kind
Their lives' best work, and leave behind
Some pregnant germs of thought and deed.

Sonnet

Of powers on earth, that make or mar man's life
Is chiefest woman. Conscience, honour, truth,
Ambition, love of peace or love of strife,
Religion, chance that comes when life is smooth
And turns its course awry, or fear of death,
Are all most potent arms of destiny;
But woman crowns them all. From her a breath,
A tone or token, touch, or glance of eye
O'ermasters all. O! Woman! thou art Fate
Without Fate's blindness. Not divine art thou,
Yet surely nearest God in form and state
Of all his works. And when He carved thy brow,
Sweet friend, and lit thine eyes with light of day
He shed on thee his most divinest ray.

Sonnet

I doubt if Heav'n has anything more fair,
Nothing on earth is half so fair as she,
Or sweet, or half so warm, or womanly.
Not in Sicilian plains, or far Cashmere,
Hesperian fields, or blue-viewed Nilgiri,
Bloomed bud, or ripened fruit of richer hue
Than on her sunny face and forehead free.
No lethal weapons in her armoury
She keeps, or barbĕd words of gall and rue;
But kindly wit, and eyes of heavenly blue
For wingéd glances; witching smiles for friends,
With many a nameless way of winning them.
On her chaste bosom glistens not a gem,
Her precious woman's heart makes rare amends.

Three Sonnets

I.

Dawn

When my Queen was first garlanded with light
Of luscious womanhood and harmony
Of soft, down curving lineaments, her eye
Yet lacked the gleam of lurking fire; the fright
Of vague desire was yet unknown delight;
And eyelids drooped not yet with hesitancy.
But when love came at last with conscious might,
She stood a goddess in her majesty.

Love came at last, the crown of all her grace
And loveliness. I knew it by the gleam
Of a strange light in her eye, and in her face
The flush as of some happy waking dream:
A most bewitching shyness came apace,
To be my agony and joy supreme.

II.

STORM

And with the dawn of love there came the time,
When lives thus intertwined are lived in fierce
Relation momently. Unskilled to pierce
The crust of strange emotion, or to climb
With scatheless steps up the huge steeps sublime
Of passion, doubts would come to us, and tears
Of jealous rage to sink us in the slime
Of dank despair, and slough of secret fears.

Not often. Love had days informed with life
Intense. World-ignorant, in sooth, we were;
Haply heart-ignorant; we dared explore
Love's utmost reaches, guideless in the strife
With new desires; nor feared to brave the stir
Of rolling waves on passion's restless shore.

III

CALM

" After a storm cometh a calm "—so says
The proverb. From the crucible of pain
Our live rose pure of dross. Melted in rain
Were now the threatening clouds of former days :
Nor did the genial sun withhold his rays.
Would we not wish to live those days again ?
I know not. Ask those wounded in forays :
" He jests at scars "- I miss the old refrain.

And yet. And yet the storm, they say, hath power
To please, and clouds a beauty of their own ;
And the wild buffeting of winds is known
To give delight to some, when storm-racks lower,
And on the wind-ward strand are foam-flakes blown
From angry surging seas in a misty shower.

A Child's first knowledge of Death

I

The haunting records of a far off clime,
Conned through the mist of years bring back to me
One dread dark night of sleepless memory,
When all the spectral silence of the time,
And strange house-noises of a ghastly chime,
And huge waves swashing on a view-less lea,
And high winds soughing in a feath'ry tree,
To my awed ears intoned a most weird rhyme.

And in a well-known bed, a well-known face
Waked not but slept, and all the house was hushed.
And through the slow-drawn horrors of the night
The dear-bought knowledge of his fallen race,
On the distraught child's throbbing fancy rushed,
With fearful sense of Death's imperious might.

II

Day dawned at length without surcease of pain
And dazed bewilderment. The child half saw,
Half guessed mysterious rites with piteous awe;
But missed their dire portent; he missed the chain
That linked events; scarce felt the primal stain
Inevitable; scarce perceived the law
That must each life in swift progression draw,
For dread fulfilment, down th'abysmal main.

That fateful day and many days thereafter,
Were blurred to the child's eye with mist of tears
Unshed, or she with ill-simulate laughter,
Lest loving hearts should guess forbidden fears.
The ache abode with knowledge half attained:
It was despair when certitude was gained.

Sonnet

(*An unhappy woman on her birthday*).

It may be six and twenty summers since
My mother's life and mine form one grew twain,
It may be more: I loath to note the train
Of rolling time. From meanest clown to prince
Of high degree the cycling years evince
Some chance or change to all—pleasure, or pain,
Joy, grief, now grief, now joy, or hope or fear,
Or love. But not for me from year to year
A change of lot or life brings this sad day.
Grief turned to stone, tears froze in polar ice,
Sighs changed to moaning echo in the vale,
Were fitter emblem than the flowers gay
And blithesome, or these other gifts of price
From faithful friends unconscious of my tale.

England and India

I

England ! 'tis meet that or for weal or woe,
In calm or storm, our chosen place should be
Where honor calls us by the side of thee,
Thy friend be friend to us, our bitt'rest foe
The trait'rous knave who schemes thy overthrow :
For like to Israel in captivity,
We once were thralls till thou didst set us free
And give us peace unknown from long ago.

Aye, peace unknown ! when we were sore bestead,
And grievous were the burdens that we bore ;
But now if peace there be and rest divine,
Good will ' tween men and peace, and all that's bred
Therof when lawless might is feared no more,
To thee we owe them all, these gifts are thine.

II

And we have shared thy travail and thy toil,
And followed thee to feast and fray, and done
Thy bidding, and our stalwart sons have gone
Death-ward for thee in many an evil broil.
And with their blood have moistened many a soil
Rearing thy dauntless banner in the sun,
And flank to flank with thee much glory won,
To thy bright crown a not unworthy foil.

Nay judge not harshly, England ! if there be
That think not coward shame to rend their troth
With treason's bodkin, an unworthy crew
Shackled in heart, though thou hast set them free,
Whose valour weareth out in wordy froth :
Forgive them all, they know not what they do.

The Realm of Woe

I

Grim sorrow hath a kingdom of her own
Begirt with weird depths of gloomy vale,
Wherein hushed voices whisper many a tale
Of wasted Hope, Ambition overthrown
Ere yet her nimble sons to fame have grown,
And Love with fruitless vigils waxen pale,
And Friendship cut in twain by hand of bale,
And Faith bewrayed, and Joy for ever flown.

Her realm is thickly ribbed with avenues strait
Of cypress tall and willows darkling seen
For dust of dead desires, and in between
Behold! funereal Death with pensive gait
Following close the sphinx-like form of Fate
To pluck her poppy blossoms from the green.

II

Oft have I travelled in that twilight land
And found it passing strange with ghostly sights,
And flittings to and fro of spectral lights,
In dark recesses of its bosky strand.
There have I seen strange figures on the sand,
And weary shadows crouching on the heights
Of haunted hills, and in the bays and bights
Have heard the boom of sobs on either hand.

No Lethe wanders in this realm of woes;
But from the eyes of such as sojourn there,
Drifted or driven like the hunted hare,
Many a bitter stream of water flows.
Though where they wend no mortal ever knows,
And yet the luckless land is never bare.

Sonnet

I stood before my buried youth and called :—
Come back ! come back ! now have I found the truth,
I've found the worth of many verdured youth
On this sad crag whereon I stand appalled
To view its barren veins and fruitage bald :
Come back my summer days ! for age uncouth
With noisome weeds has strewn the garden smooth
Where erst I held my rarest blooms unwalled.

Too late ! too late ! you reap as you have sown ;
You should have cared in spring for winter needs ;
But now is summer.waned and autumn flown,
Half hoar with early frost on upland meads ;
'Tis late to turn, my loitering friend, move on,
Nor leave behind your weary load of weeds.