

WE have always considered it desirable that those responsible for the well-being and security of India and for the conduct, happiness and dignity of Great Britain may express their views freely to us when we offer practical solutions of the vital problems in relation thereto. We shall not so much rely on our own experience and ability—however long tested they may be, and they are after all considerably disproportionate to the task we have had on hand for a quarter of a century—as on the opinion and sentiments of those who exercise or have exercised ultimate responsibilities. It is a privilege of great value to be acquainted with the results of their weighty experience; and to secure their approval is as gratifying as calculated, in a certain measure, to remove some of the difficulties in the way of bringing about an extensive and closer cordiality between India and her mother country. For the benefit of the Native Press of which we form a humble part, we may be permitted to quote a high authority on the question of what character of writings is held efficacious by those who gladly avail of our help:—"His Excellency the Viceroy is a constant and attentive reader of the native press and is always much pleased when he finds articles written with a thorough knowledge of the subject and animated with a calm, enlightened and judicial spirit." We have no doubt that though many of the native papers are not sufficiently represented in the more powerful section of the Indian Press—we refer to the Anglo-Indian—the indication above given from the highest quarter must well serve as compensation for disinterested labors and an unerring guide to those desirous of real progress in India. For a fuller statement of Lord Dufferin's views on the performance and functions of the native journals *generally*, we beg our readers attention to the letter directed by the Viceroy to be written to an up-country Press Association, and which is signed by His Excellency's very able and learned Private Secretary, Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. We cannot, however, do better than quote below the entire letter which should be permanently suspended in every native Editor's sanctum:—

"Sir,—I am directed by His Excellency the Viceroy to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your communication, forwarding the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Editors and Proprietors of the native newspapers of Lucknow on the 3rd of April 1885. The resolutions embody the determination of those concerned to discuss public matters in a moderate and judicial spirit, and to exclude from the organs they control all unverified rumours and reports.

In reply, I am to state that His Excellency recognises, with pleasure, the wise and patriotic spirit evinced on the occasion by the promoters of the meeting. Lord Dufferin is a sincere friend of the Native Press in India. He regards it as an institution essentially necessary to the well-being and progress of the nation, and as capable of rendering the greatest service both to the Government and the people. His Excellency is an attentive reader of the native journals, regarding them as the legitimate channels through which an independent native public opinion expresses the wants and wishes of the community at large. When we take into account the extent of this Peninsula, the variety of its races, languages and creeds, the complicated problems involved in its administration, and the diversity of interests with which the executive has to deal, it is evident that the energies of a ubiquitous, honest, and intelligent Press is one of the most powerful assistants the Government can possess to the proper conduct of public affairs. There is nothing, therefore, which his Excellency will always hail with great pleasure than the exhibition by the Native Press of India of that dignity, self-respect, sobriety of thought and expression, and accuracy of statement, which can alone enable it to give due weight and force to the views it advocates. The resolutions which you have just passed are a significant sign of the progress the Press of India is making in the right direction, and it is on this account that His Excellency has requested me to express in as earnest terms as I can command his appreciation of the high and worthy motives which have dictated them."

Every one in the Native Press has to understand that if we desire to render the Government more kindly and more serviceable to our numerous countrymen, we have no light responsibilities ourselves to conform to, before we could succeed in our efforts to enlighten either the government or its subject races better than hitherto. We cheerfully acknowledge the service which Lord Dufferin has done to the whole Native Press in India in advising it how to conduct itself in discharging its important functions. We desire, therefore, that the above document may form a permanent record in our country.

We may quote one more instance of our writings having attracted due attention:—

"I have long been of opinion that the time had arrived for doing something towards utilising to some extent for general purposes the Armed Forces maintained by Native Chiefs, and for regulating the strength and character of these forces. Some time ago a writer in the *Times* published a series of articles calculated to create distrust and alarm regarding these forces, and urging their reduction as a danger to the Empire. The circumstances of these State armies were put forward in a very exaggerated and incorrect form in these and other similar publications in India itself, and the effect was to cause a feeling of alarm which was not warranted by the facts."

"I am intimately acquainted with the State Forces generally, and it has been my duty to watch them and in some cases to control in a way their organization. I have always regarded the question of their strength and condition as one on which the Paramount Power ought to have a voice; but I have never shared the view that they should be wiped out and abolished. On the contrary, I have always looked forward to the time when the whole question of these State armies would be brought under a clear and well-regulated system, by which a certain

portion of each such force would be constituted a part of the General Army of India, the requisite measures being taken to ensure its fitness to form a unit of that army.

"The Mutiny of 1857, of course, rendered anything of this sort impossible for a certain period from that date, but the time in my humble judgment has now arrived when this question should be taken up. The Great Chiefs of India were formed into a Grand Council of the Empire on 1st January 1877, and this was the first step towards giving them a voice and a real interest in the Great Empire that has been built up in Hindustan. Hitherto, little further has been done in this direction, but I trust that some real progress will now be made in utilizing this movement.

"I quite see the force of and agree in your remarks as to the danger of trusting *too much* to expressions of loyalty such as those referred to by you, but everything that is reasonable and proper should be done to encourage a spirit of recognition on the part of the Chiefs and people of India that their interests *as a nation* are bound up with England, and that, while they may have grounds of complaint against the Government on some or many points, they still look to it *as the only* protector and Head that can ultimately accomplish in India what that great country requires for the prosperity and welfare of its peoples.

"I can assure you that though, alas! there are many blots on the English administration of India, there is but one desire on the part of all right-minded Englishmen, viz., to do what is *just and right for India and its people*. What is needed is calm thoughtfulness, with a full knowledge of the facts, to plan and THEN consistent and wise action with *practical* measures suited to the end aimed at, and that will gradually build up the fabric all true friends of India desire to aid in erecting. Thoughtful writers like yourself are doing much to lead public opinion in the right direction with this object, and you have my most hearty good wishes in your efforts.

"Lord Randolph Churchill is likely to work great good to India if he remain in office. Till the latter point is assured, he cannot, of course, do much."

The Anglo-Indian statesman whom we have here quoted from a valuable communication he has sent us this week, deserves our respectful and careful attention. He is pleased to say that our writings which he has read "are of the highest importance to India and the British Government; but, unhappily, the subject of them is one surrounded "with *practical* difficulties of the gravest character." We have tried to perceive these difficulties, and we are glad that our eminent friend has frankly enunciated his views how far possible it is to fortify the interests of the Indian Empire and to promote the substantial aspirations of the princes and the people,—not merely in their interests but in the interests of the British Government also. He makes a most valuable suggestion that the Grand Council of the Princes which was inaugurated in 1877 might now be fully utilized. The suggestion is identical with what we have recently solicited the Government to do, and we respectfully hope it may be attended to in season. Perhaps the Camp of Exercise to be held next cold weather may be availed of in inviting the principal Princes of India with their substantial retinues of Sirdars and forces.

The Political Agents and the Governors may also be invited to this Grand Council. In past papers we have explained how possible it is to secure great practical results from this imperial conference. We do not think that any effective action could be taken unless this universal conference is called by the Viceroy, where the measures necessary for the full defences of India by the means of naval and military forces, and the advanced strain which each province and each native state could bear both for local and imperial safety should be candidly and thoroughly discussed with all the various authorities—whether British or Feudatory—who should thenceforth be animated by the Viceroy with this leading and predominant idea, that every British and Native authority should feel for himself and for the districts he represents what is the amount and character of fighting force that he is in duty bound to furnish for local and imperial wants, how is he to organise and render it efficient so that it may be everything for the purposes of unity, and barely anything for unpatriotic or mischievous purposes. The questions relating to combinations, distributions and proportions of the various elements of strength will entirely lie for disposal in the province of the Head Government, which will also command considerations in reference to the predominant imperial bulk of fighting strength to which every subordinate army will be subject. Questions of this character are most delicate and most difficult to handle with unreserved openness. It would, therefore, be highly desirable that the ground-work for ready and smooth action in such a Council should be previously prepared. The time is come when each principal section of the body politic in India should be made acquainted with its active obligations and brought to share in the task of protecting the empire as a whole. They should be influenced by the glorious part they have to bear in it, and induced to labor and sacrifice their resources in bringing about this end. We have already lost much precious time and far more valuable opportunities. We cannot afford to lose more, for a War may come upon India any time, and the terrible, but unquestioned, duty of securing Afghanistan for India may also face us any moment. The only question which should stir every Indian patriot deeply has been and is still most alarmingly neglected by them!—23rd August, 1885.

PART III.

INDIAN VICEROYS AND GOVERNORS.

A WARM discussion is now and then carried on in India on the subject of Government in the the principal administrators migrating to the cool Hills and the Plains. hills whenever feeling uncomfortable in the low-lying plains of India. This is not the first time when objections have been started against the exodus of Viceroys, Governors, Members of Councils and other dignitaries to Simla, Ootacamund, Matheran, or Mahableschwur. Though the objections have been often started, no practical result seems to have followed. The distinguished personages have continued to enjoy the time-honoured salubrious and glorious sanitariums without being much affected by the blunt, unsympathetic arguments dashed over their well-composed heads from the sweltering plains below.

There are the theoretical and practical sides of the question, which have to be dealt with in disposing of the controversy. First take the theoretical. Any public servant—be he the Viceroy himself or any less important functionary—spoils his work, misunderstands his lieutenants, and lessens his interests and sympathies in matters affecting the people if he spends his service time far away from the localities in his charge. If his Lordship or his Honour has any right to enrol himself high up in the clouds, that right is admissible when he is very ill or finds himself depressed in spirits after much hard work. He has no right to find England in India in nine months or even four months in the year, when it is hot and miserable Indian plains, and not their delightful snow-peaked mountains, which he is bound to serve. There is some truth in this contention, but it is not free of some easy-going theory—democratic, or radical.

The other side of the question says that the highest British administrators have the hardest mental and moral work to do. The low-lying localities are directly watched by competent local officials. Their superiors have only to look into their business from a higher stand-point.

The superior minds should not be enervated by heat, bad climate, and low, confounding associations of indifferent men and things. The Viceroys and Governors are generally those who have not been acclimatized below ; their lives and health must be free of risks. The most careful and noblest expressions of policy are generated in the congenial climate of the hills, and not in the malaria and sickly heat of the lands below. This sort of plea is made up of truth, imagination, sentiment, theory, and is somewhat devoid of practical insight and sagacity.

Amidst the perplexities which this question creates one thing is certain, and that is, there would be no valid objection to a resort to the hills for two or three trying months in a year by the first-class dignitaries. The lesser ones cannot afford to go except when badly ill, or any salubrious locality is not near enough the scenes of their duty. A retreat to cooler regions is more permissible to European than to Native officials, the indulgence being regulated as above, and also dependent on the extent of furloughs enjoyed by the former. What adds to the moral and material vigour of European administrators, or really lessens their weariness and depressed sense of monotony in reference to their duties, is a clear gain to the public service. But who can deny that this generous feeling of expediency may be carried a little too far so that a belief in the necessity for extending retirements in distant hills may easily be multiplied. Especially as the European element in the Indian administration predominates, the custom of migration, when becoming unmanageable, should be held in check.

In all matters of close administration, its direction from distant hills is decidedly objectionable. A Viceroy or a Governor who has made himself personally acquainted with every district under him by close and prolonged observations can very well sketch out the condition of his kingdom, or elaborate an administrative measure on paper on the top of a charming hill, or in the bosom of a lovely valley, where the best of moral and mental faculties rise as by a touch of magic. But it is unfortunate that problems in relation to communal, national, or sectional interests often turn up which no mere sentimental fountains, however deep and pure, are capable of solving. The mere possession of mature powers of thought and feeling and perfect principles of conduct and measures is not enough for conducting the administration of a large and complicated country. The successful administrator is often a person as nimble and worn as the

cargo barque capable of traversing her own prescribed oceanic channel as many times as its business may require. In like manner a restless ruler is more a plunge-taker into any and every part of his lively dominions to acquire a searching knowledge of struggling men and things, than a frequent climber of mute Nature's glorious hills. As he cannot devise too many good measures, his bent will be to personally ascertain the feelings and wishes of the people affected by those measures, and not to move out of the centres where he can himself know them best. It is the constant moving among the various communities, and oft recurring inquiries into their condition and wants that serve to develop an administration, which is the end pursued by a thoroughly active and conscientious Governor. To him, therefore, a constant or prolonged migration to the hills is an intolerable nuisance. The normal condition of India, rather excepting that condition sectionally excited on a threadbare subject, undoubtedly demand that the governors of the country should pretty constantly move in the midst of their subjects, becoming cognizant of every popular condition and feeling, whether changing or stagnant, and frequently investigating public resources with a view to promote the amelioration of the people, whether this be possible in the beaten paths or quite outside them. It is by an administration conducted on the spot, and not from a distance, that a stronger hold can be kept on the working of the administrative details. The five years' tenure of office of a Governor or Viceroy we deem to be so short that it is one cause why frequent resorts to the hills become a necessity. A longer term will serve to bring about a better settlement of health to cope with the hard conditions of European life on the plains, while the action of European administration will be of a more abiding interest. It is at first sight singular that an indulgence allowed in the case of the highest functionary on the land, while not unfrequently resulting in the broadest benefits to the country, should, in the case of third-rate functionaries, when overstepped, end in a morbid flatulency of official action degenerating the concerned departments altogether. And yet it is the one unperceived evil blot on the administration that we have here hit.

We have only time to say that the official exodus to the hills, like many other public questions, can only be effectually regulated by constitutional progress and an efficacious division of work and responsibility as attached to the imperial exigencies of the country. The journalistic denunciations

are mere scratches over the thick crust of the time-honoured institution of flying away to the bracing hills at the first sign of official languor or inaptitude.—*6th July, 1884.*

THE phases of Indian history have taken to as constant a change as Lord Ripon's Indian career. marked in the history of Great Britain itself. It is enough if a Viceroy goes out and a new Viceroy comes in : a new page is then added to the history of the country. It cannot be maintained, as the London "Thunderer" said the other day, that our country has no history. It has a history, and a capricious history too. When a new Viceroy is reported to come out to India, he must either be the best or the worst man that can govern a large continent. As he takes time and goes on exercising his Viceroyalty, he is either a hypocrite, useless and mischievous statesman, or the very incarnation of the highest virtues of an administrator. He is either to be hooted out of India, or his name enshrined in golden statues. The whole continent may fall at his feet as soon as he places his steps on the Indian shores. The next year after that, our ears may either ring with onslaughts of rank abuses, or a deafening charms of hallelujahs. He has thrust back progress one full century, or has transported it through the future vista of a full hundred years. He has converted the nation into a mass of rebels, or has elevated them to be a happy and free nation. He is either the emancipator of the poor, or the despoiler of the nobility. He has either strengthened the finances, or ruined them. He is either a moral and educational benefactor, or a trumpery sentimentalist blowing out mere smoke. He is moved by territorial greed ; if not, he is only a foolish upholder of the rights of savage nations. He must either be a misanthrope, or a too pleasant man of the society. If he is not too yielding, he can only be too perverse. He can only be too sympathetic, or too unimpressible. If he is not the Angel of Bliss to the country, he is only a Demon of Destruction. He is all-in-all, if not a noodle.

We need not pursue further such singularities of Indian public opinion. We are immensely amused at their appearance whenever a Viceroy comes and goes. Here is some history and some public opinion for the country—in spite of the *Times*—and what is more, both seem very capricious for the moment.

We are not going to fall and we have never fallen into any of these traps of public opinion. Between the conflicting traps we can perceive what things should be, and have been in the past. There is no placid national organ in India unaffected by party spirit. What such an organ would say of the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon on the eve of his departure from India is likely to be different from what any of the journals of the country have to say. All classes of journals have begun to speak out about the doings of Lord Ripon as Viceroy. Each class no doubt does its best to express the popular opinion. There is, however, not one journal in India which singly can create a perfectly true public opinion. We can only gather from various journals disjointed bits of truth, and make one whole approximate truth. It is not likely, therefore, that the public, in the present instance, will be guided by the utterances of any one or two journals.

The impartial historian of the future will say of the present Viceroy of India that he tried to do his duty, and did it well enough. No Indian Viceroy is expected to reap the fruits of his actions while ruling the country. At best he can only securely lay the seeds of good measures, which take a long time to fructify. The present exigencies of the empire will not permit any Viceroy to mature his policies and to personally watch their being carried through. Before he is able to see any of his large measures taken root, he has to bid adieu to the country. Like an apparition in the skies, a good and vigorous Viceroy like Lord Ripon appears and vanishes. We are therefore called upon to judge him not as an eternal being in India, but a very flitty one indeed. You cannot compress a fifty years' achievement, its approbation or condemnation, into a five years' tenure of office. Many of our contemporaries express either too much of hate, or too much of praise, for the going ruler. According to the time and opportunities at his disposal the Marquis has gone through the right course of business as admirably and as energetically as he could. Outsiders are not expected to know what amount of dreary routine work a Viceroy, above all others, has perpetually to go through. He is only visible to us by his large measures. His Excellency has displayed a broad and sympathetic heart, because he ever felt that it was the good Queen's desire that he should not rule India for any particular party, but for the good of its teeming millions. He had the disagreeable duty to tell an exalted personage that the Queen's

Indian Empire was based on righteousness. It is painful that one responsible functionary should have to say this to another, and set aside an imperfect attitude in the matter of a State policy. He showed a statesmanlike flexibility as soon as he perceived that in conceding a just measure to a section of the Indians he would cause a lasting heart-burning to the Anglo-Indians. The reproach that the non-official Europeans have hurled against his Lordship in respect of the Ilbert Bill will, we are certain, be disallowed by the future historian for the simple reason that Native Civilian^s deservedly required this minor equality with their European confreres, while Lord Ripon and the Government of India never anticipated before the measure was brought on that the Anglo-Indians would be so much offended. The Viceroy will be unmistakably pronounced as being uncharitably dealt with, while he was timely and honestly prepared to modify the measure to suit the feelings of both Natives and Europeans. He stood the storm so well as to have proved his capacity to pilot the State ship safely through greater storms. In past periods were educational matters so thoroughly sifted as has been under the able direction of Lord Ripon. The foundation work for a highly progressive educational policy has been laid, and we have no doubt that the edifice on that foundation will be started during the next Viceroyalty. An entirely new shape has been given to the administrative policy by countenancing the purchase of indigenous stores, by the reduction of duty on salt, by the wise policy of railway extensions, and by resuming railway operations beyond Quetta in reference to strengthening the Afghan frontiers against the insidious encroachments of Russia. He has shown the ability of repairing the mistake unavoidably committed during the change of the Ministry. The most complex question between the Bengal Zemindars and their tenants has been firmly handled at least for being fairly comprehended. The information that its discussion has produced will be invaluable in the interests of a careful and improved administration. It cannot be expected at this stage that a faultless Act can be constructed able to command the assent of all the parties involved. A proper basis has been laid for strengthening and popularizing the municipal and local funds' government throughout India. The leading people have been well invited to feel what fair share they could take in that part of the government if they have acquired the ability of so acting. We need not enumerate his measures of reform and development further, as it is not our

object here to describe his full career in India. We need only dwell here on some of its prominent points with a view to see if the country is warranted to place him in the ranks of the benefactors of the country. We should think that India will honour herself by treasuring the name of Lord Ripon among those eminent statesmen who are always remembered. We can only judge the broad landmarks of his policy. India stands in great need of being handled by many a successive statesmen of the type of the Marquis of Ripon. The Anglo-Indians will have no cause to be ashamed if they were to generously join the leading natives in paying him the parting tribute. They feel prejudiced towards him, but the prejudice is such as would have disappeared if the Viceroy had another five years to spend in the country. His incumbency has been too short to allow him to set himself right with all classes of the immense Indian population. It is the shortness of his tenure in India that has been at fault than any part of his character, which has been found perfectly capable of dealing with every variety of human nature. We may feel sure that had His Excellency but remained a few more years in India he would have conciliated the Anglo-Indians, while remaining a friend of the natives greater than ever. The confusion caused against him was too ephemeral. The public of India will therefore not look so much to the mass of his achievements brought into light as to the difficulties his Lordship encountered in attempting those achievements, and the sterling qualities he displayed in raising the country in the world's estimation. No Province in India ought to fail in honouring this great, high minded, unselfish and benevolent statesman, and perpetuating his name in India as a worthy example to be followed by his successors—*12th October, 1884.*

INDIA—the educated and aristocratic India—once more undergoes the agreeable conventional form of bidding farewell to its Viceroy in Transit. retiring Ruler and devising measures of welcome for his successor. We cannot but warmly welcome the efforts made by Native India to hold ovations for the departing Viceroy and finding means for the perpetuation of his name. Our feelings of welcome are not due to any presumption that any one statesman could, in his short Indian term, achieve the lasting security, or the lasting prosperity of India, but because that end being impracticable, the Marquis of Ripon has shown sufficient tact and strength in ruling India so as to produce contentment in a majority

which can appreciate good rule. He landed in India when it was this sort of want which had to be fed. It is this truth which we all ought to perceive in common fairness ; and when the departing Viceroy struggled conscientiously to achieve this end, it is unfair to censure his Lordship for the results which any other equally good Viceroyalty would have achieved. We do not approve of the popular demonstrations for demonstration's sake, but because it is such demonstrations that are the real alphabets in the training of grand and united nations.

The one point in which the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon will be deemed uneventful we shall indicate further on. The departing Viceroy will once more be reminded of his glorious work of advancing the freedom and prosperity of the Indian nations. That such a programme can be altogether cast away by any Viceroy is only next to impossible. And yet it may be that in having this laudable goal in view, the most eminent statesmen may misobserve the nearest, much more the remote, landmarks. It is seldom that this fact is appreciated in the struggles of the hour. Our own controversy, when the Ilbert Bill was pending, was all along influenced by this fact ; and it was quite expected that Lord Ripon, as soon as he and all else began to realize the emotions felt by a very small, though a very important, part of the Indian nations, should have moderated the measure in the way he did.

It is long since, however, the most momentous question pertaining to India has been but dimly perceived, and yet has never been able to attract the attention of the deputationists who, throughout India, seek to engage the attention of outgoing or incoming Viceroys. It is wise to direct attention on points of domestic development. But the wiser and more incumbent duty of the representatives of the people would be to point out, in the strongest and most imperative terms, the mine of gunpowder on which the Indian continent now rests. More specially since the riots in Bombay we traced the dangers of popular anarchy and fanaticism to their intensified origin in the North-West, and in Afghanistan and Central Asia in general, and to their feeding fuel which the rapid approach of Russia towards the frontiers of India had been supplying. The present is an opportune moment when we might usefully call upon the leaders of society, and writers in the Native Press especially, to draw the attention of Earl Dufferin, when he arrives in the country, in an emphatic manner, to the question of the permanent security of the country, whether it rests on

an organization incapable of being tampered with or giving way during an unforeseen contingency. This is the question which should have the prime attention of deputations going to welcome the new Viceroy. There was a time many years past when our awakening to the fact of the fundamental dangers to the Empire and of the primitive and disorganized state of its military constitution could not have been more than the awakening of a deeply slumbering camp, first perceiving the approach of the dawn fraught with good or evil. That time is now past. There is no need to be alarmed, but there is every need—the strongest need—to recognize and increase the military resources of the Empire.

The Liberal Ministry of England is strong and may not perhaps be expected to fall out with Russia by the means of their liberal professions. But it is not Liberals who would permanently rule India. Nor can the wisest prophet say that no materials exist for a future rupture between England and Russia. Nor can any one have the hardihood to deny that Russia is closing upon Herat, and that her onward movement is being constantly backed by increased forces.

We have been contending since many years, and have even taken special steps, pointing out the inadequacy of the British forces for emergent purposes, and the awfully mistaken notion of not permitting Native States to render their armies efficient. It may be politically desirable not to impose such taxes as the income tax upon the people for a while, but it is a political blunder of the gravest sort to neglect the warlike material of Native States, while we cannot boast of a military strength equalling even a third-rate power in Europe. No one can be more solicitous than ourselves to see that the Suzerain Power, in a delicate question of this sort, assumes no aggressive interference, and that the ancient Native States do not suffer in position and integrity for the reason of their becoming the means of better strengthening the Empire. We have elaborately explained the measures by which their just pride, reasonable ambition and vested interests may be satisfied, while they are gradually and securely turned to directly impart their military strength to the Empire. No injury can be done to any Native State in a pecuniary way, which already may be paying sufficient tribute to the Power that holds the country. No Native State, already unavoidably burdened, can be further taxed. Any State which, in point of external obligations, enjoys a marked immunity may well bear its own portion in a way that may be universally approved.

There should be an emulation created between Native States as to their respective capacity for a united defence of the Empire. What may be imperatively demanded of the Suzerain Power will be that noble unselfishness and self denial by which, to a certain extent, native kingdoms may enjoy their own economy and free living. There will also arise cases in which the Paramount Power will have to bear the burden of foreign service when imposed on certain States, for the simple reason that it may be unjust to subject them to any additional expenditures. That the British Government will have to curtail their own expenditures in the directions that cannot be objected to, is another feature of self-denial, which they may well cultivate. We have always remembered the weighty words of Sir Richard Meade addressed to the present writer to the effect that the question of the armies of Native States is a two-edged instrument to handle. But the measures we proposed he fully thought were worthy of the consideration of the British Government and the Native States. Some action was then commenced—in the time of Lord Lytton. But no masterly dealing with the question as a whole—such as may pacify, please and encourage Native Chiefs—has yet been attempted. Why should it not be? Why should not enlightened Native States make a move themselves when the new Viceroy comes? It is time that time-honoured suspicions should give way, and the Chiefs themselves should so skilfully move as to reverse all coming extreme actions, or the application of a foreign remedy. The worst in reference to the weakness of the Empire should be anticipated, and an unfaltering conviction maintained that the Queen's Government is the only foreign yoke which would never prove treacherous and calamitous to the various peoples of India. We would be the last persons to inculcate false theories—such as would tell against the interests of our dear princes and dear countrymen in India.

The ambassadorial antecedents of Earl Dufferin are of the highest order, and should, we believe, be most hopeful for Native States. It is in diplomatic skill, in a deep and kindly feeling of doing good, and not harm, to Oriental States in a state of helplessness, in a conservative spirit, of a moving and enlightened order, which looks for safety and preservation of noble and stable interests,—it is, again, in a perfect heart of the utmost tenderness and in a cool head of resolution, that he appears to excel most. No one can doubt his powers of kingly toleration, nor his statesmanlike courage, generosity and magnificence, nor his brilliant busi-

nesslike capacity to see through the forbidding difficulties of a delicate, as well as the most trying and complex question. It is one of the superb jewels of the highest moral and intellectual gifts of the supreme nation of the world which the present Venus of the Political Firmament of England has decided upon sending us ; and we may rest assured that he will not injure native India, but employ his powers in heightening the glories which he will silently receive from the hands of Lord Ripon. The Land that sent us a Mayo, a Lawrence, and a Montgomery, also sends a Dufferin.

The aims of the British in India are daily rendered higher. Those interested in the country cannot fritter away precious moments in passing mere complimentary expressions to new arrivals ; nor can they well subordinate public attention to points which must sink into insignificance compared to the serious question of the internal peace of the country and the external dangers to which it is besetted. The question we have brought forward ought to be discussed at once, and should have the keenest attention paid to it in the welcome address at Bombay. It is imperatively necessary to inform the new Viceroy, with every deference, that the appearances put up by Russia can never be trusted ; that it is unknown what complications in Europe and Asia may bring about for India ; and that its best safety lies in a prompt, skilful and harmonious manipulation of all its fighting forces, which must be brought up to a point of efficiency and sufficiency *without losing a moment*.—16th November, 1884.

A NEW Dictator of an august and benevolent type is coming out to India, and half the world is anxious to know what he thinks
 Earl of Dufferin at and says in reference to his new charge. There is no
 Belfast. other empire in the world which, when it sends out a new Pro-Consul to a distant dependency, excites so great an attention of endless multitudes, more especially of the civilized world, as Great Britain does. Earl Dufferin, the incoming Viceroy, is so nervous as to his being at all spoken about when he would be working as our Governor-General that, in his impressive speech at Belfast, he feelingly said :—"So convinced am I
 "indeed, of the truth of what I say, that I imagine the greatest success and
 "triumph I can obtain is that from the time that I depart from these shores
 "and wave a grateful response to the farewell you are saying to me to-
 "night, even the echo of my name may never be wafted to your ears until

"at the end of my official term I stand again amongst you, having won from the historian of the day no higher encomium or recognition than that my administration was uneventful, but that I had kept the empire entrusted to my guardianship tranquil and secure." We need not wonder at this touching piece of self-abnegation. It ought to tell with great effect on the non-official Anglo-Indians who attempted a little too much against the departing Viceroy. It ought also to teach the natives of India—we mean the inflammatory portion of them—how undesirable it is to bring on any strained relations between the Government and the Anglo-Indians, or between the latter and the natives of the country.

The utterance quoted is, however, a maiden effort so far as the Earl's cares for the Indian administration are concerned. His Lordship will find in a year or two—if not even in a less period—that every capricious breeze which sways the Indian atmosphere will waft his name and sentiments and action high up to the ears allwhere even though they may refuse to hear them. The anomaly of an Indian Vicereignty, which we have perceived many years since, render the condition, rigidly but sympathetically put down by our future Viceroy, singularly inoperative. Earl Dufferin has marvellously concealed his inner intention—a truly worthy one—to dispose his countrymen in India to show patience and magnanimity on all questions pertaining to his charge, when these are likely to tax his highest qualities. The utterance strikes us as singularly appropriate as having taken place in a region which has given the Earl a greeting so sincere and so deeply enthusiastic which a mother or a father alone can give to an only precious and beloved child. "How badly we want you for the difficulties of our own home, but in a distant land, where you are now wanted most, you carry our fervent prayers for a renewed brilliant success which you have hitherto commanded, and that in the most trying periods of the exalted office you have held for a quarter of a century." Perhaps the following is the tenderest passage in the speech of the Earl delivered in response to the hearty wishes expressed to him in the Ulster Hall :—

"Least of all, how can I forget that memorable night when, on the eve of my departure for Canada, this splendid chamber was filled with friends who had assembled together to bid me God-speed, and to assure me that, in the opinion of those who had known me best and longest the honour then conferred upon me by her Majesty was not considered misplaced nor undeserved. The fact that I am again standing before you in analogous circumstances authorises me to

entertain the pleasing conviction that none of you regret the pledge you then gave for my good behaviour, or consider that I have done disgrace to your imprimatur. (Cheers.) That occasion ushered in the brightest and happiest period of my life—a period passed in one of the fairest regions within the confines of the empire, amongst a people animated by the most generous instincts, endowed with all the noblest gifts and qualities which distinguish the British race, and to whom I owe a debt of gratitude and affection, whose welcome burden I shall carry to the grave. Since that auspicious celebration twelve years have passed, during which in different capacities I have done my best to render faithful and loyal service to my Queen and country—(cheers)—and now again that I am about to proceed to a distant land, to undertake a task more arduous, more responsible, and, I may add, more honorable, than any which has ever been imposed upon me, can it be wondered at if, like the hero of old who was invincible so long as he was in contact with his mother earth, I come back here amongst you to gather fresh strength and vigour and renew my youth, by once more looking around on your familiar faces, by listening to your genial words of welcome and encouragement, by taking a farewell grasp of your thousand friendly hands? (Cheers.) It is true that the powers of Antæus faded into impotence as soon as his enemy lifted him from the ground, but I feel that, no matter how high the sphere to which I may be elevated, the fortifying influences with which I am surrounded to-night will follow me wherever I go, and in the darkest moments of lassitude and depression the recollection of this glorious scene will restore my faltering spirits, and make me more than equal to dealing with any emergency which may occur."

A few youthful writers now existing in this country may take heed of the tribute which a thorough-bred Irishman like Earl Dufferin has paid to the British race, to whom we may have faults to point out, but whom we cannot calumniate in foul language without casting a deep odium on ourselves. Earl Dufferin truly said that he owed the British people "a debt of gratitude and affection whose welcome burden he shall carry to the grave." It is by legitimate and submissive high service that he has won the esteem of the British nation, and not by, in the remotest degree, following the unfortunate proclivities of his less gifted countrymen which can only bring on disasters to those who sympathize with them.

The noble speaker touched the true chord of Indian difficulties when he said that a Viceroy in India could hardly choose between what was absolutely good and what was absolutely bad. He has often to decide on a delicate comparison of advantage and disadvantage upon either side, such as would render it very difficult for even those who have every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the elements of the case to discriminate between them. In this situation a Viceroy, who affirms of himself that neither amongst those who have lived and laboured and who have disappeared from the scene, nor amongst those who are still working for the good of England and of India, will any have set forth more determined to walk

fearlessly and faithfully in the unpretending paths of duty, is particularly liable to be misjudged, and his success or failure very wrongly estimated even by those fully cognizant of the intricacies of a question, but who yet cannot feel the arduous responsibilities of an Indian Viceroy. When an unexpected storm of feeling broke out Lord Ripon tried to follow the line of policy which his successor so shrewdly delineates. Every difficult duty of a Viceroy will be fraught with portentous consequences ; and the more such duty is unpretending the more likely will it now and then draw upon the deeper emotions of mankind. No Viceroy can go on in for the least compromising course of business without being rudely awakened to the startling changes of which, however silent, he may endeavour to be the cause. For everything in this direction touches the interests of the millions and the conscience and safety of the Imperial Power, "to whom Providence has entrusted the superintendence of their destinies." An absolute Viceroy no doubt deserves the highest confidence of those who are watching the drama from a distance, and very often has he to pass over condemnations and criticisms affecting his policy and character as so much temporary "flaws of fleeting public opinion." Nor can he much seriously mind the "puffs" of public opinion. What we recently stated as to the insane tendency of the general public either to denounce or praise a Viceroy, in unmeasured terms, is fully borne out in the following pregnant passage —

"Above all, let me remind you, my lords and gentlemen that when dealing with such vast subjects as those which occupy the statesmen of Calcutta, when handling the tremendous forces which are evolved out of the complicated and multitudinous political systems which exist within the borders of the Indian peninsula, when endeavouring to mould by slow and cautious efforts the most ancient, the most continuous and the most artificially organised civilization to be found on the face of the earth into forms that shall eventually harmonise more and more with those conceptions which the progress of science and the result of experience have shown to be conducive to human happiness, the result of the ruler's exertions and the flower of his achievements are seldom perceptible at the moment, but far more frequently bring forth their fruit long after those that tilled the field and sowed the seed have rested from their unrecognised and sometimes depreciated labours."

The Earl has correctly felt that the time is past when England would be compelled to send out men for heroic achievements, for upsetting empires and revolutionizing the basis of society. —

"Their successors must be content with the less ambitious and more homely, but equally important and beneficent, work of justifying the splendid achievements of those who have gone before them, by the careful and painstaking elaboration of such economical, educational, judicial

and social arrangements as shall bring happiness, peace, contentment, and security alike to the cabin doors of the humble ryot, to the mansions of the loyal Zemindar and enterprising European settler, and to the palace gates of Her Majesty's honoured allies and princely feudatories."

We trust that the ideal here presented will be steadily kept in view, as no doubt it will be, while the new Viceroy passes through the bewildering trials of his great office. Sufficient material has been collected to see how the ryot as well as the Zemindar, the European settler and the Indian prince, can be placed in a position from which they may endeavour to reap equal contentment and prosperity. The Earl will have some share in putting a greater emphasis on the gradual fulfilment of this ideal. He has apparently attached remarkable weight to the pacific assurances of his personal friend, the Russian Foreign Minister, who is most anxious to secure lasting peace with England in Central Asia and a frontier that cannot be violated. If we had not read somewhere else of his having said that even with this assurance we ought mainly to depend on our own valour and vigilance, we should be induced to suspect that the Earl may occasionally be susceptible of a slight credulity. It is on a thorough reform and augmentation of the indigenous and imperial forces, effected as much as possible on existing basis of matters, whether in Native or British India, that our permanent security will depend. Place the highest trust in Native Princes and in Native Nobility as well as commoners, while being careful in avoiding odious taxation; and a good deal of the Indian Dangers must vanish in thin air. We hope it may fall to the lot of Earl Dufferin to give that repose to the continent which can never be secured unless its military or material strength is developed on a comprehensive basis. If he is able to achieve this work satisfactorily he will have won half the sincere credit that he may expect for his work in India. We perceive the Earl has already acquired a deep sense of the multiplying and complicated wants of the country arising from the spread of education, the extension of railways, and the congestion of populations. While naming those whom he would most cherish for their rare qualifications and brilliant achievements, he paid a most deserving and eloquent tribute to the Civil Servants as a body, which ought to give one enduring satisfaction in perusing, and which we shall therefore quote with renewed pleasure :—

⁷ "But, after all, gentlemen, there are but the fortunate few whom accident and happy chance, seconding their inherent merits and native genius, have made known to the world. Behind and beyond these there are hundreds and hundreds of other noble and high-minded officials,

unknown and unrewarded, who, in the solitude of their several districts, burdened with enormous responsibilities, compelled to sacrifice almost everything that renders human life delightful, are faithfully expending their existence for their Queen, for their country, and for those committed to their charge, with nothing but their conscience to sustain them, reinforced by the conviction which is inherent in every Briton's breast, that the sense of having done one's duty is better than name or fame, imperial honours, or popular approbation. (Loud cheers.) It is to join these men that I go, and though I dare say there may be many amongst them superior to myself in ability, as they all must be in experience, one thing I can promise you, that neither amongst those who have lived and laboured, and who have disappeared from the scene, nor amongst those who are still working for the good of England and of India, will any have set forth more determined to walk fearlessly and faithfully in the unpretending paths of duty."

It is impossible to do justice to such a difficult piece of oration as Earl Dufferin's at Belfast was, in the course of one article and with the few moments of leisure at our disposal. It is at once so heart-stirring—such master-piece of eloquent genius, and the outcome of the highest scholarly attainments, a perfectly well-cultured mind, a profound and tried statesmanship, and a warm, generous and all-embracing temperament.—*30th November, 1884.*

WHILE observing all that is now going on in various parts of India to
 The Town Hall proclaim trumpet-tongued the sincere loyalty and
 Meeting at Bombay. affection which Lord Ripon has won from the leaders
 of the native races of India, we feel as if we were in a happy home
 ringing with the joys and clamours of its inmates, more of children than
 elders. The lot of the paterfamilias commanding a large and cheery
 number of growing children is indeed enviable. As such the true patriot
 of the country, in whose heart there is space both for the native prince
 and the Empress, will see something to foster in this state of things. The
 Anglo-Indian community will gradually perceive this as something infinitely
 better than the angry and violent screamings of the excitable portion of
 the writers in the Native Press. It is much more pleasant to put up with
 the spontaneous joyous fun and cries of innocent loving children than with
 the results of severity breeding sulks and desperation in them. The
 steadiest and most moderate opponent of the Ilbert measure, whom we
 all ought to listen with patience for our own sakes if nothing more, now
 truly says while observing on the speeches made last week in the Bombay
 Town Hall :—"There was nothing to provoke criticism, and indeed the
 "time for criticism would be singularly ill-chosen. In the hour of battle

"the troops ranged under different banners must fight for what they hold the right as vigorously as they can. But now on the eve of Lord Ripon's departure his many amiable qualities are those that should be kept more prominently in view." But there has been something practical in Lord Ripon which kept his amiability within moderate bounds; and that was his earnestness in showing that he meant good to India, not merely with soothing lip-professions, but what may be meant by a straightforward practical action. The sectional excitements were an inevitable misfortune which, though they followed Lord Ripon's policy, were not the forecasted creation of that policy.

As the wisest of the opponents of Lord Ripon look upon the Indian demonstrations as "a monument of Indian gratitude to English good will," which, according to such sensible writers, will appear in prominence "when all the arguments and wranglings of yesterday and to-day are forgotten," we may be permitted to notice the recent proceedings in the Bombay Town Hall with deserved gratification and perfect composure. For, happily, there has not been the slightest attempt to raise counter-demonstrations, which should have taken place had the Anglo-Indians been still influenced by the hostile views which prevailed only a year ago.

The Town Hall assemblage seem to have moved the great city of Bombay. The Sheriff admitted the necessity for the meeting, though the European community were absent. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the Chairman, rightly anticipated that Lord Ripon may count upon the appreciation of the Queen and the people of England for the good he has done to India. In his opinion the retiring Viceroy has initiated a policy by which the permanent affection of the people to the British nation will be secured and both India and England benefitted. While closing his speech the worthy Parsee Baronet said :—"I wish Lord Ripon could be here this afternoon to witness for himself this enthusiasm. I wish that the great statesmen who sent Lord Ripon to us could hear us to-day echo the words in which Mr. Gladstone told the Commons of England that Lord Ripon was "writing (to-day, we say, has written) his name on the hearts of the people of India."

The Hon'ble Mr. Budradin Tyebji dipped into the remotest future with the brightest wings lent from the pure armour of the now fast closing Viceroyalty of the past four and a half years. "He ruled India exclusively for the benefit of its people." If he stayed in India a ten years more his

Lordship would not find derogatory to his high functions to look also to the interests of the ruling race, which, even in his short stay, he farseeingly did. The honourable gentleman hoped that the consistent pursuit of his Lordship's policy will ultimately lead to "the fusion of India into one great and united empire, indissolubly binding the interests of Her Majesty's European Dominions with those in Asia." The doctrine that the present writer was the first to preach is now being taken by the public in precisely the same form as it should assume. Another valuable sentiment comes from him with a special grace, as the speaker is a thorough-bred Mahomedan gentleman:—"It mattered not to us that our "gracious sovereign happened to be a native of Great Britain any more than it mattered to our ancestors that the great and wise Akber, the "magnificent Shah Jehan, or the powerful Aurangzeb were descendants "of Mogul conquerors from Central Asia." Neither the Hindu, the Mahomedan, or the Parsi need be ashamed to reflect fully on this sentiment with a view to adopt it as his own.

Mr. P. M. Mehta made out a very good case showing how opposed to the British genius was the rigid and unsympathetic feelings of the Anglo-Indian opponents of Lord Ripon. He held that the best of the past statesmen who conquered and consolidated the Indian Empire acted on the notion that the British mission was only to prepare India for self-government, and then abandon it to its thousand and one races. "Perceiving that the people tasting the indulgence of the paternal rule, are trying to move too fast and become too troublesome, the Civil Servants, yielding to this impression, have almost invariably lost their old grasp of principle in the multitude of details they have to deal with ; and though rising step by step they sit in the highest councils of the State, and may deceive themselves into the belief that they possess their old cunning of statesmanship, the fact is that they have lost it almost altogether * * * Gentlemen, there never was a more anxious and critical period in the history of British rule in India than when Lord Lytton resigned. He left the country in a state of doubt and perplexity, of alarm and uneasiness. At this juncture Lord Ripon assumed the reins of office ; and fortunately for India, in him we get back the true old English statesman, wise in his noble generosity and far-sighted in his righteousness. It is no exaggeration to say that he has saved the country from grave disasters." That Lord Ripon has proved a sympathetic, generous and circumspect

statesman as worthy of the present times as the most famous conquerors and generals were in past times when the country was conquered, we have often and often pointed out. The best of natives will admit this without adopting all the acrid views of Mr. Mehta. He has launched himself on a too general and unwieldy domain, and his extreme eloquence and passionate denunciation of everything that does not exactly fit in with the doctrine that the English should make every possible haste in educating India and then post-haste leave it to its own fate are perhaps a little too general for unfaltering acceptance. After all there are such things as practical difficulties in the world which, neither in respect of foes or friends, we should take much too lightly. Intolerance is the one thing which Indian nations must learn to avoid to be able to command self-governing powers. Mr. Mehta very truly observed that "through the passing uproar, one assurance for the natives of India has come out clear and strong, that the English nation will never consent to upset the great principles of justice and equity on which the declared policy of the Crown for the Government of India is based * * *

And I am sure it will come to pass that it will be acknowledged that he has done as great service by his steadfast policy of righteousness, which has been derided as weak sentiment, as even Lord Canning did, as is now admitted, by his firm policy of justice, which was then derided as clemency." (Loud cheers.) Here is all what is good and correct. The success of the truest orator is found while boiling down his oration that no exuberance of feeling or temper is left.

Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji laid stress on the fact that not only has Lord Ripon frankly acknowledged that the country is suffering under material as well as educational poverty, but that he earnestly set about devising large and memorable measures for its mitigation. While declaring how princes and people alike came forward with handsome subscriptions to raise a memorial to His Lordship, Mr. Dadabhai said :—

We are to propose a memorial to Lord Ripon. But what will hundred such memorials be to the great monuments he has himself raised to himself? As self-government and self-administration and education advanced, for which all he has raised great new landmarks, his memory shall exist at every moment of India's life, and they will be the everlasting monuments, before which all our memorials will sink into utter insignificance. It was asked in St. Paul where Wren's monument was. This, St. Paul itself, was his monument, was the reply. What is Ripon's monument? It will be answered India itself—a self-governing and prosperous nation and loyal to the British throne. Canning was Pandey Canning, he is now the Canning the Just, of the

British historian. The native historian, with admiration and gratitude, and the English historian, with pride and pleasure, will point to Ripon, as Ripon the Righteous, the maker and benefactor of a nation of hundreds of millions. (Loud cheers) But by far the greatest service that Ripon has done is to England and Englishmen. He has raised the name and glory of England and the Englishmen, and rivetted India's loyalty to the British rule.

The extent of good work done by Lord Ripon in India must necessarily appear small looking to the period of his office, and therefore less striking than the powerful motive His Lordship has sought to establish for the steady and smooth continuation of his high-minded policy.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. T. Telang made both a mild and eloquent speech, smooth flowing as the placid flow of a stream. While the Hon'ble Mr. Mundlik rejoiced that the hearts of all educated India beat as if with a telegraphic response to the public call of honoring Lord Ripon on the occasion of his departure, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang showed how even those who formed the permanent opposition to Her Majesty's Government in India now join the admirers of Lord Ripon. We only hope they may do this as a body and in a calm spirit unaffected by past bitterness. The concluding passage of Mr. Telang's moderate speech may be here quoted with advantage :—

Whether we look at the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, or the resolution for making public the aims and scope of Government measures, or the practice of inviting people's opinions on contemplated projects, or whether we look to the great scheme of local self-government, or the manner, for that is most important, in which the late Mr. Kristodas Pal—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—was appointed to the Supreme Legislative Council, we see clearly the liberal policy of Lord Ripon's Government. Gentlemen, many of you will doubtless remember the noble lines in which the successor "*of him that uttered nothing base*" has embodied the anticipated sentiments of after generations on the reign of Queen Victoria. "And statesmen," the Laureate sings,

"And statesmen at her council met,
Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet,
By shaping some august decree
That left her throne unshaken still
Broad-based upon the people's will
And compassed by the inviolate sea."

(Cheers.) Yes, gentlemen, Lord Ripon has made the bonds of freedom wider by shaping divers august decrees, which have not only left Queen Victoria's throne unshaken in this land, but has made it even more broad-based upon the people's will.

The speech of Mr. Jhawarilal Umiashunker Yajnik must serve to point out the absence in most of the speeches delivered a temperate discussion of the many questions handled by Lord Ripon and more or less disposed of

by His Lordship. His departure from India is just the occasion when an enthusiastic tribute of admiration should be offered him by the public. It is a mistake, however, that a dozen weighty speakers should be seduced by the legitimate cravings of eulogizing a beloved Statesman and Ruler, and altogether forget to calmly examine the merits of his measures, pointing out the various stages of their progress, or the caution, energy, and integrity needed in their pursuance by his illustrious successor. The management of a complex and anxious administration like that of India must always be sorely in need of something more than a simple appreciation of liberal measures in its behalf. The action of the wisest and the noblest serves to reveal unforeseen difficulties, the discussion and solution of which then become due. We must forget that we can ever expect smooth sailing in our expectations and ventures in the domain of patriotic politics. They are often complicated with opposite factors, which have to be taken into account and reconciled before any wholesome fruit can be gathered. We must learn to accept the time when all antagonistic parties should meet on one platform and discuss public matters without being betrayed into partizanship. Sir Jamsetji, in his opening address, stated that the speakers who would succeed him were to enter into the details as to how Lord Ripon discharged his stewardship. But, excepting Mr. Jhawarilal, every speaker seems to have avoided handling any of the large public questions on which His Lordship has left a mark. Each of the speakers might have chosen a question for himself, and dealt with it in a full, vigorous and conciliatory spirit, while one of them only might have struck the general chord on which, on the occasion under note, all the Town Hall speakers, except one, seem to have harped in such pleasing exuberance of spirits. The tone of this distinguished meeting, however otherwise encouraging and commendable, was also a seconder to the cold feelings of our worthy Anglo-India, who kept away from such demonstrations. They might well say—we were not wrong in keeping away, for you see how intensely native the meeting was.

As above stated, Mr. Jhawarilal made his speech specific by dealing with some thoroughness on one of the difficult problems of Lord Ripon's administration. He showed how his name will be associated with the reform endeavored to be effected in the condition of the peasants. These number more than fifty per cent. of the Indian population, and if their unrest was really due to the periodic revaluations of their land, the land reforms of Lord Ripon must have laid the seed of a popular content and

prosperity. So far back as 1862 Sir Charles Wood laid down that a permanent settlement was the solution of the ryots' difficulties. But we know how this idea has not found favor with local experience. Lord Ripon has perceived the miseries of the millions mainly in the periodic reclassifications of land, and has therefore ruled that once a land is properly classified and valued by the Surveyor, that he should not again set his foot on that land, that the rates of assessment should not be enhanced at every period of revision except by the newly organized Agricultural Department on the basis of general prices and general prosperity of the district. We are quite glad that this special department has been organized, which we hope will develop into that efficient and comprehensive institution which may form the climax of a satisfactory land administration. The higher step of certainty taken by Lord Ripon is the formation of a department by the means of which the agricultural and economic details of each village may be obtained. The greatest of all blunders committed by past administrations was the endeavour to bring about fixity with a highly imperfect knowledge of the agricultural capacity and resources, as also the political and administrative needs of the country. Even now an attempt towards any degree of fixity of tenures and assessments would inspire confidence in proportion to the accuracy of the total data obtained. We surmise the motive of Lord Ripon in instituting the land reform is to ensure the rates of assessments to be kept so low as may admit of quite a fair increase at the end of a large period, and the attainment of a higher degree of prosperity as may affect every large village, or a group of villages. There is one point on which we must seriously disagree with Mr. Yajnik. Surely, we can perfectly well admit that Lord Ripon leaves India more contented than ever without having a deliberate and downright fling at "the croakers and pessimists in England who lead, or rather mislead, the British public into supposing that India is on the brink of troublous times, that there are dangers immediately ahead." Even if such a precise danger existed, it would by no means mean that "Lord Ripon has ruled over India in vain for four years and-a-half that we have met to little purpose in this hall to celebrate his rule over us, if that is to be the immediate result of his administration." The administration of any great man in the world might as well stop diseases and deaths as the administration of Lord Ripon may be expected to prevent the inevitable in the absence of time and opportunity to control it beforehand. Call them what we may like, but it is our bounden duty, to listen to those who maintain that the military strength of the Indian

'Empire is perilously low. It matters not the least whether the Empire may be fated to dangers to-morrow, or any period hence ; it would still be the imperative duty of wise and wary statesmen to keep themselves prepared for any storm that may chance to come over the country. We gave this warning emphatically years ago, and what is the direction to which matters have been approaching ? The political parties of England have not been able to assure us for all time to come that there will be no breach of peace between England and Russia, or between England and any other power in close sympathy with Russia. And it is in this condition of uncertainty that we find Russia coming closer to India with ever-increasing brute force at its back. We cannot repeat sufficiently that the deputation shortly to wait on Earl Dufferin should seriously draw His Lordship's attention to the present dire necessity of the Empire, which we have again been urging on public attention, not only in the interests of the general Empire, but also to secure the greater advance, dignity, prosperity and unity of Native States. This extremely knotty question apart, which the diplomatic skill and princely shrewdness and magnanimity of the Earl should be able to cope with brilliantly and successfully, the public will cordially endorse the view of Mr. Yajnik that in large and small matters, which had fallen to the lot of the Marquis to deal with, he employed real foresight. "All that he did could not have been accomplished if Lord Ripon was a mere dreamer and an unpracticable man—one who in all acts of his administration was carried away by airy theories of radical philosophy." The truth is, Lord Ripon has been found free of vain dreams. All he has been guilty of is applying a highly elevated and cultured mind in stimulating native loyalty towards the Crown and the people of England. How can you procure closer and warmer loyalty to the Paramount Power, unless you moved those feelings, and unless, again, you regulated them, as Lord Ripon has so wisely and so practically done ? We should be near banishing all blessed statesmanship the moment we are agreed in putting down Lord Ripon's acts as those of a dreamer and an unpractical Radical. To our mind Lord Ripon makes the nearest approach to the character of those worthies whose characteristics have been described by the poet :—

To stand the first in worth as in command,
To add new honors to my native land,
Before my eyes my mighty sires to place,
And emulate the glories of our race.

Seth Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, C.S.I., proposed almost every leader of Bombay society to form a Committee for raising the memorial suggested by Mr. Nowrosji Furdunji, C.I.E. Mr. Sorabji well said—"It is a matter to be grieved at that on this occasion we have not the benefit of English corporation which I am sure all of us had wished. This, however, is through no fault of Lord Ripon as an English patriot. (Cheers.) It is due to His Lordship to state that in all that he has done in India he has not been wanting in love and duty towards the land of his birth. (Renewed cheers.) But his patriotism is of a solid nature and not childish. He wishes to conserve the connection of England with India, and he understands how to do it. He sees more ahead, than most people, the increasing difficulties of British rule in India. (Cheers.)"

We need not be detained long with the forcible speech of Mr. Hormusji Dadabhai, who, we believe, is one of the able pleaders at Bombay, as it dwelt specially on the character of the institution proposed to be founded to perpetuate our memory in regard to Lord Ripon. That a technical school is to be founded as a token gives peculiar pleasure to the present writer. At his instance, on the occasion of the much deplored assassination of Lord Mayo, the principal chiefs of Kattywar had raised very liberal subscriptions for nearly the same purpose as is now likely to be successfully recognized in Bombay. We may probably notice this movement hereafter, and will now merely extract the best passage from Mr. Hormusji's speech—one in which the tribute of praise rendered to the retiring Viceroy is not a whit over-painted :—

"Gentlemen, the statesman whose name we seek to perpetuate is no ordinary personage endowed with the highest qualities of head and heart; he has dedicated his time to the service of this great appenage of the British Crown. Free from every taint of selfishness or any notion of self-aggrandizement, from the purest and the loftiest motives which actuate the hearts of men, Lord Ripon, at the bidding of his Sovereign, came to our country, not indeed to acquire riches or renown or titles, or to cover himself with the prestige resulting from military achievements and conquest, but solely and simply from a powerful sense of duty—from an earnest desire to promote the good and welfare entrusted to his care. (Loud cheers.) In the accomplishment of these noble aims he looked neither to the right nor to the left, but went straightforward keeping in mind the pledges (some of them unredeemed) of our gracious Queen and of the British Parliament, and steadily having in view those imperishable principles which are founded on the law written by the finger of God on the heart of men. (Cheers.) If 'righteousness exalteth a nation,' then the righteous policy pursued by our retiring Viceroy has received the best and the highest sanction—the sanction alike of history and of a book which Christian nations regard as divine."

The real character of Lord Ripon was found out, though by very few, almost by the time he first began moving about in India. When he was affected by an almost fatal fever, only to rise in re-energized spirits, we had the privilege of setting on foot a movement for offering prayers and beseeching the mercies of the Almighty for his safety, which was then followed in various parts of the country. The prayers of the nation were heard in time, and the pledges given them by the bright-starred Marquis has been well requited in the short course of his Viceroyalty. It is quite true that he came out to India with an unselfish aim and influenced by high motives in the interests of both the mother and the subject countries. He now leaves India animated with the bright hopes with which a true and tender-hearted nurse feeds her precious and beloved charge. We pray that His Lordship may live long in health and strength to be of still higher use to India,—*7th December, 1884.*

The clearly perceptible fringes of Indian nationalities have been for the last few weeks filled in with bright holiday colors—
The new Viceroy in India the groundwork for the nicer tints and hues destined to have such a wide spread in future on the broad political and social canvas of India. A Liberal Dictator having erected his Shrine of Beneficence in the heart of political India departs with its universal regret—but a regret that has been converted into a hopeful joy by the arrival of a true Imperial Dictator of a rich and abiding promise encased and emblazoned in a firmament of gems that draw their lustre from the inmost, the remotest recesses of the home of Freedom and Refinement ; from the centre of far piercing Enterprise and Valor ; from the undying brilliancy of human nature sunk deep in the dreary strata of darkness and corruption ; from the redeeming traits of the region of Barbarity and Despotism ; from the hidden chambers of the land in which the brightest hopes dwell beneath the superlaid effervescence of home liberty and intoxication. Like the latest of the most skilful jewellers of the day, the departing spirit sets this half-antique modern jewelry to the renewed waters of radiance, the sight of which makes us unmindful for the moment the loss occasioned to India by Lord Ripon's departure.

Earl of Dufferin has been greeted to the shores of India in a manner so warm and joyous as a native family know how to accord to a rich bride or an influential son-in-law when first received in the nuptial home. Lord

Ripon has been farewelled from India in an equally joyous and, necessarily, in a more affectionate manner. It is stated of an old monarch that when he was asked to pass an eulogy on a famous general, he replied that he would reserve that to the end of the campaign he had undertaken. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress must probably be deeply touched with the high tributes of admiration, esteem and affection which the retired Viceroy carries with him at the end of his Viceroyalty, and she may shortly emphasize this popular feeling in India by drawing Lord Ripon closer into her gracious folds of Royalty. No outlook can be brighter just now for India than when such a popularly applauded Viceroy leaves the country to make room for another who has secured the chorus of approbation on his nomination, from every concerned country, and from nations of contrasting geniuses. He is found to be more impressionable and sympathetic at the outset than Lord Ripon was known to have been while coming out to India. By the time His Lordship settles down to earnest work he will have found no important question in reference to the interior and foreign relations of India on which all sorts of assemblies and speakers will not have had every possible say for his study and reflection. At the end of all this talk and writing, with which he is now being inundated, and while he has completely grasped the reins of the Administration, he will find, however, that he is still to make his way into the confusing, but enchanting, wilds of one of the largest Eastern Kingdoms whose good and evil he has to regulate. His Lordship has been wise in not entering upon any large survey of the questions on which his leanings the various addresses and deputations of the day tried to elicit. On a few matters such as relating the Railways, Industrial Schemes, Local Self-Government, Education, Condition of the Mahomedan World, and Defences of the Indian Empire, he gave some indications of his spirit, but not sufficient as would warrant us to hold a perfect pledge from him as to the character and scope of the policies he may pursue in future. Where His Lordship has been too guarded, he may be compelled afterwards to lean towards relaxation of the tight bounds he has now perceived; and where he has been sanguine, he may hereafter be inclined to be calculating or reserved. We have as yet listened to nothing like that eloquent and full-expressing oration which he delivered at Belfast before leaving for India. We shall be deeply interested in his similar attempts in India, while he has fully identified himself with its cardinal measures of internal and external

development. A strong ruler as he is likely to be, he is not likely to be anything but fully appreciative of feeling the pulse of the Indian nations on every seasonable occasion when he can have brought before him the merits or demerits of every large question, or the safety or perils of each situation as it may arise. It is only by a free gauging of the intensity of passions and feelings and the depths of moral, mental and intellectual fervour on every suitable occasion, that a strong ruler can safely direct the helm of the State-ship with the aid of his own vigorous, but cautious and far-seeing, impulses.

The Earl's reply to the address of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay was his first utterance in India, and yet the most important yet delivered. When appointing His Lordship, Her Most Gracious Majesty laid—as he was pleased to say—express commands on him to do all in his power to promote the well-being of every nation in India. Accordingly, as he stated he would always be prepared to consult European and Native advisers of every province in India to guide him in his actions. That he is not likely to be a weak ruler may be gathered from the following passage from his Bombay speech —

“ It has been your pleasure to extend similar courtesies to several of my predecessors when they stood—as I do now—on the threshold of their career in this country, unwitting of the good or evil fortune which might be in store for them. These illustrious persons have greatly differed from each other in their antecedents, their dispositions, their attainments, and their intellectual idiosyncracies. But there is one quality which all of them have possessed in common—a deep-rooted and unswerving determination to sacrifice ease, health, leisure, nay, as some of them have done, even life itself, at the welcome and spirit-stirring call of duty. (Hear, hear, and cheers) It is this characteristic which has impressed the Government of India, from its foundation to the present day, with a loftiness of aim and intention, and an energy in execution, which I believe to be unparalleled in the history of the world (Cheers) Though not presuming to compare myself with the statesmen who have gone before me, in this last respect at least I trust to prove their equal, and to preserve unimpaired the noble traditions of devotion and self-effacement which have been established by their heroic examples, and by none more signally than by your present illustrious and eminent Viceroy. (Loud cheers.) Whatever criticisms may be justly passed on my future administration, it shall be in the power of no man to allege that either from fear or favour, or any personal consideration, I have turned aside from whatever course was most conducive to the happiness of the millions entrusted to my care (cheers), or to the dignity, honour, and safety of that mighty Empire with which this great dependency is indissolubly incorporated.” (Renewed cheers.)

The indication which the new Viceroy gives of the line of policy he is likely to pursue foreshadows a strength of governing which is not to be applauded as strength for strength's sake, but as strength reduced from a

multitude of conflicting difficulties. The fuller explanation given in the Belfast speech supplies any further interpretation that may be wanting in His Lordship's brief Bombay speech. The strength which he will employ in inaugurating essential reforms in various directions in India is not likely to overshoot the proper mark ; and while he would carefully ascertain the proper measure of strength to be employed, he will not be deterred by fear, or favour, or any personal considerations, from pursuing the course known to be the wisest and the safest. His Lordship has the highest sanction for the most beneficial policy that he can possibly adopt to increase the good of India and the permanent security of the British Empire. No emergency will be so great for him as to present insuperable obstacles to his pursuing the right course of duty—whether those obstacles may proceed from the Home Government, or any of the strong parties in India. At least this is our inference gathered from his speeches, and we believe it to be a correct one. Eminently possessed of a highly sympathetic nature, it may be hoped that His Lordship may never be tempted to dispose of any question of moment without giving the fullest scope to the sympathizing and deeply comprehending part of His Lordship's temperament. To a statesman commanding every requisite of a far-seeing comprehension and deep-going sympathies, it ought not to be an impossible—though it may be a very trying—task to accomplish serious ends by fully conciliating the weaker parties as much as the stronger ones. The most serious question which will early engage His Lordship's attention will be the military reorganization and defence of India—a part of which question has been, we are happy to observe, taken to the notice of the Earl when he landed in Bombay. The reform of all the military resources of India, the active development of our strong interests beyond the N.-W. Frontiers of India, in Afghanistan and Central Asia in general, are matters each having its own independent merits. The prudent reform which can be introduced in the armies of Native States will consist in upholding the pride and integrity natural to each, and tapping those resources of each which have not been touched in the interests of the general empire, or which can be gradually freed from unseemly clutches when hardly any resources have been already applied in behalf of the country at large. The Earl's most desirable mission may be to take which may not be felt by any State as having been taken, or taken without granting that substantial honour, prestige and freedom, which are at once the guarantee of good faith and

security both for the Suzerain and the feudatories. While dealing with this large question with a view to a closer and more affectionate alliance with Native Princes, and securing for the empire that accession of strength which is *hourly* due to it, a Vice-Regent of the most beloved Queen on the earth, who knows how to gracefully acknowledge the light which the Persian and Mahomedan nations lent to Europe in its darkest days, must also command the power of increasing the honour, content and prosperity of each Native State of importance, as His Lordship would supply the initiative for internal economy and reforms to those who have not yet been in any degree accustomed to them. The relations with Afghanistan have to be invigorated on a separate basis of facts and circumstances. The policy towards it, while required to be of masterly quietness, must, nevertheless, succeed in creating a material strength in that Kingdom which all must be its own and of its powerful ally in the Indian Government. The resources of that Kingdom should be so far assorted and strengthened that they may form an independent bulwark against the encroachments of any rival power. The most active and the most trusted intervention is what Afghanistan, in a much greater degree than Persia, has needed since years past. The Earl will no doubt engage himself seriously on questions of educational, industrial, material and political importance, but all such gain will be nowhere if points of permanent security of the Indian peoples and States are any longer consigned to obscurity simply on account of any difficulties in dealing with them. As air and water are the first essentials for human existence, so is an adequate and independent military strength necessary to the very existence and prosperity of this Empire.—21st December, 1884.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR of Bombay had the good grace of leading the Bombay public to pay their final ovation to the Viceroy who is returning home richly laden with the praise and admiration of Oriental communities. The climax of native joy at the successful termination of the Marquis's Viceroyalty was found in the last Town Hall Meeting at Bombay. Sir James Fergusson's brief and happy speech showed that the asperity of the British community in India towards Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty has well nigh expired. At the same time our own demonstrations of loyalty and esteem have been carried to a very high pitch. At any rate it appears that the dissentient Anglo-Indians have not been found unwilling to make peace with Lord Ripon

Lord Ripon's Parting Speech.

on the eve of his retirement. They have markedly kept themselves back from joining the public movement in India, but their present attitude will lead an impartial historian to infer that there was no misdeed which they could hurl against Lord Ripon while overwhelmed with tokens of Indian approbation. The Anglo-Indians have chosen to remain the silent spectators of the unprecedented approbation showered on him by the leaders of native societies. Their studious silence seems a consistent quality, but is somewhat unmeaning. They should have either moderately joined in the public demonstrations, or in duty bound, as true Britons, might have shown by deferential speech how native demonstrations were mischievous—if mischievous they have appeared. In this case we should have expected them to aver with courage how Lord Ripon's reign was harmful—if harmful it was. They have shown no such positive feeling, and as we always have been the impartial historian of Lord Ripon's work in India, we are bound to record that the Anglo-Indians have recorded no tangible verdict against the late Viceroyalty, and have therefore allowed the public judgment upon it to go by default.

We shall now touch upon the salient points of Lord Ripon's memorable speech on leaving India. His Lordship was quite right in saying that he has made Afghanistan independent and friendly. But that was not a sufficient policy; and for this the English Ministry is responsible. India ought not to have broken up entirely her active relations with Afghanistan. We ought to have kept some hold on Candahar, and thence encouraged the Amir to strengthen his material resources. Had this been done, we should have gained by this time in railway communication with Candahar so essential for our safety. Lord Ripon said that the finances of the country have been undisturbed, while the Famine Insurance Fund has been guaranteed at the same time that taxation has been reduced, notably in the case of the salt tax. Again, the country is ready for a greater rate of railway extensions. But His Lordship says that Sir John Strachey's financial administration was unjustly assailed. The verdict of the public—right or wrong—has not endorsed this. As we read this magnanimous vindication, we only suspect something so unaccountable in the machinery of the Government of India. Even a Viceroy must occasionally indulge in a paradox. It is a lesson to us. Lord Ripon has left us an efficient Famine Code, the value of which will be tested when a Famine occurs. Such a Code may prove invaluable. The country wants the more energetic Pub-

lic Works' Policy, and this has been vouchsafed to us. But will any Viceroy have the courage to tell the influential classes of India what sin they commit in resenting the income tax, while the salt of the poor is still taxed, and there is an immoderate burden on the free dispensation of justice? Oh the dreaded spectre of unpopularity which await the statesman who dare put his hand in the purse of the proud! Perhaps the Ilbert bill anger will be nothing in comparison to the storm that a full income tax might raise. But by and bye we may perhaps show a quiet way how to deal with this political monster which every Viceroy coming out to India would rather let alone! His Lordship spoke of the steps taken to relieve owners and cultivators of the soil from certain hardships which former systems entailed on them. We are quite satisfied to know that the revenue system of the Bombay Government is ahead of all India. The sympathies of Government have not been illspent in regard to the improved modes of levy and securing for the ryots the benefits of improvements made by them at their own expense, though we are as yet far away as ever from the creation of that popular revenue Court which can grapple with the difficulties constantly rising in relation to various tenures, or the relations between landlords and various occupants of the soil, or the various rights pertaining to the different classes of landlords, middlemen, &c. Lord Ripon has been instrumental in impressing on the subordinate governments the necessity for giving a fair and honest trial to agricultural banks. A trial of this sort will at any rate give birth to that honest enterprize which impoverished ryots will need. The late Viceroy was justly proud in the share he had in abolishing the Vernacular Press Gagging Act. But His Lordship has rightly exhorted the Native Press to realize the immense responsibility they wield in reference to forming and directing public opinion. We have ourselves every now and then spoken with extreme disapproval of the rabid tone of a small section of the Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Press. The speech of Lord Ripon, in reply to the address from the Native Press, was one which every newspaper conductor in India ought to suspend before him, in his editorial sanctum, in golden letters. The Native Press should unite in generating that virtuous and moderate force which the Marquis spoke of, and stamping down the violent, scurrilous, abusive and hatred-exciting language, which is now and then employed by a few papers with a mistaken notion that by inflaming the public mind they instruct it, or induce the Government to grant us the concessions

we may require of them. We should write firmly and truthfully and with care, but without imputing vile motives to the rulers or indiscriminately abusing their policy as spo'iatory, while we can by no means conscientiously say it is so. Lord Ripon could not have done better than taking to the attention of his successor the necessity of spreading technical education in India with a view to create new sources of employment for the millions who now halfstarve for want of adequate worldly means and healthy industry. This single question is enough to engross the most serious attention of a capable statesman. In this respect we want the same progress as has been made on the Continent ; even better, in some respects, than in England.

After dealing with the question of technical instruction, His Lordship referred to that of female education. It was the impetus given to that education by the recent movement at Poona, which seems to have especially made an effect on him. His Lordship said he had not done anything notable in reference to female education in India. It is "the first of social problems," but so much besetted with difficulties that he said that Government by itself can do very little. It is for the people themselves to do a good deal and to point out how Government can move in the matter. It is for the people themselves, he said, to show to Government how far they are prepared to accept progress in female education. Government can only take slow and cautious steps. He said this though he felt the deepest interest in the cause of female education in India. The prudence and breadth of Lord Ripon's views cannot be over estimated. The leaders cannot afford to be hasty, nor indiscriminate, in actually dealing with this grave problem. The Government cannot afford to open the floodgates of its eloquence and of its material resources in the cause of female education. The steps to be taken onward should be gradual, sound, and conceived with great forethought. The primary education of the bulk of the people is of much higher importance than the education of the female population in general. We cannot just in this age think of imparting any highly finished, literary, or classical education to the female mass in general. Any spread of primary education among them should, in a large measure, be initiated by the people themselves, for the resources of the Government are much more vital matters. All that the Government can now do is to supplement the actual efforts of our communities in spreading primary and other useful household

education in the females only to some small extent. Supposing some communities took a fancy to establish several high schools and colleges for females which imparted only the general education, the Government will not be bound to give grants-in-aid to all such institutions. We of course speak in general terms. The best that can be done in this age is to spread primary female education within certain limits, and to devise some comparatively costly scheme for imparting a higher education, useful and ornamental, which can be utilized *at home*, in *sorrees*, and in connection with female health and training. The desire for imparting the highest culture to native ladies is as yet a very individual aspiration among the natives. And those desiring this higher benefit can well afford to pay for it. Those most interested in it will surely find the means for securing it. One of the greatest difficulties connected with female education is the formation of special and appropriate text-books for female schools and to devise a perfect standard of arts and sciences to which female mind can beneficially be subject to.

Lord Ripon briefly alluded to the scheme of self-government as introduced by him in India. It is a question which has been discussed threadbare, though it has yet not produced the full fruits which, when produced, will proclaim the sagacity of the Marquis louder than now. He only spoke the truth when he said that the elected Boards and Municipalities have become an important and universal fact; wherever they have been attempted as laid down in his Resolutions. In a few years more both the Government and the people will be agreeably surprised to observe the extent and importance of municipal work done by the people elected by the mass of their own countrymen. It is the most correct principle followed when the people are trained to do practical business themselves, in applying their own money in securing the fulfilment of their own wants. The government of a very large and a very troublesome country should expect some division of their labor to charge the subject people with. The Government can show greater confidence in the work when they spend their own money, while the people begin to learn how far they may comfortably spend their own money and where to stop. The regular administrators are thus relieved of a part of their growing responsibilities, which otherwise would prove very baneful and unwieldy. It is a public benefit if the Government seeks to relieve itself of some suspicion and discredit by pointing out to the people how they can reform their condition by their

own efforts, especially because by so directing the State policy, the State can devote better attention to the more important parts of the State vessel. When the people commence to feel the benefits they would acquire by spending for themselves their own funds, they could ascertain how far would they tax their own purse, to be within the measurable limits of the gain they would desire. There would thus be a greater chance of preventing waste and misappropriation, while the collective talents of the best among the people will always be at the disposal of our good Government. The Earl of Dufferin struck the true chord when he answered those who asked him to follow his predecessor's policy, that it was one in the success of which he was deeply interested, but that it was also one any great extension of which will mainly rest on the people themselves. The people must remember the earnest and impressive manner in which the departed Viceroy spoke of village sanitation :—

“And, gentlemen, when the work is completed here, when your local boards are established in the various districts of this great presidency, let me beg you as my last request connected with this subject in which I have felt so deep and keen an interest, to turn your attention to the question—small it may be in some senses of the word, but of the greatest magnitude for the benefit of the mass of the people—to the question of village sanitation. (Cheers.) I leave that as my legacy to the work of local boards in Bombay.”

Medical relief, water supply, fire and flood distresses, road communications, removal of actual filth and character of food substances, are some of the more important sanitary matters relating to villages and smaller towns, which will in future draw greater public attention than now. The public health of the cities is, in some measure, dependent on the sanitation of lesser adjacent places, as the head must feel the pain in the fingers. It must have caused peculiar satisfaction to Lord Ripon when he saw in the Town Hall that one of the numerous deputations was composed of a large number of actual cultivators of the soil. He had promised in 1880 at that very place that one of his first duties would be to endeavor to improve their condition, and he now found them there to tell him that he had fulfilled his promise. Thus a piece of no sentimental but solid good work done by him in India is evident, which must bear even larger fruits in future when his successors pursue the same path of finding out where the best good of the largest number existed.

The words addressed to the Salem gentlemen showed what sympathy was possible in the foreign rulers' breast when they were convinced that some judicial wrong was done. We cannot state more on this subject, not having gone through the literature relating thereto.

Though the recent demonstrations have been remarkable by the abstention of Anglo-India from joining them, Madras deputed its Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association to bid Lord Ripon a kind farewell, and thank him for what he had done for the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian community of India. He did something of permanent value for advancing education in that community. Lord Ripon said that this measure had subjected him to the severe criticisms of the natives of India,—some of them, we believe, who don't mind imparting a radical tone to their patriotism,—but that as the measure was a just one in the interests of that community—though an opposite one—he had persisted in it. This measure shows what righteous spirit Lord Ripon was possessed of. We were not wrong in saying the other day that if he had more time in India he would have gained a more telling esteem even of the Anglo-Indians, notwithstanding that the acts of his government were misunderstood for a short period. When a country is composed of powerful communities whose individual interests are now and then expected to clash, a Ruler should have full scope to show equal and a just proportion of sympathy for each of them.—*11th Jan., 1885.*

We do not just now remember who that great statesman was who exclaimed at the end of an unusually triumphant career of five years, that 'these five years' achievements will give him fifty years' gratification in private life'. Well this is the net result which Lord Ripon now carries home with him, whatever his countrymen in India have thought of him. But these as well as the leading natives of India are free to hope that he may actually enjoy his satisfaction for the number of years that the statesman in our mind allegorically exclaimed as his due. In this simple expression we encompass a cart-load of poems for the really good and great Ripon.

They say no Viceroy ever took away so much of the heart of the people as Lord Ripon has done. But *we* say the popular demonstrations which have greeted him on his departure are nothing to the exuberance of loyalty which the Indians will show in future to any Ruler who

crosses the alphabets of liberal statesmanship, which the departed Marquis had such difficulties in explaining in India. To a certain period and to a certain stage of the Indian history of the future, our countrymen will be carried away by such bursts of enthusiasm which were witnessed in Bombay last week. These fits so commendable in their character are easier to practise than the earnest and continuous endeavours to develop the government of the Queen-Empress on those broad lines of harmless progress and solid prosperity which we have taken so many years to perceive and which we yet have to fully perceive. When a child is full of joy and is lost in gushing mirth, its parent or elder, though pleased, thinks at the same time how, pleasantly, to regulate its exuberant temper and make it think of sobering and improving it. The state of the infant empire of India must lead us to assume the Earl of Dufferin to be our elder, and as such,—though we have already succeeded in engaging his sympathies in our behalf,—we should not think that he sets any inordinate value on the overflowing fervour of our countrymen in Bombay. This fervour will not move him an inch more in giving us greater concessions than the late Viceroy was able to give us. But his tendency will be to attempt sounder, more durable and more comprehensive reforms than were possible in the last régime. No statesman can fully foresee the consequences of his large striding measures. Hence in the succeeding period stock is taken of such consequences, and the course of succeeding events is shaped accordingly. As the highest authority of the land would say, there is a continuity in the changing Viceroyalties of India; but may we venture to modify this statement by hinting that there is both deep consistency in changing Viceroyalties and disintegration in the succeeding viceregal policies bequeathed to strong-minded successors. In India Viceroyalty is the only pivot on which any grand march of affairs rests. And that Viceroy must be poor indeed in ability and imagination who cannot make a history for himself. The Earl of Dufferin has expressed a nervous hope that he would work quietly and return home without creating any stir. What he probably means is he will not fail to develop the course of Indian History in every available direction he can lay his hands upon; and all this he would like to do in a manner which would not rouse rival passions and feelings among the multitudinous races of the country. At any rate the state of things left by Lord Ripon has been guarded enough; and his illustrious successor will have earned every gratitude if he does the

requisite good to India by adding to its resources of prosperity and safety by a reasonable conciliation of all the great rival parties and classes which make up this Democratic—Conservative Empire. The pride and selfishness of all classes, when they crop up too much, have to be restrained and squared for mutual benefit ; while the poorer classes deserve the highest and most earnest statesmen's labors by which they may quietly get into self-acting paths leading to more knowledge and forgetfulness of pinching poverty and straitened occupations. To do equable justice and good between the various races inhabiting India, is the most difficult problem which the Earl will have to solve. While solving that problem, and acting upon it, His Excellency will probably not betray himself into a pronounced position, either in undue favour of, or against, any particular population of India. The most skilful manipulation of practical considerations will be essential as soon as the Earl acts upon the very upright and very soothing theory touching the very core of the formidable Indian difficulty, that whether a question relates to the interests and privileges of the ruled or the rulers, they are substantially identical, and none of them need be opposed to the interests of England or India. We do not remember just here the exact words of our present Viceroy, but do not think we have misapprehended his real spirit. As we have already said, the real difficulty would lie in rendering the Native and European problems identical in practice. The magnitude of each interest will probably influence the course of action of the Viceroy in each case. That would form the real truce between India and England of mutual good and safety.—*4th Jan., 1885.*

A village elder when he grew old and was near dying was asked what was it that he desired most after his death. He was very fond of children in all his lifetime and all the children of the place dearly loved him. He used to go about in the streets, daily, his pocket filled with bits of sweetmeat ; and as he went along he distributed these bits among the children who gathered round him, each being addressed in appropriate words of advice and affection. His answer to the question put to him was that he liked nothing more before his death than that the people should say on his death that the children of the village shed tears having lost him, none of them having proved the worse for the affection he had showed and the caressing words of advice he had given them.

'The Eulogistic Literature of the Tombstone.'

We cannot do better than recall to mind this little story narrated to us years ago as we read the article of the *London Times* indited on the day Lord Ripon left India. "Lord Ripon, who leaves Calcutta to-day, has been busy receiving those valedictory addresses which so forcibly recall the eulogistic literature of the tombstone." If the literature be of the tombstone, it will not at any rate die; nor is it such that any succeeding statesman, however magical the wand he may be able to exercise even to the entire satisfaction of the *Times*, can or will be tempted to ignore. Like the old villager who left an undying impression of good on the minds of his favourite children, friends Lord Ripon, before leaving India, has left certain seeds of undying charm and vitality which the English Statesmen as well as the Indian people will not cast away as if they were a heap of unmeaning and decaying 'tombstones.' We should like to realize for ourselves the stretch of wisdom if that is what characterizes the critic in our great Monitor of the world. With this view natives of India ought to acquaint themselves with the ground shown in the *Times* to discourage the example of Lord Ripon being imitated in the Queen's Eastern Empire.

All the eulogies heaped on Lord Ripon when leaving India, are said to be the result of Oriental compliments, besides which "our most laboured efforts of courtesy seem cold." It is admitted, however, that some "solid emotion" underlies the native demonstrations, which consists of a "considerable quantity of genuine native admiration for the retiring Viceroy." Making allowance for the spirit of Oriental flattery even a "vague belief" must be held, as the *Times* urges, that "in some way Lord Ripon was peculiarly a friend of the natives." The quality which would bring about such a result as from the subject race towards Her Majesty's first Pro-Consul in India hence seems at any rate an admirable one. This unwilling recognition of a quality, the wholesomeness of which cannot be ignored, is followed by a denunciation, the bitterness of which can only equal an experience of 'perdition' itself—at least a theoretic perdition. We quote below the passage which well nigh must take one's breath out :—

"Such popularity would be in every way desirable were it not accompanied by the profound disapprobation of men who have given the best part of their lives and their energies to service of the natives of India, and whose solid claims to be considered their friends far outweigh any that Lord Ripon can put forth. Unwise indulgence will always win the suffrages of the foolish, but we venture to think that the more sober and enlightened portion of the native population privately holds opinions not dissimilar from those of experienced Europeans in India. At all events the *Hindoo Patriot*, probably the ablest of native newspapers, has summed up the late

Viceroy as a man "full of good intentions." There is no more damning form of faint praise than to declare a man's salient characteristic to be abundance of a commodity which, unless controlled and directed by wisdom, paves for nations, as for men, the way to perdition."

That Lord Ripon should have succeeded in engaging the sympathies of parts of the Indian communities more profoundly than any of the more permanent administrators who have quietly done much good work in India, is a circumstance which must evoke the anxious sympathy of a large-minded patriot. The simple explanation of this rather unusual circumstance is to be marked in the difference of opportunities which both parties have respectively held in India. Lord Ripon found himself in a position to toil in a great ocean; the other administrators referred to by the *Times* held the reins of the oceanic streams which fed the great ocean. Hitherto we have been diving in the rivers; but a plunge into the ocean has been inevitable. The Indian ocean of politics cannot ever remain undisturbed. If disturbed they must be—and we predict they will hereafter be disturbed to an extent quite unprecedented—all that is required to be done is, with the heat of the disturbance there should not follow any uncontrollable storm to the paramount and unworthy injury of either of the two countries. True a disturbance was caused. the wisest and the most experienced of Lord Ripon's councillors were not in a position to anticipate it, but when decided signs of such disturbance appeared, the mariner of the vessel was found capable enough to prevent the storm gathering ahead. The outcome was scarcely any such thing as that "the way to perdition" was paved. On the other hand, both high and small have been led upon a broad track, hitherto unexplored, which *must* be explored sooner or later in the interests of humanity; and all of us have had an exceptional opportunity of marking where and how shoals and hidden rocks are likely to be encountered, and how those can be best avoided, while a broad humane policy is followed. It is futile to repent now that a slight spark unwitting chanced to ignite a mass of rubbish combustibles, which being swept away have all at once revealed the prospect of a beautiful region set up in their place. No sturdy, no reasonably sympathetic statesman can be tempted to grant "an unwise indulgence which always win the suffrages of the foolish." Lord Ripon was not sufficiently long in India to disprove this rather hasty assertion made of him. To know what are the exact "suffrages of the foolish," they should appear to the front. They often appear of themselves not exactly at the beck of

any one as the angry part of the Anglo-Indian outburst appeared of itself without any one being previously warned about it. The continuity of the policy not likely to rest on the suffrages of the foolish is now supplied by the Earl of Dufferin. His words on the point must be deemed noteworthy, in that his predecessor was not in a position to use them :—

“My desire is to gain the confidence and good-will of Her Majesty’s Indian subjects at large. I have not myself the slightest doubt that eventually I shall succeed in doing so, but it will be most unreasonable if I were to expect that result for some time to come. *In fact I shall scarcely value attachment or respect if I did not merit it by my acts.*” Here we have the key to the viceregal desire to gain the confidence and good-will of the subjects at large. As that key is applied, the necessary consequence of opening the safety valves of rival passions and feelings of the multitudes follows, and substantial good is conferred only by the positive acts mentioned by the present Viceroy such as, we presume, would be held just by the public at large. It therefore necessarily follows that the esteem of a particular sect of the people is not a thing to be relied upon when matters pertaining to a broad national policy are effected. When Earl Dufferin has an opportunity to display his impartiality in exercising his functions in the interests of the Queen’s subjects at large, and while so doing if he is not able to specially conciliate the feelings of any particular class of the population, the *Times*, it is to be hoped, may not say again that we have been led to the “way of perdition.” Every party admitting that national aspirations are constantly created in India to be reasonably fulfilled, it is absurd to expect that the suffrages of the mass or the different communities, wise, or foolish, or both, will not be stirred up in the cause. The management of an empire is not like the management of a factory in which the owner may safely tend up to a certain point almost everything to the conservation of his own interests. The administrators of an empire have desires and interests to satisfy which are of infinitely more importance than those exclusively belonging to themselves. It can be safely managed only by a moving and well-regulated machinery. Whether there is a moral or material machinery to deal with, both require some substance like grease to prevent friction in the working of the machinery, and its break-down. He must be a hard block formed of some utterly impermeable stuff who cannot understand the value of grease and its application ; for, to evoke even the suffrages

of the foolish is the result of applying grease to the wheels of the administrative machinery, which in a country like India must work constantly, and not stand still, or lag behind. What has affected us most while reviewing the criticisms of the *Times* on the administration of Lord Ripon, as published in the course of the last two years, is the unkindness with which the affairs of the great nations in India have been treated,—an unkindness which is more severe than that meted out to the departing Viceroy. It is no doubt well-intentioned, but has hardly been correctly applied not being based on quite rational grounds, while all the while seeming to have deplorably lost the touch of the present times with which the journal has professed to deal in an oracular fashion.—*1st Feb., 1885.*

No impartial observer can deny that the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Calcutta Trades' Dinner was a comprehensive and straightforward declaration of the policy he intends to pursue during his Viceroyalty. It was certainly no elaborate oration ; in fact it could not fairly be made so. The various sections of the political public especially were naturally anxious to know from the Viceroy personally, how was he going to govern India after Lord Ripon's régime had created some conflicting agitation in India. Had Lord Ripon left India in a morally undisturbed condition,—that is without exciting the antipathy of any class, or stimulating the aspirations of native India,—there would not have been the present close and keen desire to ascertain what the policy of the Earl of Dufferin is likely to be.

Whatever the excitement and anxieties of the different parties and nations of India consequent upon a strong ruler succeeding the retired one of a noted character, the Earl of Dufferin has fearlessly and frankly stated the aims he is to follow. Brief as the speech is, it ought to satisfy every party, if a careful and truthful manifesto of the best of rulers of men can ever satisfy mankind. There is absolutely nothing in the speech which can be made a matter of an unpleasant comment, or grievance, or dissension. Considering the immense responsibility of his position he could not have taken a more cautious, or a more firm, or a more popular attitude. He could not well decline the invitation of the foremost merchants of India to attend their time-honored annual public dinner, in which the various sections of the Government and the public take an opportunity of express-

ing their views and sentiments affecting the well-being of the numerous subjects of the Eastern Empress. If we differed from the Viceroy from any of the views expressed there, we are bound to say that that would be more on account of our incapacity to fully comprehend the difficulties of his unique position. For instance, he mentioned as we quote him below, that he was doubtful if an Executive head of the Government could, with propriety, indulge in speech-making, except on rare occasions :—

“ I knew that I should be expected to address those whose hospitality I was permitted to share, but I had some doubts whether it was altogether desirable that the Head of the Executive Government of India should indulge, otherwise than upon very exceptional and rare occasions, in oratorical displays. It is his duty to listen to others rather than to speak himself ; to examine and decide rather than to discuss or advocate ; and if I am right in considering that such ought to be the general rule of his conduct, it is still more imperative that he should follow it when he is but newly arrived in a land, which presents to his consideration so many problems of the greatest magnitude and importance, and where a casual word pronounced in ignorance or under misapprehension may occasion numberless embarrassments.”

A new Viceroy cannot but take up this position of a calculating diffidence. We have all been accustomed of late to the expression of strong views, each in an opposite direction. Rival passions and prejudices have been evoked on the side of powerful parties opposed to each other. Each of them has considered itself either to be in the right, or to have been wronged. Each has naturally wished to obtain a favorable declaration from the new supreme head in its own behalf. In this position of affairs the Earl of Dufferin seems to have only maintained an impartial bearing as affecting the opposite parties, by asserting that a Viceroy should rather examine and decide than discuss and advocate. That the problems he is now confronted with are difficult to comprehend satisfactorily, no one can doubt, especially in the case of a responsible ruler who has just assumed his office. That he should lay, perhaps, a greater stress on the necessity of observing silence, or refraining from the arena of public discussion, is, we think, more owing to the newness of his position in India, than to anything like a conviction which he may not modify in the course of his Viceroyalty. It remains to be seen, however, if his inclinations will be those of an actively reforming administrator, or of a passive and moderate one, though we are not altogether without material for conjecturing to some extent on the line of action he is likely to adopt in India. He has done the best and the safest thing in steadily avoiding a false position by an emphatic declaration in favor of any party as the cause of which he is likely to espouse,

though he has made no secret of his intentions to favor anything which appeared to him to be fair, safe, and practicable without caring what party was pleased or displeased. We ought to love him best in this, literally, a flawless position that he has adopted for himself. We all know that Lord Ripon conducted the affairs of India, as far as they went, conscientiously and admirably, and no one so steadily, though cautiously, supported him throughout as our own humble selves. But this is no sufficient reason for us to contend that the new Viceroy will be a good and true Viceroy if he adopted only what his predecessor had chalked out for himself and so nobly adhered to in the midst of disheartening difficulties and disappointments. The independent work of Lord Ripon has in itself disclosed certain new features in the politics of India, which cannot but be taken into account by his successor. Until he is thoroughly posted up in his mission, he cannot express his full views on any question which is likely to excite the public mind in inimical directions. His Lordship sees the necessity of acknowledging with equal readiness the friendly welcome offered him 'from the time he landed in Bombay to the present moment by all ranks and conditions of men, by the various communities which compose our body-politic and by his British and native 'fellow subjects.' The Earl further says :—

"All have made me feel that they are ready to give me their confidence ; that they are willing to believe in my sincere desire to do my duty faithfully by each of them ; that they appreciate the difficulties of the task which lies before me, and that I can count on their conjoint sympathy and united assistance in my endeavours to promote the well-being of the common weal."

So large and so difficult a country as India cannot be beneficially and peacefully governed unless, as the Viceroy maintains, all the different and important subjects of the Queen are mutually friendly, and can, therefore, accord conjoint sympathy and united assistance to him in mitigating the difficulties of the task before him. There can be no doubt that much of unrest and exasperation of feelings may be avoided if the Viceroy can carry with him in the execution of his high duties the general assent or sympathy of *all* the powerful classes of India, though on several occasions some of them may have to put up with something or other modificatory of their condition and privileges. When and how each of such classes has to give way to assist the Viceroy's "endeavours to promote the well-being of the common weal" will be no mean difficulty to obviate from time

to time. The Head at the Administration is the only authority, in the present circumstances, to decide between the conflicting interests. When we are satisfied that he has done his very best in reconciling all difficulties and striking out the only possible course left him, it would be incumbent on all to accept his decree without murmur. Nothing better can be expected under human management. As His Lordship further proceeded, he made some definite statement of the policy he was bent on carrying out. He said :—

“ Now, some of those present are probably anxious that I should define the character of the policy I am disposed to follow. I do not know that there is any reason why I should not gratify their curiosity. In doing so, I shall disclose no secret, nor initiate them, in a new revelation, for my policy will be guided by those ancient principles upon which the British Empire in India was originally founded, which have ever since been interwoven with its structure, and vindicated in turn by each of my illustrious predecessors, namely, a justice which neither prejudice nor self-interest can pervert ; an impartiality between all religions and races, which refuses to be irritated by criticism or cajoled by flattery ; and a beneficence of intention which seeks to spread abroad amongst the many millions of her Majesty's subjects in this country contentment, prosperity, wealth, education, professional advancement, a free scope to municipal institutions, and every other privilege which is compatible with effectual and authoritative government. (Cheers.) And in saying this, remember I am not speaking in my own name, nor merely as the Head of the Indian Administration. I am speaking in the name of the Queen-Empress herself, and not only of the Queen, but of the Parliament and people of England, who are fully determined that English rule in India shall be so blamelessly and vigorously conducted as to become the crowning glory of our country's history, and that any grievance and wrong of which her Majesty's subjects can complain, whether princes or people ; whether native or British-born, shall be examined into, and so far as the imperfection of all human administration will allow, abated or redressed. (Cheers.) That I may be able under God's Providence during my brief residence among you to perform the part allotted to me in a satisfactory manner is my dearest ambition. There is no sacrifice, whether of time, labour, health or strength, I am not prepared to make in pursuit of it, and though it is only by painful and slow degrees that so vast and inchoate a community as ours can expect to move towards the consummation of an ideal, I trust that, when the time arrives for me to quit these shores, I may have perceptibly contributed towards the advancement of the country, and the realization of the just and legitimate aspirations of its inhabitants, and to the fair fame and stability of the British Empire. That you, gentlemen, as organizers of labour, as promoters of the industrial arts, as creators and distributors of wealth, are powerful factors in our national development, none can doubt ; and it is on that account, I again repeat, I have so much pleasure in finding myself associated with you in to-night's celebration.” (Loud cheers.)

We are gradually nearing the day when no doubt will be left as to the policy which Her Majesty's Government will hereafter more strenuously pursue in India. Not having any doubt as to this policy him-

self, he could not understand it as a secret as many have understood it. He said he had no "revelation" to make in that respect. The Empire, he meant to say, cannot be conducted on any other principle except that which was employed in effecting the general conquest of India and abolishing its general anarchy and barbarism. His Lordship maintained that his rule will be that of order, justice and impartiality dealt out equally to all, whether princes or people, and to all religions and sects alike ; that measures of education, prosperity and professional and municipal advancement will be developed ; and that, while neither hostile criticism nor servile flattery will be allowed to disturb the course of conduct of His Lordship, the stability of the British Empire will be further strengthened and the crowning glory of its history will be kept in view in the increasing happiness of Her Majesty's subjects. This is a high and difficult ideal no doubt, and one in the pursuit of which the Earl of Dufferin is resolved not to refrain from "any sacrifice, whether of time, labor, health, or strength." The ideal cannot be attempted all at once in such a difficult country as India, but His Lordship is fully confident of leaving some mark in that direction, the more so as the desires which he expressed were not only his desires but of the Queen-Empress and of the Parliament and people of Great Britain.

The policy which the Viceroy desires to follow is as correct in theory as is possible to put it in human language. It is as much as to say that he will remain firm and impartial in disposing of public questions, whoever be the parties involved in them. He would fear neither Europeans nor Natives, whatever the attitude they may take up towards him. He will be both stern and sympathetic. He will not grant privileges and freedom for the mere sake of granting them. He will surely not create any especially to please one community and offend another. His main light will be pushing on to the point of the crowning part of his country's glory, which has already advanced India in the comity of the World's Nations. He will endeavor to meet the aspirations of India, but would not do so if, thereby, the British authority is weakened. He would not mind offending the Anglo-Indian community if their clamour tended to the committal of any gross iniquity to the Indian nation. His Lordship will do everything for India, while stimulating the higher order of glory associated with the supremacy of Great Britain in India. While using his endeavors thus, he will not do any positive act by which the interests or the prestige of any important nation or community may be imperilled.

It would not be fair for the Anglo-Indian Press to express a word of dissent as regards the policy declared by the Viceroy. He is governing a country in which the Anglo-Indians are not the only factor to be considered in the disposal of India's destiny. The educated sons of the soil will fast outbid them in number ; those who can hold their own on all ordinary occasions. As far as they can show their ability to serve the public interests and the Empire better than the Anglo-Indian settlers, it will not be possible for any Viceroy, however strong, to ignore native patriots, politicians, merchants, and noblemen altogether. It is true that they could not presume to deal with the highest functions of the country till it be made clear how they could do so with undoubted efficacy and justice ; but that is no reason why any Viceroy can say—"keep yourselves far away, for you will never be fit for the higher forms of government." A spirit and tendency of this sort are altogether opposed to the original mission of the British, which the noble Lord explicitly declared that he would vindicate in the same manner as the more distinguished of his predecessors had done.

There is reason, again, why the Native Press should be so far exultant as to consider that the extreme Anglo-Indians and their advocates in the Press have been vanquished by the masterly declaration of the Viceroy explaining how justly he wishes to govern India. We natives cannot expect to have the Viceroy all to ourselves. As he cannot outrage our own feelings, so he cannot outrage the feelings of the ruling race. Europeans in India form a great motive factor in the re-generation of the country ; and in endeavoring to acquire a greater influence in its administration we have to pay due respect to the prestige of the ruling race. The more we are able to compete with them successfully, the better shall we be able to associate with them with mutual benefit. After the honest, generous, careful and acute manner in which his policy has now been expounded, we may thoroughly rely on the Viceroy's firmness, sagacity, prescience and vigor in handling innovations and difficulties successfully enough, and in such a manner as to avoid all blame for any deliberate and aggressive race partiality. He will probably unite in his person all the useful and noble elements which ought to influence a free but emphatic government, and all ought to be content with that without indulging in uncontrolled agitation. As far as we can see for the present, the Premier and the Queen have succeeded in selecting the most experienced and skilled Statesman to

administer the affairs of India, who will ~~no doubt~~ always be ready to listen to whatever that is temperate, just, and essential which we might draw his attention to from time to time.—*22nd Feb.* 1885.

It is interesting to note the manner in which the Bombay Press has discussed the propriety of presenting a public address to Sir James Fergusson before his retirement from Bombay. A large number of our native contemporaries have strongly protested against the adoption of such a measure. The feeling seems to be general, however, in Bombay, that it would be indecent to permit the Governor to leave the scene of his five years' labors without his fellow-subjects bidding him an appropriate farewell. Undoubtedly a strong party exists in Bombay which will not feel itself restrained from adopting a public address simply for the reason that an enthusiastic address was presented to a greater and superior statesman like Lord Ripon, and that the unhappy Baronet had the audacity of criticising the feasibility of the Noble Lord's measure of self-government. It is creditable to the Native Press which has vigorously joined the onslaught against our well-meaning Governor that it has taken to this independent attitude—whether that attitude is correct or not being another question. We cannot by any means say that the opposition voters in the Press condemn the movement made in Bombay on a just and perfect appreciation of the Governor's administration, or of the present political situation in India.

The position of an autocratic ruler of India is just sufficient to entitle him to a public address provided that he is not proved to be an incapable, or an enemy of the country. A British autocratic ruler need not necessarily be presented with a public address, for he may have proved a very feeble and an indifferent ruler—one incapable of leaving any mark on the country. But one whose rule may only have turned out to be ordinarily good cannot be refused a suitable address when he leaves the country for good. Our own country in the first place has not yet produced a statesman fit to fight out his way as even a minor Governor or a divisional commissioner. If one of this character were to appear, we know how difficult he will find to administer the country in a marked and successful manner. It can be easily understood how more difficult must a foreigner find the work of governing any part of our country. It cannot be maintained that excepting a few English statesmen like the Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Hope, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

the civilians brought up in this country can, as a body, become able and successful governors. We must, therefore, expect England to continue to give us able politicians, administrators and statesmen as our governors. They are likely to handle our affairs with a larger heart and a cooler head than some of the civilians of the country. It is, therefore, the duty of native India not to be too rigid nor too extreme in showing its disapprobation to a retiring Governor. There is a slight dash of a very high pitched enthusiasm leading on to a total condemnation of the character and doings of Sir James as Governor. None of his opponents say that he has either showed himself to be a thick-headed, an inappreciative, an unimaginative, an ungenerous, or a despotic governor. No one says that he indulged in uncompromising habits; that he conciliated Europeans in order to ruin Natives; that he was arrogant to his colleagues and servile to his superiors; that he flattered the Natives to their detriment and jealously forbade anything that tended to their progress; that he did not admit his own faults and failings and spent his Indian career in indolence and pleasure; or that he has left no grand marks of his own administration. No one can deny that Sir James Fergusson often brought the noblest enthusiasm to bear upon the points of native advancement which he handled. He has worked hard at his post. He has imparted the greatest stimulus to works of public utility, whether in the British or Native administrations. He has scarcely spared misbehaving or incompetent officials. He has filled the Presidency with the noblest institutions of learning, enlightenment, humanity, and public utility. His orations have marked him an enlightened politician and an administrator of greater sincerity than some of his predecessors, only perhaps less famous than a Temple, Elphinstone, or a Frere. He has proved to be a high official of pluck and considerable personal qualities of worth. In his time good many Resolutions of sober sense, sound reasoning, and calculating liberalism have seen the light, which have improved the administration of the Presidency in several of its branches. He has been of great use to Native Chiefs, whose welfare he has sincerely desired, who have been led by him in righteous paths. The more he became familiar with the princes and the people, the better has he behaved towards them. He has constantly expanded his generous habits and shook off stiffness or illiberality as soon as he felt it himself. He is stated to have been impulsive, but has always been governed by an honorable ambition of correcting himself as soon as

he was convinced that he was wrong. His worst enemies could not say that he was an enemy of the natives. This would be too low an estimate to form of human nature as existing in statesmen and as public characters are formed in these days. We know of cases in which he has dealt out high justice to natives in that ready and generous manner which can only be common to high-minded men. His endeavors to make himself acquainted with every part of the Presidency have been as vigorous as they have been beneficial to the country at large. We do not think any governor in his position could have done much better than he has achieved in his short official term. No governor could have shown a greater resolution and a greater independence than Sir James has done at times. The experience of his government leads us to the conclusion that supposing another term of office was allowed him, the people generally would like him much better than they do him now.

In these circumstances a calm and faithful reflection on the proposal to give the retiring Governor a public farewell does not induce us to conclude that such a proposal is worthy of any sweeping condemnation. Of course Sir James did not show himself to be such a saviour as Lord Ripon was inclined to be. Nor is he a statesman fully capable of leading the Natives to the highest eminences of political blessings, or of moral and material prosperity. But public addresses are not usually given only to statesmen of towering morality and strength. They are freely given to lesser lights as well,—to those who have smaller opportunities. We know how this business is managed in nine cases out of ten. There are words of esteem and encouragement delivered for even secondary characters in the empire which really serve great purposes. It is no use for us to be too phlegmatic in public matters of this sort. We pass over the faults of our administrators, but applaud all points of excellence in their character only to bring the latter into greater prominence, and discourage further perpetuations of the former. It is enough that Sir James' career was not an evil one in India; it was certainly not the most distinguished which the most fastidious of us may expect. But is that a reason why we should pooh-pooh the very idea of bidding him a suitable farewell and raising a memorial for the perpetuation of his name amongst us as the distinguished and respected head of our society for the last five years? That he should have honestly and boldly stated the objections he conscientiously felt as existing against a very free introduction of the self-government scheme, cannot make him unworth

of receiving the public honor which is his due. If Lord Ripon was fortunate in receiving the most deserved ovations from the whole of India, Sir James should not be refused the smaller meed of honor due to him. The first was an exceptional circumstance no doubt. But it is that circumstance which has mainly prejudiced the claims of the retiring Governor on our esteem and generosity. We are quite sure that had Lord Ripon's scheme of self-government not influenced our minds, no one of note in Bombay would have thought of voting against Sir James' fitness for a public address. Probably His Excellency does not care at all whether he gets a public address or not; that is at least not the point of view from which we have been compelled to take objection to the attitude of so many of our worthy native contemporaries. Our main object is to point out the inferior policy of imitating the recent Anglo-Indian resentment displayed towards Lord Ripon. We ought not to act in that lower strain even if it be true that Sir James has not done for us as much as we expected of him. Every public address should befit the person and occasion calling for such an address. We should eschew all unpleasant or aggressive conservatism in dealing with pretty good English administrators, in whose career we should be so far interested that we might reap a return-reward from such friendly offers of fellow-feeling.—*8th March, 1885.*

It is difficult to believe that Lord Ripon has been "hasty" in "appealing" *The Times* on Lord against the adverse judgment passed by Anglo-English Ripon at Leeds. opinion upon his policy in India. Their condemnation of him was very severe. It was further emphasised by their resolutely abstaining from paying him the courtesies due to his position on his departure from India. Had Lord Ripon delayed in explaining his policy on his return to England, such a late attempt would only have been pronounced both stale and unnecessary. It is amusing to be told that the "many intelligent and estimable persons" who were present at the banquet at Leeds, presided over by Sir Edward Baines, were ignorant of even "a rudimentary knowledge of the burning questions agitated in India during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty." And yet *The Times* had not left a stone unturned to convince the people of England that the late Viceroy was committing the greatest mischief in India. And the Anglo-Indians had any amount of talk and representations on the questions handled by him. The great journal takes a strong exception to the observation made

by Sir Edward Baines that the Ilbert Bill was a measure "than which none" had ever passed in India that had done more to convince the natives of "the justice of England's rule." The measure only affected the status of half-a-dozen native civilians. Though these were eventually placed on the same legal status as their European confreres, the equality was nullified by the concession granted to European accused to demand a jury on his trial—a right which has not been accorded to natives. Thus *The Times* proceeds to argue :—

"The mischief of Lord Ripon's policy, as has been frequently pointed out, is that it did not achieve, and could by no possibility have achieved, any practical results commensurate with the excitement produced in the native mind, with the danger to the stability of Anglo-Indian institutions from the awakening of hopes which cannot be realized—at least, until England resigns her Empire—and with the injury to India by terrifying and driving out English capital and enterprise. As a matter of fact, the Bill, as it finally became law, did not even satisfy the ambitions of "the small and dwindling class" of native covenanted civilians, with whose sentimental grievances it professed to deal, while, it is needless to say, it did not even touch the large and vague aspirations which Lord Ripon rashly invited to soaring flights, and which, if he had remained in India, he would have had to bring down abruptly to the level of the working world."

This is a heavy indictment against the late Viceroy. But it is an indictment, which, if it be considered an indictment at all, must lie against the modern spirit of progress, and not against any statesman, whether he is a Ripon or a Dufferin. If the Ilbert Bill only consulted the sentiment of half-a-dozen natives, the loud clamour raised by the Anglo-Indian world was perfectly unintelligible. The fact is it affected the privilege and *amour propre* of the Anglo-Indians on the one side, and the legitimate aspiration and the legal and moral status of some important native functionaries on the other. Had the former been generous they would have allowed the Bill to pass as originally framed, and let the experience of its working tell its own tale. For it was admitted by our Anglo-Indian brethren themselves that the Bill favoured no more than half-a-dozen persons. Moreover, it was a concession the necessity of which was felt so far back as Lord Dalhousie's regime. And yet no sooner did we mark the lamentable excitement throughout India we—a native journalist—willingly brought forward a plan for soothing concessions, the main portion of which when the time for a settlement came was found feasible enough. It is a mistake to suppose that "what was given with one hand was taken back with the other." The weight of what was held in the hand to be

given away was reduced, but certainly not taken off. A native judge will thus be a check on a jury of arbitrary tendencies. If any large number of natives really desired to have the right of calling a jury for themselves, it will probably be accorded to them. If the concession has been over-ridden by the new privileges granted, where is the harm done to large interests that it has still left such a bitter feeling behind, and to which *The Times* has again given vent?

The secret, however, of Lord Ripon's lasting calumny in *The Times* is not far to seek. Why should he have preached at all that Natives have equal rights with Europeans in India, when it is known, as a matter of course, that the former cannot now be made governors or commissioners, and that if the right of equality in law is admitted, though it cannot possibly be in respect of expediency, there would be no reason why the English should not transfer their power to the Baboos of Bengal and quit India? The accusation made against Lord Ripon that, in granting a very small concession, he imported general principles covering far wider and more perilous innovations, is not correct. The bitter opposition of Anglo-Indians against a very small rational measure of justice was really the cause of the exposition which has always annoyed our revered contemporary in London. Lord Ripon was no doubt guilty of operating—to a very slight extent however—upon his doctrines of English Liberalism, in a backward country like India; and here is the real gravamen of *The Times'* charge against Lord Ripon. But we may deferentially ask our contemporary, where is the evil of Lord Ripon having honestly and cautiously avowed his professions which, as put into practice by him, were only “ludicrously inadequate”? It is true that “Lord Ripon's practice, as compared with his principle, was extremely deficient.” That he should have so slowly put his principle into practice, illustrates the moderation with which he worked in India in giving effect to measures of freedom and progress. The circumstance reflects credit on him, and not discredit. No legislative measure can be brought forward without explaining the policy and principle of the government on which it is based. The more such a measure is discussed and agitated upon, the better is such a policy exposed to light. It is contended that he raised dangerous aspirations, knowing that it would be impossible to fulfil them, merely that a vain sentiment of a handful of native civilians may be gratified. If such a sentiment existed and was gratified, then surely the other one logically following it, according

to our contemporary, ought to have also existed and asserted itself. That other sentiment being that personal qualifications would justify the appointment of natives to governorships, lieutenant-governorships, and chief commissionerships. "If these be open to the natives, on what grounds can it be insisted that the Commander-in-Chief or the Viceroy himself must be an Englishman? It is impossible to answer except by asserting those principles of Anglo-Indian Government which Lord Ripon would seem to ignore and deny. The education of the natives of India has given birth, we admit, to aspirations which, within the limits of reason and prudence, it is well to satisfy; but it is dangerous to lay down general principles of abstract right which, if logically applied, would transfer the control of the administrative machine in India from Englishmen to the Baboos of Bengal." Here is the cat out of the bag. India has put forth no such pretensions in any form worth noting. *The Times*, however, just does what it scolds Lord Ripon for doing, though he has really not done it. We think a penal enactment might here suggest itself in the interests of any English Ruler who ventures to unfold the beneficent policy of Her Majesty's Government on whatever pretext, if it be true that such disasters as *The Times* mentions are likely to follow from the exposition of a liberal policy. In following a kind, a just, an enlightened, and a moderate policy, our government cannot muster up all the dismal forebodings of an excited imagination. It is enough that a sound, wise, and progressive policy is followed. No one can control future results—and it would be futile to do so. All which is necessary to be done is not deliberately to permit evil influences in the administration to gather strength. The Government know well how to nullify them. Their mission is to see that while the extreme of the reactionary or standstill party is not adopted, the gross proclivities of the fast patriots of India are not also encouraged. But for the reason of that the spirit of progress cannot now be quenched. India cannot be kept under lock and key, while the better countries of the world are ever on the move. For her own safety and prosperity she must not only share in the world's progress, but contribute to the well-being of her neighbours to save herself from interior and exterior poverty and dangers. It is indispensable to always have a clear vision of Her Majesty's policy in India, and to understand how far it could be acted upon with due regard to existing circumstances. We cannot permit our healthy progress to be strangled, because some of our opponents may conjure up phantasms

political emancipation, which have never been seriously entertained by us. An abstract right of exercising the higher functions of State may be safely urged both by the rulers and the ruled, though, in each instance, its application has to be well considered. But if such abstract rights may theoretically mean that it is within the province of a native to become a governor, or a lieutenant-governor, it would not practically mean that no question of admitting fit natives into offices higher than they now occupy could be discussed or acted upon. *The Times'* argument, however, lands us into this fallacious position. It is much to be regretted that the estimate of the great journal of the noble and memorable work done by one of its own distinguished countrymen in a foreign and very difficult country should be so unfair and intemperate.—15th March, 1885.

THE most important of all the popular demonstrations held in honour of Lord Ripon on his return home from India was the
 The Banquet at St. James's Hall. banquet given him, on February 25, by the National Liberal Club, in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly.

Upwards of 800 noblemen and gentlemen with an equal number of ladies were present, the Hall being tastefully decorated with flowers and tall palms artistically arranged with all the contrasts of bright colours attainable. The toast of "the Queen, Empress of India," was given by the Chairman, the Earl of Kimberley, soon after the dinner. The first speech was made by Lord Hartington in responding for the Army. He spoke in terms of the highest praise of the valour displayed and the hardships borne by British Generals, recently in Egypt, and previously in Afghanistan. "Rarely, if ever," he said, "have the physical difficulties been exceeded, which our troops have been encountering in the valley of the Nile since the beginning of August last, and rarely, if ever, have British troops had to encounter in battle a braver or a more determined foe. It is difficult at this moment to say which feeling predominates in our mind—whether it be of regret for these gallant men, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates whom we have lost, or pride in the achievements which they and their comrades have performed. The name of General Gordon belongs not to the Army alone, but to the nation, and will always be treasured among us." This is a poor consolation to the numerous people in India and England who, rightly or wrongly, hold that a faithful and trusting national hero like Gordon could have been saved, and that the campaign

in Egypt have been more firmly dealt with to the advantage of all parties concerned in it, had not the Government been vacillating on account of their preconceived theories. It was not enough to have dwelt on the noble, unselfish and heroic deeds of General Gordon and his military compatriots who have given their lives in their country's cause. We should have liked to satisfy ourselves that no reasonable precautions and vigilance adopted by the Government would have effected the relief of Khartoum. The blood and treasure of the country should not be spent merely in the pursuit of impractical doctrines of Liberalism or Radicalism when it is likely that in practice they might prove untenable. When the Egyptian affair is closed, the world will no doubt be anxious to know the relevancy of the reasons which led the present Government to follow the policy which ended in the betrayal and murder of General Gordon. It is satisfactory to find Lord Hartington avowing that though Lord Ripon did not succeed in getting the home Government to adopt his scheme of reforming the Armies of Hindustan, their efficiency was not decreased but strengthened during his regime. Here, again, we are left in the dark as to what the proposals of Lord Ripon were to the Home Government. There can be no doubt that the Government in England have been tardy in recognizing the necessity of gradually reforming the military resources of both Afghanistan and the Native States of India. The interests of India have clearly demanded that between it and the Russians there should exist an independent nation with an extensive country always interested in offering an insurmountable barrier to the Russian aggression on whatever pretext. But we may possibly have to notice this point when we come to the views expressed on it by Lord Ripon himself.

Lord Northbrook, in replying for the Navy, mentioned a singular act of heroism by Lord Beresford, who "has had the good fortune which every officer so ardently desires of being mentioned with praise in the despatches of Lord Wolseley for his plucky conduct in entering and repairing a steamer, to the best of my belief about the size of one of the penny steamers on the Thames, in front of the enemy's battery, and by the help of his gardner gun, keeping that battery in check without any severe loss to the crew of that ship." It is by such plucky and persevering acts that the British nation have gained their present predominance in the world. The best of them, when the critical hour came, have not grudged to sacrifice their lives in the cause of their country, and it is both by intellect and valour

that they have conquered half the world. Supposing a sanguinary conflict ensued in Afghanistan and Herat to-morrow, who are the princes and noblemen of India who would think of abandoning their ease and luxury, and lead a brave army against the Russians, or the hostile tribes and Sirdars who are bent, once more on producing anarchy in Afghanistan ? We may call upon our Government to induce some of our noblemen to share in the military glories, whether of peace or of war. And we may also call upon our aristocracy to come forward and boldly ask the Government to take them into their military ranks. It is a matter of deep shame to this country that it cannot repose a little faith in the best of its valiant sons to direct the tactics of the smallest English column in the time of a battle. Lord Northbrook stated from a true conviction that the policy followed by Lord Ripon in India was not only one which he cordially approved, but was also essentially one which all statesmen, to whatever creed they belonged, ought implicitly to follow. The fact that Lord Northbrook ruled India on the mixed principles of the two great parties in England lends much weight to his utterance. Whatever the ways of applying these principles by different statesmen on different occasions, none of them, unless hopelessly incompetent, can ever lose from his sight the great object of Providence in entrusting the destinies of India to the most favoured nation of the world. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that a nobleman has succeeded Lord Ripon in India who is sure to make a name in achieving both moral and material ends in binding together and strengthening the straggling nations of India, always to be illumined by the light from England, till that light is for ever blended with the light of the East.

Sir William Harcourt replied to the toast of "the Government" given by the Earl of Cowper. He took credit for the Government for the work done by Lord Ripon in India as being a truly "imperial" one, differing from the imperialism "meant in the bastard notion of modern times," and expressed the sense of gratitude and admiration felt by the Government to one "who has been their trusted colleague and who is my friend of many years, for the great services which he has rendered to this country in the imperial task which he had so long discharged." Sir William proceeded to explain the true import of imperialism such as would befit England of present times :—

I use the word Imperial task advisedly. I know it is sometimes charged against the Liberal party that they have no Imperial sympathies, that they are incapable of the Imperial