

spirit and the Imperial idea. I dispute that statement altogether. If you mean by Imperialism the bastard notion of modern times, why, then, I admit it; but if what you intend by the Imperial idea is that which was comprehended by that great governing people which most resemble, I think, in its qualities and in its spirit the English nation—I speak of the Roman Empire—then I think I can say that the Liberal party repudiates any such idea. On the contrary, I venture to affirm that it is its true representative. (Cheers.) What was the Imperial idea which inspired the Government of the Empire of Rome? Will any one say that it was the extension of territory? Will any one say that it was additional conquest? Why that is to falsify history altogether. If you look into that famous chapter which opens the immortal work of Gibbon you will find that he speaks of the moderation of Augustus, that he states that the man who founded the Empire of Rome and who consolidated its strength was the man who, throughout his life, resisted, and in his last testimony bequeathed to his successor the principle that the limits of the Empire should not be enlarged. (Cheers.) There is a celebrated writer of antiquity, himself an Emperor, who places in the mouth of Augustus, when he died, some memorable words. They are short, but they are so applicable to the Government of India and to the administration of Lord Ripon that I will venture to take leave to read them. He makes Augustus to say—"I have not sought to beget one war out of another. I have thought I have done more wisely in employing all my time in the reformation of the laws and the reformation of disorders, in doing which I consider that I have not acted less well than any of those who have preceded me. And even, if I may speak with frankness, I have surpassed all those who have ever governed great empires." That is an Imperial idea, it is the conception of Imperial Rome, which the Liberal party can well acknowledge and can be proud to carry out.

We think some fallacy is involved in a too confident comparison instituted with ancient kingdoms as in relation to any large empire of modern times. What was accomplished by despotic sovereigns of the Roman Empire, or even what was conceived by them, cannot fairly be held as an example to be followed in the modern constitution of an empire. Had there been an emperor of a different temperament in the place of Augustus, he would very likely have directed Imperialism in a direction wide apart from that attempted by the latter. If a comparison is to hold good, all conditions and circumstances should be scrupulously alike in both instances. It is difficult to believe that the features of the Empire of Great Britain are like those of the Empire of Augustus. He had hardly such foreign provocations and responsibilities as England has to deal with now in the sheer necessity of self-preservation and self-prosperity. The needs and obligations of the greatest empire in present times are widely different from those of any of the old empires which had not known such a vigorous and universal growth as of to-day. What Augustus could have afforded to do in his times, the Queen-Empress could not possibly do in these days,

when there is such a close competition among a number of powerful States, whose will is based on a military prowess ever-growing. The fact is that the Conservatives have perhaps too deliberately used Imperialism, while the Liberals have not till they have been brought to the last extremity. But that the Liberals can develop this quality to as great an extent as the other party, no one can doubt. We shall probably for a long time to come fail to meet the ends of Imperialism, for, Great Britain, with all her Liberalism, is in as great a danger of losing its influence and prestige as any great Power in Europe, on its foreign relations being neglected or half-understood. Had Sir William Harcourt given us a precise definition of Imperialism, of its reality and its counterfeit, we should have better understood it than by the means of a very remote comparison. At any rate I agree with Sir William in the following eulogy he passed on Lord Ripon, in which he seems to perceive the inferior form of Imperialism which the late Viceroy so well avoided following in his work in India —

He had some illustrious predecessors in whose steps he has trod. They were men who in their exertions for the native population incurred similar obloquy to his own. Macaulay, at the end of that brilliant essay upon Lord Clive, speaks of the man whom he was commemorating. He said — "His name stands high on the roll of conquerors, but it is found in a better list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan, nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generation of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck." And if Macaulay had written a few years later, he would have added another name—I mean the name of Lord Canning, a man who in the time of danger and difficulty had such magnanimity and mercy that he was assailed with that which was regarded as a title of reproach, the title of "Clemency" Canning—a name which will remain to him forever as the most imperishable monument of his fame. Lord Ripon has understood the meaning of those great examples, and it is because he has had the courage in the same cause to encounter the same obloquy that we are here to welcome him and to thank him to-night. It is because he has understood what the Emperors of Rome did not understand—that it is not enough to dominate races by the force of your arms, or even by holding them down by the weight of your laws, but that, if you are to found an empire which is not to crumble away in a decline and fall such as that which overtook the Roman, you must discover how, in some manner or other, you can find your way to the hearts of the people you rule. (Cheers.) It is a hard lesson to human pride to learn, and though, no doubt, there is no task of statesmanship more difficult than that which attempts to reconcile the pride of a subject people, it is that task which Lord Ripon has attempted, and in which he has largely succeeded, and it is because he has accomplished so God-like a mission that we are here to welcome and to thank him.

The Earl of Derby, responding to the toast of "the Houses of Parliament," said that Lord Ripon exercised his functions so justly that he became unmindful of the personal consequences he had to endure. However prejudiced were those who opposed him, the people of England, by the honours which they have paid him, have shown that they were not affected by their alarm. The Earl considered it to be the duty of every statesman of England to rule India for the Indians, and if they would ever give a greater share to the Indians, to conduct their administration, it will not be because the British people were not fit to govern them, but because no one could better understand and appreciate native feelings and wants than the natives themselves. When the latter receive the same enlightenment as the people of England, India could not be kept by the British unless it was allowed rights and privileges commensurate with the new aspirations raised.

From Sir Charles Dilke's speech we infer that Lord Ripon has been throughout his political career an advanced Liberal—even a Radical, which he does not fear to acknowledge that he has been. In fact the principles which he unflinchingly carried out in India he had also deliberately advocated in England. It was very wise, however, on the part of Lord Ripon that he did not openly avow his radicalism while here. If he had done so he would have damaged the cause of India. His excellent merit was that while at heart he was a Radical, he showed the capacity of acting as if he was a Conservative-Liberal. Sir Charles Dilke said :—"He was a man whom they were all proud to recognize as one born to rule—as a matter of fact he was born in Downing-street itself, and if a man born there was not born to rule, he did not know who was."

However eloquent were the other speeches, none was so remarkable for fulness, for lucidity, and for temperateness as that of the Indian Secretary of State. It must be read to be appreciated. It is a masterly, sympathetic and generous vindication of Lord Ripon's acts in India. Except in one little matter, that Lord Lytton's action with regard to a small part of the vernacular press was entirely uncalled for, according to the Earl, the approbation accorded to Lord Ripon will at once command the assent of all unprejudiced men. He pointed out with conclusive arguments that what Lord Ripon attempted in India was exactly in consonance with the spirit and principles which have guided Her Majesty's Government from the earliest date, and with the character and doings of his most distinguished

predecessors, of whom history has left a happy remembrance. There was nothing novel or striking in his acts, and though he refused to base his policy on mere expediency—and so based it on the principles which he cherished—he did nothing more than continue the administration on the old lines, which have always been widely approved of. He did not rule India as a partizan would have ruled—which would undoubtedly have been a misfortune. It will always redound to the best credit of India if its Viceroys, by whomsoever they may be appointed, ruled the country without being influenced by any particular tie. Let the Viceroy of the time steadily keep in view what would be the best thing for India, and that would not be too much for him to carry out in virtue of his responsible and distinguished office. As we Indians have been so much pleased with the late Viceroyalty, so are we also pleased with the general and warm esteem in which our acts of loyalty and appreciation caused by Lord Ripon has been held in England. It must cause us peculiar gratification to read the concluding portion of the Earl's speech —

His noble friend endeavoured to provide for equal justice to all before the law, and he received the unwavering and hearty support of Her Majesty's Government throughout the whole of the business, believing as they did that the principles upon which he was acting were right. Lord Ripon had brought back with him to this country the universal esteem of millions upon millions of our fellow subjects. Whenever he went in India crowds of natives came round him to show their appreciation of the benefits which he had conferred upon them. If he had no other title to their gratitude to place his rule high among that of Indian Viceroys he would secure it in this, for it was no easy thing for an alien ruler like our Viceroy to touch the hearts of men of another race, and to touch them in the unmistakable manner in which his noble friend had touched them. Lord Ripon by his policy had done more than any one else to strengthen the loyalty of the natives of India to the Crown and to strengthen the foundations of our Indian Empire, and he gave them the toast of Lord Ripon's health, with the sincere belief that when history had passed its verdict upon his administration it would be found recorded as one of the greatest and brightest of the Viceroyalties of our Indian Empire.

It is noteworthy that Lord Ripon had the full sympathy of the Home Government in his struggles to get the Ilbert Bill passed, though like him the Home authorities, while being firm, took precious care not to exasperate the Anglo-Indian feelings. It may be remembered that my own attitude, while feelings on both sides were running high, and while superior light was absent among the public, tended towards the adoption of a moderate reform by certain measures of conciliation which I was first to suggest.

I now pass on to the speech of the hero of the hour—1, of course, mean our late beloved, god-like Viceroy. He said he still maintained his life-long

adherence to the great Liberal party of England. While explaining this he was induced to declare that the cheers "were a good augury of the speedy determination of the great issue whether this country is to be governed by Lord Salisbury or Mr. Gladstone." Both the Earl of Kimberley and Lord Ripon warmly upheld the evacuation of Afghanistan as an event which has secured a friendly country on our borders—no doubt a very essential thing for India. It cannot be denied for one moment that a friendly Afghanistan is essential at the present moment for the security of India, and that the best way to keep a country very friendly to a neighbouring power is not to violate its independence. Lord Ripon says that because he evacuated Candahar, Afghanistan is friendly to-day, which is very useful just now, considering the present conflict with Russia. Both the high authorities have, no doubt, tried to give us a simple view of this difficult problem. If we want the Afghans to be friendly to us, we also wish them to become powerful and make use of their power as much for their interests as for ours. We should like to be satisfied if this has been done by the evacuation of Candahar. It is presumed that the British generosity shown has been the means of giving us a friendly ally to interpose between us and the Russians. Abdur Rahaman had been shown sufficient friendliness when he was placed on the Cabul *gadi*. But that measure does not seem to have made him strong enough to menace Russia, instead of Russia menacing India as it actually does now. Our abandoning Afghanistan altogether has not made it strong enough to punish Russia for its audacity in coolly appropriating portions of the Afghanistan territories. If Afghanistan has been made strong, where was the use of sending out a Commission to define its own boundaries, while Russia has continued descending on the Amir's country in spite of that Commission. We abhor the idea of carrying on a war in a neighbour's country, but when it was sanctioned by the parent country, that country ought not to have stultified itself by subsequently falling into the other extreme. I wrote a work and pointed out that nothing like annexation or anything approaching it was then to be carried out. But when a ruler assumed to be friendly to us was placed on the throne, and while we had strongly established ourselves in that country, the task of an active and disinterested warden had inevitably come upon us, which could not be avoided without doing injury to Afghanistan as well as India. You gave over the whole country to the Amir, and blessed him every year with a large amount of money. Though you knew him to be incapable of serving

the highest interests for which he was chosen you thought that all would go right by merely leaving him a perfect master of Afghanistan. There was not the slightest objection to his becoming a perfect master of his own dominions. But where was the harm to show him, when he got the *gadi* with our own help, how best he could render his position impregnable by allowing the British Government to reorganize his military and to place their own army of watch in Candahar, which he would gladly have allowed to be occupied? A great politician-statesman might have been deputed, who would have succeeded in giving some intelligible constitution to the Amir, and preventing the frittering away of his resources for the five years which have elapsed since Russia first tampered with Afghanistan. She has now actually encroached upon its territories. It seems to us much safer and more economic to guide Afghanistan disinterestedly rather than allow it to squander its resources unassisted by an experienced neighbouring power. It would be superfluous to mention how British intervention can be made thoroughly beneficial and in no wise injurious to Afghanistan. We need not grudge, however, to extend every confidence to the absolute reversal of policy effected by Lord Ripon soon after his arrival in the country. We shall now let the fast-approaching results tell us the effect of that policy. The entire effect can only be gauged on a war breaking out in Afghanistan, which every party of course would wish to avoid. It is then to be seen if the Afghans and other tribes would side with the Russians, or with ourselves, and whether they would support Abdur Rahaman as an ally of India or somebody else as a creature of the Russians. Lord Ripon's statement, in reference to his relations with Native States, I may fully endorse. The Nizam of Hyderabad owes a good deal to his generous policy, and we shall have to watch with interest for some time to come the consequences of entrusting full powers to two very young and promising noblemen—the Nizam himself and his Minister Sir Salar Jung. I hope in course of time that State may take its rank among the foremost model States in India. No serious politician ever believed that Russia had tampered with the loyalty of some of our native states. Lord Ripon inquired of this privately before leaving India, and was satisfied that the rumours were ridiculous. I trust somebody may trace the rumour to its source at least to ascertain in what manner was it possible for Russia to open any communication with any of the native states in India. Though a Liberal, Lord Ripon did not fail to

render good advice to native chiefs when they needed it, and that was undoubtedly for their good. I can cordially bear out the assertion of Lord Ripon that "there never was a time at which the native princes of India were more loyal to our gracious Sovereign than they are to-day."

The most important part of Lord Ripon's speech referred to the pledges given by the British Government in respect of the broad and liberal policy to be always applied in governing India. His Lordship pointed out the Charter Act of 1833 and the debates which preceded it in both Houses of Parliament as the foundation work of his attitude in India. It was at that period that a free introduction of Europeans into this country was permitted with certain declarations of policy in their reference; and to this circumstance Lord Ripon did well in drawing attention. I agree with him that the changes effected in India on account of the spread of education, extension of railways, and the working of a free Press have been so great that their real meaning can hardly be realized by those whom we know to have been much prejudiced by the spirit of conservatism. The bulk of Indian officials, owing to their immediate contact with the practical work of the country and their individual inhabitants, cannot possibly breathe any very healthy liberalism in the interests of the various communities. They cannot possibly be the warm advocates of a sympathetic and generous policy, which generally emanates from statesmen possessed of large opportunities. It was natural, therefore, for Lord Ripon, while ruling India, to find out what were the object and aim of Providence in vesting its interests in a nation superior in both moral and physical strength to the natives of India. It was quite right for him to have selected the primitive principles of first purity, which had latterly been emphasised by the Queen's Government. These principles, as he said, "remain always the same. The mode of application must depend upon the circumstances of the time and the subject with which the Government has to deal." The practical and modifying spirit which will always influence the Viceroys will place a great curb on the spirit of progress characterizing the British administration. The strongest opponent of Lord Ripon as representing Anglo-India—we mean the *Times*—perceived ultimate dangers in his avowing the principles which sent out the famous Charter to India. But these principles have been clearly admitted to have been applied under conditional circumstances. It was a very little thing—it was the safest thing to have sought the investment

of half-a-dozen competent native civilians with the same jurisdictional authority already exercised by their European brother-officials. When this extension of a slight privilege was violently opposed, the principles underlying that step necessarily came into relief. The question was not to what extent such privileges could be accorded to Indians ; the real point at issue was whether it was safe, while we were permitted to enjoy the same moral and mental freedom as Englishmen did in their own native country, to deny the natives who showed their fitness, the advancement earned by them by their own individual merits and qualifications. Lord Ripon, therefore, showed a wise forethought in practically recognizing the gradual application of the principles more than once solemnly affirmed by the British Nation. They cannot now thrust back India, and they cannot turn it into their enemies by telling the natives, who exert in qualifying themselves for the discharge of high functions, that their legitimate and temperately asserted aspirations cannot be fulfilled. Discourage them by devising as severe tests as you can in the interests of the country, but those who are found answering the tests should not certainly be discouraged. If even such men are discouraged they cannot, as Lord Ripon said, turn out the supporters of the Government. This is certainly not the method to promote good government and enhance and cheapen its functions—which is daily becoming a greater necessity for this large, complicated and poor country. If Great Britain cannot uphold its prestige and maintain its influence without India, then it is this spirit which has to be followed by the parent country not merely to obtain succour for itself, but to secure the freedom and integrity of the Indian Empire. If that high and abiding spirit were to be neglected, ruin would await both the mother and the subject countries. We shall do well by quoting here the concluding words of Lord Ripon's fair and manly speech.—

The noble Marquis proceeded to refer to some of the principal measures of his administration, including the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, the extension of railway communication, the reduction of taxation, and particularly the tax on salt. But these duties, he remarked, were not the only duties intrusted to the British Government in India. They must desire faithfully and honestly to fulfil the great task which God had imposed upon England when He gave her the Indian Empire to rule. They must set before themselves yet higher aims, and endeavour to the utmost of their power to give to their fellow-subjects in India the rich stores of their own knowledge and civilization, fitting them in increased numbers to take part in the management of their own affairs, and admitting them gradually to those positions to which they themselves had taught them to aspire. It was only by such a policy they could maintain the good faith of

England and redeem the pledges of the Crown. By such a policy alone they could extend and deepen the loyalty to our gracious Sovereign which was so widely spread throughout India, and which it was a deep satisfaction to him to believe that during the five years of his Indian administration he did something to consolidate. (Loud cheers.)

The veteran reformer and the people's orator, Mr. John Bright, made a pretty long speech about our country in replying to the toast of "Prosperity to India." This speech takes us more to the ultimatum of British sovereignty in India than any of the preceding ones. It is always interesting to note what liberal statesmen may have to state on this point from time to time, for it cannot be accepted without subjecting it to certain broad practical tests which have to be drawn from existing facts. The argument of Mr. Bright should, therefore, be looked into, for it does great credit to his heart. He said all India and England and all Anglo-Indians and Britishers would accept that toast with unanimity, acclamation and cordiality. And yet when the means by which such prosperity can be attained are discussed, many of those who would heartily join the toast would also condemn the measures which a great officer like Lord Ripon might think it necessary to introduce in India. He contended that India can only be governed by England in what are the sacred interests of the people of India, which cannot be otherwise ruled. The reason of this he thus put in plain terms :—

"We should put ourselves in the position of the natives of India, and ask ourselves what we should say if we were there, a put of 200 millions, and were told, as several people have said, and many have said, by their action—that these 200 millions of people are to be governed by a privileged small class, a handful of men coming from some remote island, eight or ten thousand miles away, and that the interests of this handful of men should be considered and their clamour listened to, against the wisdom of the Government of Calcutta, the Parliament of England, the promises of the Crown, and the sympathies of the great masses."

Yes, it will always be safe to consult the wishes of the Crown, the Parliament and the masses at large, whenever any serious difference arose between the people of India and the Anglo-Indians. Mr. Bright has strikingly explained the present position of the people of India, though it is still a matter of doubt whether a handful of the most enlightened and powerful race can be compared at a low standard which the immense heterogeneous population of India for the present indicates. The British conquerors will, from sheer necessity, assume a commanding position in India, the gross features of which the Crown and the Parliament of England, from their freedom from local prejudices and hatred, will always have to erase from the broader assertion of their sovereignty. The development of

the numerous conflicting elements in India will for a long time to come require the watch and direction of the Lord Paramount in the Indian interests themselves. It is thus that Mr. Bright's syllogism may not stand quite well in the eyes of those reasoning from a knowledge on the spot. To show the influence of English education in India Mr. Bright narrated what was spoken to him by two natives of India sometime ago :—" I met several years ago two most educated and accomplished natives of that country ; and they were describing to me the manner in which the English language is spreading. One of them said, ' I believe in a short time—within the next few years—there will be as many people in India who know and will read Milton and Shakespeare, as there are now in England.' The other gentleman then turned round to me and said, ' I think there are as many now.' " It is needless to point out how very exaggerated was the view placed before Mr. Bright. It may not do any harm ; but it can hardly do any good. It will surely require many years yet before India can have as many English-knowing people as England has. And it will take a much longer period in attaining that popular highly-developed culture which has been acquired by England. I entirely agree with Mr. Bright when he states that the literature from the West will transform the idolatrous religion of India ; but this will yet take time. When the people have mended their social and religious systems they will be led to struggle for political reforms more than they have yet done. The general political freedom will take place not soon after the spread of Western civilization, but after the spread of social and religious reforms. I hope to have pointed out in a few words one great misconception under which some liberal-minded Englishmen so often labour. Mr. Bright naturally feels apprehensive of what would be the results on native minds of the effects of Western education and literature which have transformed the religion, the politics and the material condition of the people of England. " They ' would not inquire very much because they would know that it was not difficult for a foreign country like this, with trained military men and the power of engaging the military services of the natives of India, to build up a great Empire. But they would say, ' This is ancient history.' " As I have already stated, no danger need be apprehended from the mere spread of education, for a good many forces should be generated from that agency before the natives can make any formidable resolutions calculated to change the very basis of the Indian Empire.

Mr. Bright understands that a small community like the British is not permanently destined to rule such a large country as India. It is not useful to go into this question just now, for it will not be a practical task always precisely to keep in view any ultimatum of this sort, whether in favour of, or adverse to, India, while the business of its administration is carried on. A remote result is generally left to the working of Providence, while the current affairs are managed in the best light possible. Mr. Bright is quite right in saying that the administrators of India should cultivate a spirit like that of the late Governor-General. There will be then many more Ilbert Bills and a greater general development of Government. "The Government, if it be so, will be far better, it will be less costly, and it will be more acceptable to the people, and less humiliating, for it will make the best of their people joint rulers with some of the best of ours. It will, therefore, be the more enduring." Here is some tangible result rightly anticipated and pointed out by Mr. Bright, which may be very cordially endorsed. And I may confidently ask the rulers, great and small, to pursue the liberal learnings indicated by Mr. Bright. In dwelling upon the poverty of India the Right Hon'ble gentleman referred to the work published on the subject of India by the Secretary of the National Liberal Club. The salient points of it were stated by him as below :—

"It will refer to two points in a single sentence. One is the extremely fearful poverty which prevails over a large portion of the population of India. The barest food, and the lowest, comfortable shelter in any workhouse in this country would be palatial treatment to millions of the population of India—(cheers)—and during the present century it is stated that there have died of famine in India a larger number of persons than all the men that have fallen in all the wars which have been waged during that course of time throughout the globe."

If such is the magnitude of the work to be done in India it is absurd not to multiply native agencies in the higher paths of our administration and to effectually amend the constitution of the country. True, India needs several capable statesmen like Mr. Gladstone as Mr. Bright hinted ; but the greater the number of such workers introduced, the sterner will be the necessity felt to increase efficient native agencies. I cannot do better than quote here the whole of the concluding passage of Mr. Bright's speech :—

"What we want in India is the sympathy of our friend here, the late Governor-General of India, permeating the hearts and feelings of the Englishmen in India. If you do so change the hearts and create a feeling of sympathy, I am quite sure it will do more to perpetuate or lead to a longer continuance of the English rule in India than the despatch of many regiments of

soldiers. (Cheers.) What we want to see—I shall not live to see it, but there are many here who will have to see a great deal—what I hope for is that in the coming time we may have the best intellects of India working with Englishmen earnestly for the good of India and the honour of England. (Cheers.) How great will be the results for good I cannot describe; or probably can't imagine; but I am sure the results for good will be great to the countless millions who for the time—be it short or long—are under the influence and subject to the English Crown. (Cheers.) The subject of India is a very great one in my estimation. The mystery we cannot fathom, by which that country, with its vast population, has been subjected to the rule of this country, is one of those things of which history gives us no example, and if we did not see it, we could not imagine it could come in the future. But it has come—not by reason of the prowess or violence, or military spirit of this generation, but of our forefathers, and we at any rate, unless we surrender it, it may be to its confusion and its difficulties, are bound to do all that the best intellect of the country, the most honourable sentiment, and the most moral feeling, can do to raise as much as we can the population of that country, and to give them the belief that we wish them good, rather than wish to complete our greatness upon their subjection and their sufferings. (Loud cheers.) It is because I believe that Lord Ripon, our honoured guest, has gone as far as it was possible for him in that post of eminence which he occupied to do, and has done that which it becomes every Englishman to do that I am tendering him my thanks." (Cheers.)

But the British administrators and the leading natives of India have only to be guided in all difficult positions, and in all emergencies, by the safe beacon Mr. Bright has so happily placed before our vision as it gives me such pride and pleasure to quote him here. But that beacon has to be more constantly and more firmly kept in view than it has hitherto been, and in many more directions indeed than those meagrely observed till now. We may then find in our native population so many armies for the support of the British in India, while no foe of theirs will have the impudence of menacing our peace. It may not be possible for a long time to come to press in practical service broad and generous theories in their entirety and without modifications in due regard to actual facts and circumstances; but unless our Rulers steadily maintain the light of these theories even with a certain amount of sacrifice in the interests of general good, I doubt very much the value of weak or forced loyalty that is not provided with the only useful basis of united moral and material forces to be cordially generated in the enfeebled and distracted nations of India. As the other powers of Europe and Asia become materially freer and stronger to act in the world, should the British Government proportionally take every community and every native prince into greater confidence, and, while granting them a greater scope for regeneration, prosperity and renown, should found their own enhanced strength and inviolability

in the reform and unity of their own subjects. Such a mixed and accurately weighed method can alone succeed in rendering Great Britain and its Eastern Empire permanently inviolate. It is pleasing to me to be cognizant of the fact that this conception of the national duty of India and England is more readily appreciated by the present generation, both Europeans and Natives, than it was fifteen or twenty years ago, when so many of my political propositions were felt but little removed from a dreamy region!—*29th March, 1885.*

THE *Rast Goftar*, the leading vernacular journal of the Bombay presidency, was right in urging the other day that when a new Governor set his foot in Bombay, its leaders must be prepared to give him a welcome address, bringing to his notice the various wants and wishes of the Presidency. The suggestion appears to have been timely taken up. The best leading man of Bombay—the young, highly promising, and patriotic Parsi Baronet—delivered a public address himself to Lord Reay, our new Governor, in behalf of the Presidency Association. The address partook of a general character and was, perhaps, a little fuller than a majority of such addresses, as we have been used to find them. Except in one respect—and that a vital one in the present times—we consider the address to be a satisfactory document remembering that such general addresses cannot entertain any question of detail and can deal only with the general state of affairs. The condition being so, we cannot but express our sorrow that the influential deputation which waited on Lord Reay made but a passing allusion to the gravest crisis the whole of India, which this Association may be said to represent, is now passing through. When the present Viceroy was on the way out for India—when no one, perhaps, had dreamed of the present Indo-Russian complications—we had strongly urged the Bombay gentlemen to forget for a while their insular aspirations and vigorously bring to the notice of the Viceroy-elect the most serious deficiencies of the various defences of the Indian Empire especially marked in the mistrust shown towards Native Princes by letting their fine armies in the abyss of complete ruin and stagnation. All that the Bombay leaders were pleased to do was to make a passing allusion to the defences of the Bombay harbour. Matters on the frontier have since suddenly assumed a most threatening aspect. And how do the Bombay

Lord Reay in Bombay
and his Deputationists.

deputation deal with them now? They deal with them at the conclusion of their address, and deal it in a manner as if a slight famine had been passing over a part of the country, which need not interrupt the considerations of the course of some happy internal development of the country! We may allow our readers to see that passage for themselves:—

"In conclusion, my lord, we are aware, that while we are directing your lordship's attention to the several measures of internal reform above indicated, grave complications have arisen in the foreign relations of the Government of India which may, perhaps, involve the country in hostility with a great European Power on the borders of Afghanistan. But, my lord, we are so confident of the loyalty of our countrymen to the generous rule of Britain, their recognition of the great resources and strength of the British Empire, and their firm faith in the liberal principles which animate British rule, that we think the gravity of the situation need in no way interfere with the progress of the internal reforms heretofore sketched. And on the other hand, we are also sure that the Government, which was able in the dark days of 1857 to establish universities in this country, will not suffer the Anglo-Russian complications to stand in the way of those liberalizing changes which are called for by the progressive conditions of the times.

"With these short and humble expressions of our views we bid Lady Reay and your lordship a hearty welcome."

We should like to have a single historical instance in which an Empire may have enjoyed immunity from foreign aggressions merely on account of the lip loyalty of its subjects, or the liberality and generosity of its rule. The existence of these qualities must be very short-lived in the presence of a thoroughly covetous, unscrupulous and ill-conditioned Power, whose fiercest ambition is to destroy the British Empire in India, and who eagerly awaits every opportunity to produce the vilest anarchy amongst us. We do not doubt ourselves "the great resources and strength of the British Empire," but the deputationists are a trifle too over-confident in uttering this broad popular supposition. Neither they nor can the Government afford to ignore for a moment that the naval and land forces of the British Government have been allowed to slide into dangerous insufficiency considering that all other large or small powers are armed to the teeth for their own preservation. Until our own dream a quarter of a century old, that a day may come when wars shall more or less cease and all difficult problems may be solved in Iran or on some such crown of earth where all the illustrious sovereigns may meet the Empress of the East as their head, is realized, success is destined for the Power which is able to wield the greatest brutal-human force. While some attempt has been made by the Bombay Association to enter deeply into minor administrative questions,

we cannot but attribute their disinclination to look into the various military problems of the Empire to that immaturity of temperament and responsible experience which, while attaching undue proportions to secondary points of administration, is apt to ignore the most serious problem requiring powerful and comprehensive minds to grapple with precision and some severity. The communities which are partially and grievously blind to the my teries which involve dangers against their own permanent self-preservation, are mere children who are to be treated with fancy articles and dainty toys lest they may cry and pester their elders. Just as the peace of India, and of the world perhaps, is brought on the brink of a precipice—the brink, no matter, may not be the one from which we may have a fall, we may be going round a series of such brinks—a delusive, though a perfectly well-intentioned, picture is placed before us of a people perfectly free of external and internal dangers and only imperilled because our civilization has not approached the limits of a halcyon bliss. It must try every mature temper to know that in and out of season there is nothing but a woeful list of grievances about the rights and privileges of certain classes to occupy our attention. We know the truth of the historical incident—Nero fiddled while Rome burnt. The Bombay Association is becoming, or intends to be, a responsible body on the part of the people of India. If it is only to be a faithful reflection of the masses who are helpless in saving themselves from loot, murder, or semi-barbarism, then well and good. We shall then know at least that they have limited their functions to a superficial dealing with Indian problems. But such is not the case. They would be the first in India to feel bitterly any unpreparedness on the part of India which may bring on it even a temporary calamity, or a passing anarchy. And who can say yet that, amidst the burning rivalries and jealousies of the contending nations, India may not be subjected to some disastrous surprise, though everything may be done to retrieve any mishap? Evidently our public men in India are much wanting in a thorough conception of grave realities.

We shall now refer to the more agreeable portion of the address before us. We quite agree with the deputationists when they say that "few persons have come as Governors of this important Presidency with so high a reputation as your lordship bears, and fewer still have been the instances where the appointment of a Governor has been received with such general confidence and such high hopes as our own." We were

much impressed with his lordship's abilities on reading his address at Edinburgh, which we regret we have had no leisure to review as it richly deserves to be reviewed. Lord Reay has not had much career of official red-tapeism, but in spite of that he seems to us a statesman of versatile talents and shrewdly liberal and practical sentiments. We take this opportunity of wishing His Excellency a long career of distinguished and noble usefulness in his presidency to compensate for the sacrifices he has made in coming out to India. His appointment here is only next in value to that of Lord Dufferin, among whose ablest and most loyal colleagues we may expect Lord Reay ere long to be placed.

The deputationists properly reminded the Governor of one of his important utterances at Edinburgh that "a knowledge of the permanent interests of the people is the fundamental requisite of statesmanship." They said that to have a full knowledge of those interests their countrymen should be heard along with the privileged governing classes, however able and well-intentioned they may be. This would mean that our countrymen, when they speak on public questions, should be capable of being admitted as nothing short of an authority on them. It must be admitted that the Bombay Legislative Council needs the popular representative element more than it now professes to command. But unless our old suggestion is adopted in regard to nominating a *paid Native Executive Member* in the Council whose business would be to study especially the financial concerns of the country and give us and the Council an independent and practically useful exposition of them, we do not think the honorary popular members will be of very great practical use. We have already explained how the nomination of what we might term the Independent Executive Member of the Government nominated direct by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State may be made. Such a member, we may add, would be free to deal with any administrative or public question in all meetings of the Council. We shall hereafter go more into the details of this proposal. The Municipal Boards in the various Zillahs will be a good school for preparing popular honorary members for the Government Council, and we believe that the Bombay Municipal Corporation is already in a position to spare talented and well-cultured gentlemen like Mr. P. M. Mehta for the higher Council of the Presidency.

The address asks the Governor to put into operation early the permissive provisions of the Local Self-Government Acts in favour of local autonomy,

to secure greater elective element and local independence at the Board. We think the district authorities ought to work more in the spirit bequeathed by Lord Ripon, at the same time we should have desired the Bombay deputation to have named the places which have demanded a greater elective freedom and have been refused.

It is admitted in the address that some good has been done to the ryots by the finality of the revenue survey and assessment lately introduced by the Government. We have, no doubt, some questions are yet left unconsidered in the interests of the peasantry, which may well be dealt with in the amendment of the proposed Land Revenue Code. We do not think, however, that in the matter of the recent slight enhancement in the assessment of the soil supposed to command a water-bearing stratum, Government can find itself in a just position to reverse the very fair policy it has adopted. We believe that the Government have been a little over-liberal to the ryots in this instance. We upheld sometime ago, in an exhaustive argument, the Government Resolution on the subject of subsoil water taxation, in no hesitating terms, and we notice that the Secretary of State has now finally approved of the measure. There is no necessity for the question being reopened unless the deputationists advance fresh facts and arguments in favour of their contention when the Revenue Code is revised. The deputationists headed by Sir Jamsetjee have condemned in no hesitating terms the operation of the recent Forest and Abkari Laws. The unqualifying terms of this condemnation may best be told in the language originally employed :—

“ We beg next to draw the earnest attention of your Excellency to the urgency of promptly alleviating the hardship and sufferings which the poorer classes in the districts of this Presidency, especially in the Northern Division, are subjected to by the operation of the rigorous rules and bye-laws under the Forest Act. Nothing during the last few years has so rankled in the hearts of these people as the oppressive character of those rules and the stringent manner in which they have been administered. The immemorial rights and usages of villagers and private owners of forests have been so ignored in the district of Tanna that the ordinary operations of agriculture are impeded, and the Government, it is said, has lately been warned against probable popular disturbance. Again, the stringency with which the Abkari Regulations are carried out has deprived thousands of the poorest classes in certain places of their chief means of subsistence during a greater portion of the year, and has caused sullen discontent. Justice and humanity alike demand that the crying grievances of the people affected by the Forest and Abkari law should be carefully inquired into through independent channels and promptly redressed.”

There is much truth in the allegations above made against the Abkari and Forest Administrations, though, as a matter of fair play

and justice, we cannot say that the proceedings of the Government have been only remarkable for harsh one-sidedness. The actual truth of the matter is that some systematized regulation of these departments being necessary they have been accordingly reorganized—the Forest Department being entirely newly organized—and the officers entrusted with their working have looked to little more than rigidly and loyally enforcing the law so constituted. In applying the law so rigidly little consideration seems to be paid to the facts that private rights and privileges in India are not based on such perspicuous grounds as hold good in England, and that, though the questioning of rights very unsatisfactorily acquired may perfectly well apply to Anglo-judicial acumen, it may inflict mischief on many thousands whose principal aspiration and morality lie in keeping their body and soul together. India needs many new departments regulating its public affairs for its ultimate good government, but any of them deliberately injuring individuals or communities have to be greatly modified in their initial working if they are to be made a success by slow and almost imperceptible degrees. Officers of Government are likely to be influenced by commendable zeal in bringing a public department into full working order; but if its perfection should be attempted all at once, much sorrowful unpopularity must ensue as the working of the forest department has proved. It is perfectly legitimate for the Government to regulate the growth of the forests and even to render them a source of much revenue; but very bad mistakes are likely to occur in the application of this principle. Ruthless destruction of trees belonging to Government may well be checked; but the poorer people whose chief maintenance may depend on their conveying loads of fuel on head from a great distance and dispose of them for two annas, or the inferior cultivators who carry on their head the leafy refuse of forests for manurial purposes, should not be subject to payments. Some merciful consideration should be paid to the thousands who may have vested interests in the public forests, though those interests may not quite have been legally acquired. Regulations for public property may be perfectly correct in theory, but their excellence and efficacy can only be judged by the manner in which they practically affect the condition of the thousands to whom they are applied. The regulations which are required to be rescinded as soon as they are put into force cannot lay claim to any administrative excellence. We agree, therefore, with the deputationist

that Lord Reay will be doing a very desirable thing by ascertaining for himself how far the serious complaints raised against the action of the Abkari and Forest Departments are true and deserve to be modified. The difficulty in knowing exactly how deep-seated are these grievances are great indeed in the absence of a searching Press which, while revealing cases of actual hardship and injustice, has the courage and impartiality to uphold the enlightened efforts of the Government. We do not like any public organs blindly influenced by any sort of partizanship.

We owe good offices as much to the Government as to the people. We cannot deny that in listening to the woes of the people we ought not entirely to trust the statements made by concerned departments, but should turn to some independent sources so that all sides may be fully heard. Not only that we have little of a searching and impartial Press, but have no agricultural or town associations fit to study the details of such important questions as those under notice and represent them in a masterly manner. Till these institutions come into existence, Government may look upon local Boards and Municipalities as independent bodies from whom a full and independent opinion may be obtained on the working of the laws referred to. In course of time every Zillah may be able to point out its own public bodies of this character, capable of giving reliable information as to the feelings, wants and grievances of the people arising from the operation of various laws.

The deputationists have made a general mention of the necessity of extending railways, feeders, roads and waterways needed for the expansion of the increasing trade of the Presidency, as well as for mitigating the horrors of famine in tracts liable to deficient rainfall. The question of strengthening the defences of the Bombay harbour and improving the numerous ports all along the Western Presidency coast has been also cursorily referred to by the deputationists. They have also properly asked Lord Reay to extend his support to the "indigenous arts and industries which have recently witnessed the beginnings of a revival, thanks to the encouragement offered by the late Viceroy," and to the establishment of a technical school to commemorate the honored name of the Marquis of Ripon. We trust Lord Reay's Government will accord their best support to the promoters of that institution. A passing allusion is also made to the necessity of permitting a larger number of natives to share in the covenanted and uncovenanted services in pursuance of the orders of the Government of

India. One small passage is also devoted to the subject of the Native States of the Presidency, which runs as follows :—

"We shall not detain your lordship now by referring at any length to the important subject of the relations of the British Government with the Native States. We would only point with satisfaction to the recent proof which they have given of their loyalty and devotion to the British Government, and we rejoice to think that the friendship between these States and the British Government may fairly be expected to be strengthened during your lordship's administration."

As the object of the address has merely been to draw the general attention of our able and illustrious Governor to some of the salient points of his administration, we are, of course, precluded from entering into any practical details of the various important problems hit off in singular brevity. Though the Governor of a minor Presidency has now-a-days less autocratic powers than in times past, we need not explain how much it is in his power to leave an enduring name for good in his Presidency. There is an immense deal to be done quietly in the way of popularizing and invigorating the administration and bringing about an uniform development of its interior prosperity and economy. We are happy to note that Lord Reay's answer to the deputation was very promising, though necessarily brief. We record it below with pleasure and satisfaction as encouraging us with the hope that His Excellency will show a rare perseverance, ability and independence in the discharge of his functions, and elevate the status of his subjects and his Government even much more than his well-intentioned and hardworking predecessor was able to do. Here is his earnest, eloquent, well-weighed and modest reply :—

"Sir Jamsetjee and Gentlemen,—It is to me very agreeable to have the honour of receiving so influential a deputation from this Presidency on this occasion, and I have to thank you most heartily for the cordial welcome you have offered to Lady Reay and myself on this and other occasions. The address dwells on so many important subjects that I should not be entitled to your confidence if on this occasion I were to give a hasty reply, and I should not then show either the importance of the occasion, or respect to the influence of the deputation if I were to give any rash expression of mine to delude either the deputation or myself that these subjects do not require very careful handling. But I hope you will be satisfied when I tell you that some of them have already been considered by me very carefully (applause), and that those which I have not yet considered and which are mentioned in this address will sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—be considered by me and, of course, I shall need assistance of councillors who surround me—both of my Council and additional members of my Council—and with their assistance I hope that great good will follow, and that the welfare and prosperity of Her Majesty's subjects in this Presidency will be largely increased during my tenure of office with your co-operation."—
19th and 26th April, 1885.

LORD REAY, in opening his first Legislative Council, did wise in taking the public into his confidence. He gave an address of some importance dwelling upon the general condition of the Indian Empire. He took a broad and sensible view of its present interests and position. Being a nobleman of wide culture himself, he instinctively felt "the value of his colleagues' cordial co-operation in the execution of the responsible duties which have been entrusted to him by the Queen-Empress." "The first solicitude," he said, "of English Statesmen at this moment must be to place the naval and military resources of the country on a proper footing." No doubt, as Lord Reay thinks, that wherever English civilization exists, there a firm conviction prevails that its career should not be marred by any feeling of insecurity. We are very glad that a high British administrator confesses that the very first thing needed is the Empire's capacity to destroy its enemy, whenever that may appear. But this conviction, however widespread, could have no practical effect unless Lord Reay, his Chief and the Indian nations indicate the capacity to have that conviction practically enforced. It is quite true that—

"The spontaneous and general expressions received from princes and chiefs of their readiness to help Her Majesty's Government in any measures which the safety of the Empire might require, bear conclusive evidence that at Calcutta, at Bombay, at Singapore, at Sydney, at Toronto, at Montreal, at the Cape, there is the same wish that the treasures bequeathed to us by past generations of political experience and of steady progress should not be lost through any lack of foresight or prudence of this generation. The loyalty evinced in so many quarters in India has been duly recognised by our fellow-subjects elsewhere, and it will increase the good-will which unites together all parts of Her Majesty's Empire."

But we, who have been foremost in discerning the weaknesses of the Empire and have used the fullest knowledge in pointing them out in the public, may assure Lord Reay that the utmost as yet done in securing this Empire against the direct possible dangers which could be conceived has as yet gone exceedingly little beyond the theory declared by Lord Reay in great truth and frankness. His Excellency the Bombay Governor will greatly strengthen the hands of the noble Earl at Calcutta by submitting for his early consideration a complete scheme for the naval and military defence of the most enlightened Presidency which he has the good fortune to govern. We simply hint about the scheme here, but will take another occasion to show it in a properly developed form. This is one question sufficient to occupy the most anxious attention of the Governor for several

months. With true English pride and patriotism he has vindicated the name of British valor which is often very nearly compromised, and we are only happy to render him our humble support and submit to him a suggestion to place his belief in some practice. It is pitiable to have to know from the highest dignitary in the Presidency, that the Commander-in-Chief, however great his efforts may be to maintain a high standard of efficiency in the Bombay Army, could not expect to give to the Staff Corps that continuity of military employment which he fairly claims for them. We thus despair to think of the fate awaiting the forces of the Native States, should they be equipped and drilled for active service. The distinguished services lately rendered by the 28th Bombay N. I. will, it is hoped, induce the supreme military authorities to adopt a generous standard of appreciation, if for nothing else for the interests of the empire only.

Lord Reay dwelt upon what he advocates as being the most excellent trait of the administrative organization of the British :—

"I may regret with you the abandonment or temporary interruption of a number of schemes which were fast approaching execution, but exactly as my belief in the justice of our rule is strong, do I hold it to be unquestionable that no sacrifice is too great which makes that rule as safe as possible from outward disturbance. And if, gentlemen, I do believe in the excellence of an administrative organization, which has been adopted in the greater part of the habitable globe, it is because that system is the most elastic and the least centralising which has been known in history. To belong to an empire which gives you a maximum of the best thought and at the same time a maximum of freedom in recording your divergence by word and deed is no small privilege. The absence of all vexatious interference of the administration, which is the fundamental principle of English law, is hardly known anywhere else. Whatever English administrators are sent, the humblest member of the community knows that his interests or grievances will be considered with the same care as those of any other more fortunate individual. The protection of the weak is the fundamental law of English administration. Its flexibility as opposed to the hard and fast lines of French and German bureaucratic uniformity gives it that power of coping with emergencies which less elastic agencies do not possess."

No one will demur to the views so lucidly expressed by Lord Reay. But His Lordship, new as he is to any very vigorous administration, may bear in mind that the flexibility he speaks of is merely the outcome of the most finished liberal culture of the day ; according to our humble understanding, however, this flexibility, dear readers, has yet to stand the shocks and collisions of Empires and the ravages of the Infernal Explosives and Machines which the same high-fraught civilization ceaselessly brings into existence.

We fear in the passage that we have the pleasure to quote below,

Lord Reay would seem to those best acquainted with the country somewhat stiff in his conception of the condition of society handed down to us in India :—

“A scrupulous regard for ancient customs and ideas, wherever found and by whomsoever entertained on whatever subject, is a characteristic of English administration which cannot be too carefully preserved. Any interference with venerable customs of the tiller of the soil would be in direct opposition to the traditions of English administration. The ethnographical survey lately ordered by Sir Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, shows the value experienced administrators attach to the knowledge of the idiosyncracies of the people. As in India all phases of civilization are in juxtaposition, we are in continual danger of forgetting how slow the process of evolution is, and how little good is done by interrupting the natural development of the understanding of the people.”

We beg to differ from Lord Reay as far as it is truthful to say that physicians can indeed assist in and expedite the natural recovery of a patient. However old popular customs may be, the very fact that they have been injurious to society must hasten their downfall; and we shall hardly do anything wrong by aiding the people in understanding that these customs have been injurious. There is no doubt that the banefulness of any phase of civilization should be very distinct and emphatic to permit of its harmless erasure from the constitution of the society. No one can of course dissent from what Lord Reay says with reference to “the venerable customs of the tiller of the soil.”

Lord Reay pays a fitting, and certainly, not in the least flattering, compliment to Earl Dufferin, in declaring that he considers it “a great privilege to have come here while so distinguished and statesmanlike a ruler as the noble Earl will influence the destinies of the millions whose well-being will undoubtedly be promoted by his beneficial government.” We frankly stated on the noble Viceroy landing in India, that the greatest of all the difficulties he had to surmount was in connection with the consolidation of the defences of the Empire to make them apparently invincible against all its foes. We have now further reasons to adhere to the same opinion; and we only hope that before the noble Earl’s term expires, it will have been said that Russia may for ever knock at the gates of India in vain. Lord Dufferin will have thus gained for him an imperishable monument in the annals of India.

Lord Reay said in conclusion :—

“If the Government is precluded from sanctioning any expenditure, but that which is most vigorously required, other sources of supply are not stopped, and private benefactors are happily

coming forward in increased numbers to meet the most crying wants of Indian society. The newly-constituted local bodies will, I am sure, also prevent stagnation setting in and we shall reap the fruits of Lord Mayo's beneficent inauguration of decentralization. Individual initiative in educational, in agricultural, in sanitary, in medical reforms, assisted by departmental action, will be of the greatest value to the country. My distinguished predecessors assisted by an able staff of civil servants have left me a noble heritage. To them it is due that this presidency has made such rapid strides, and my immediate predecessor has not been the least energetic; and certainly Bombay is as wide awake as ever. It will be my strenuous endeavour to maintain this presidency in the proud position which it occupies among the provinces of the British Empire. The moderation and good sense of all classes of the Bombay community will make that labour, a labour of love."

His Excellency may rest assured that no important section of the population is likely to grumble at the temporary withdrawal of extraordinary expenditures while they may be employed for an immeasurably superior purpose of our security. It would be gratifying to find the local boards responding to the call of the Governor; and we should like to see the general public doing more in the way of aiding in the development of the military strength of the Presidency.

As the Governor gets more and more into the depth of the work he has to perform in his Presidency, His Excellency will have every right to expect the millions placed in his charge to show that moderation and good sense will make that labour, "a labour of love." We have no doubt, as we infer from his speech, that he will pay a careful and generous attention to any genuine grievances which any affected community may bring to his notice. We may now be allowed to wish that Lord Reay's Government in the Bombay Presidency may turn out happy and prosperous, bearing important results in every possible direction.—21st June, 1885.

THE Viceroy has moved out of his capital to perform those long and rapid strides throughout the Indian continent which Earl of Dufferin's first Tour: The Speech at Delhi. serve for the time to vivify vast human affairs and even to work out changes which may be remembered for generations to come. The Viceregal visits to centre-points of interest and activity are now becoming as frequent as the periodical changes in the Viceroyalty. The frequency has become as essential as it must tend to facilitate the high functions of the Viceroy and stimulate national and sectarian progress in some at least of the important directions marked in the country at large. There is not a State or a district which will not

heartily welcome the highest representative of the Queen, who at best can pay only one visit to a few of the important towns in India. As Viceregal visits become more regular than before, it is probable that stately ceremonials will, in future, be more and more allied with the disposal of difficult administrative, social and political questions. The Viceregal tour carries in its train some considerable outlay after dinners and demonstrations which open the ways of putting much welcome-money into the purse of the poor and the needy traders. These useful and activity-lending disbursements are rendered more valuable when the Princes obtain some of the much-coveted freedom and privileges in the interests of their kingdoms ; or the local functionaries and the Governors find valuable concessions made them for the development of their administration ; or the leaders of the people and the various communities have been granted some boons of a public character. The Viceroy who is animated with a desire to visit the various portions of his charge, though gracefully taking to the ovations spontaneously offered him,—which no amount of self-denial can induce him to dispense with,—is likely to centre his desires on grasping the intricacies and the merits or the demerits of local administrations ; on mastering the problems, a solution of which would result in bettering the various conditions of the people, or discovering those substantial advances in life which could be conceded in harmony with the genius, tendencies and aspirations of the people. Nothing is so difficult as to render an extended viceregal tour uniformly successful, for things and persons are apt to fall into the most delightful condition when the Mighty Orb revolves in all its warmth and brilliancy round the teeming little planets which legitimately assume a most brightened and smiling appearance. The many contemptible blots, which ordinarily disfigure these dependent creations and intercept their movements, are screened with a marvellous finish, as never were there products of Nature so tolerably lifeful and wholesome. It is when the rays of the great orb does something more than warm and brighten the surface of the lesser planets that the fundamental decompositions and disfigurations turn up for the burning heat which once in five years no creature would be so decrepid as to shirk. The solar heat is to be most courted when diffused throughout the composition of its dependent objects much more than when applied to particular parts only. The smaller blemishes are not easily removed by the strokes of the mighty ; and it is the wide traversing changes which

are most essential and lasting, as they are so rare in coming. The broad changes are the most difficult to attain, for they never could be attempted except by the skill and might of a real giant.

It is with such reflections rather hastily and generally expressed that we shall continue to view Earl Dufferin's present tour throughout India. The tour will be rendered specially notable as His Excellency is accompanied by the Countess, influenced by the high and noble mission she has set her heart to. Blessed will be the steps passing through noted places, for there will hardly be any place where the Countess will not be the central figure for the crown of relief which she may grant to every important female population which she visits. One of the best things to hope from the Viceroy's journey is that both the Earl and the Countess may course through a full stream of knowledge and information which would enable them to have a full sight of the shores for the performance of their portion of the work expected of them in India.

We shall now do ourselves the pleasure of recording below the first felicitous speech which His Lordship delivered in the native capital of India, reserving to ourselves a suitable opportunity for noticing its salient points in conjunction with those which we may expect shortly to follow in the various practical and broad shapes which the highest authority of the land could give in the course of a nationally useful and interesting tour —

"I beg to thank you heartily for the friendly terms of your address and for the generous welcome with which you and your fellow-citizens have greeted my arrival in your world-famed city. It has always been one of my great desires to visit the place which has been the capital of so magnificent an Empire, the scene of so many dramatic episodes in the history of India, and is still the site of a multitude of architectural monuments of surpassing beauty. Nor, believe me, in dwelling on the record of your city's past can any one in my situation fail to be reminded of the duties and responsibilities of Government towards the Delhi of to-day and the future. Though change of time and circumstances no longer admit of Delhi being the centre and headquarters of the administration, it must ever remain one of the chief ornaments of Hindoostan and the home of a numerous and influential community, whose prosperity and interests it will be the duty of all those responsible for the welfare of the country to foster and protect, and I sincerely trust each advancing year will convince its inhabitants, that, though shorn of some liveliness and colour with which it was invested during the time of its former rulers, they will have obtained a more solid, if more prosaic, compensation in firm security for life and property and the impartial administration of justice which have been secured it under the rule of our Queen-Empress. These conditions being supplied, it will be for the citizens of Delhi themselves by the intelligence of their municipal administration, and by the development of their native arts and industries, to regain, or rather, I would say, maintain the pre-eminence they enjoyed in the past. In their endeavour to do so, they will be able to count upon my warmest sympathy

and assistance. I am glad to think that it should have been my privilege to confirm to them the advantages of these municipal institutions to which they have referred with such legitimate pride, but which, it is but just to add, were designed by my illustrious predecessor. Without giving any pledge upon the subject as to times and seasons, I can assure them that no one will be more personally gratified than myself at the arrival of the day when a still fuller measure of civil independence may be granted them. With regard to the other matter to which you have alluded, it is a question which has not yet been brought officially before me. There is, no doubt, were I left to myself and were I to act under the impulse of the moment and with the impression of your friendly reception still present to my mind, I should be disposed to acquiesce in any demands of the character of those you have preferred to me; but it is not merely a question between the gentlemen around me and the guest of the evening, but between every Indian Municipality and Government, and I would not presume to decide it without the assistance of my colleagues, and especially of my financial adviser. All that I can now say is, that when the matter of your waterworks is brought officially before me, I will give to its consideration my best and most cordial attention. I have now to thank you for the kind words in which you refer to the efforts of the Government of Great Britain and India to preserve peace along our North-west Frontier. There is, no doubt, that at one time our tranquillity was seriously threatened, but, thanks to the wisdom of those principally concerned, and especially the loyalty and moderation of the Ameer of Afghanistan, whose assent we were bound in honour to obtain before coming to a settlement with Russia, war, the greatest calamity with which a country can be afflicted, has by the mercy of God, been averted. In conclusion, I beg to assure you that I shall not fail to convey to Her Majesty the expressions of your loyalty and devotion. Her Majesty is always deeply touched by such proofs of the good-will of her Indian subjects, whose welfare, contentment, and happiness are as dear to her as are those of any other of her people."

Lady Dufferin this morning (Oct. 30) opened St. Stephen's Hospital for women, an institution founded in connection with the local branch of the Cambridge Mission. The ceremony consisted of an address by the Rev. Mr. Carlisle recounting the history of the hospital, from which it appeared that the building owed its origin principally to the efforts, and was founded chiefly in memory, of the late Mrs. Winter, wife of the Rev. Mr. Winter of the S. P. G. Mission. Two German medical ladies are attached to the hospital, the foundation-stone of which was laid in January last year by the Duchess of Connaught. A short religious service followed the address, whereupon Lady Dufferin declared the institution open, exclaiming,—“I declare this hospital open in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”—*8th November, 1885.*

As yet the Viceroy's tour dazzles us with overspreading brilliancy as his speeches at Delhi and Ajmere represent. No principle of administrative questions of an urgent import has been dealt with by the Viceroy. Nor has it been brought up by any com-

The Speech at
Ajmere.

munity or government for his decision. Earl Dufferin is perhaps pledged not to initiate any such discussion himself, much less to conceive and promulgate an original measure. This will be admitted by those who remember his earlier speeches. Disappointed as we should be if he holds too fast to his early utterances, we would consider the peoples whom he visits to be at fault, should they fail in pointing out to him any large and practical grievances, or the deficiencies of a business-like manipulation of any national affair. We are, of course, entitled to expect that the Viceroy will exercise his paternal feelings for the simple reason that if he did not,—and for the matter of that the Queen-Empress would be herself without active influence in India,—the empire could hardly be developed, while the masses would suffer from aggravated poverty, or be inflamed with increasing fanaticism, or perish by hundreds of thousands. The most difficult aspect of the Viceregal tour consists in knowing the real and widespread evils of each of the provinces visited by the Earl and ascertaining the far-reaching and practical methods whereby those evils could be circumvented to public satisfaction. The local authorities should be desired to find out and mature such problems, the material for which being collected beforehand may be aptly dealt with by the touring Viceroy. We do not believe that any special effort in this direction has ever yet been made; and yet this is one of those methods to indicate to the district and Presidential functionaries those aspects of their duties which traverse beyond the grinding burden of the most commonplace routine wrapt up in red tape. In almost every district there is a virgin field for working out the economic problems touching the root of unfelt resources, the unfolding of which would mitigate so much of human miseries and stimulate so much of the general contentment of the helpless millions. If we engrave a Viceroy in the heart of our hearts for his stirring feelings of ardor, of generosity, of deep-piercing culture, and of fast-winning affection, which he may pour forth while greeted by various peoples encountered in his tour, we shall no less appreciate the eloquence of his deeds that may be evolved out of the more practical and deeper earnestness characterising the modern *sawarys* of our Indo-British Maharajas.

It is interesting at the present moment to watch the Viceroy warming to business, while he is not wanting in lordly orations which every educated mind in India may anxiously digest. After his Delhi speech comes another, and a more important one, as delivered in the historical

(Mayo) College at Ajmere, on November 7. The assemblage was composed of many chiefs and influential Europeans and Natives. The whole town, including its fort on the hill and the lake below, formed one bright mirror of illuminations on the evening of the 7th. After witnessing the cheering decorations and fireworks, Lord Dufferin and his noble, benevolent and industrious wife performed an earnest business, the first in declaring the "Mayo College" open, and the second in distributing prizes among the seventy-five sons of the princes and aristocracy of Rajputana as brought up by Major Loch. The institution is one of those forming the landmarks of the changing history of India. The idea was conceived by Lord Mayo for the reform of the princely and noble dynasties of Rajputana. His calamitous assassination interfering, it was Sir Charles Aitchison who pursued the deceased nobleman's project by collecting six and a half lacs of rupees by donations from the chiefs of Rajputana. Major Mant was spared to design this building in the Hindu-Mahomedan blended, fairy-like style, as he devised for the far more elaborate palatial structure for that model ruler Sayaji Rao, the Gujerat Prince.

The Viceroy, while replying to Major Loch's address, stated that though the College was founded by Lord Mayo, its realization was due to the "wise liberality" of the Rajput Chiefs who gave effect to the intentions of the late lamented Viceroy, who, as he said, was his particularly personal friend. However limited the space at our command, we cannot afford to abbreviate the Viceroy's advice given to the noble students. The words are very few, but the choicest ones expressed in a language which must linger in their hearts till the end of their lives. As such they are, we may well record them as a portion of our history :—

"In the first place, I would remind them that, whether as scions of ancient houses, or as heads of historical families, or as destined to fill public positions of importance in Rajputana, or as future chiefs of independent States, there has already fallen upon their young lives the shadow of heavier responsibilities and stricter duties, as well as the sunshine of loftier aspirations and wider responsibilities which encompass the existence of the bulk of their countrymen. Happiness to thousands, tranquillity to vast territories, and general prosperity to the Empire at large may be advanced or be retarded in a sensible manner in proportion to the degree to which they may take advantage of the opportunities of self-improvement afforded them within these walls. For this reason it is exceptionally incumbent upon you, my young friends, to cultivate certain special qualities and to avoid certain special dangers. Inasmuch as Providence has placed you in a position of considerable social dignity, and has relieved you from the pressure of sordid cares and anxieties incidental to straitened circumstances, it should become a matter of pride and conscience to you to clothe yourselves in those manly virtues and characteristics which in all ages have

been recognised as a proper adornment of well-born men, such as self-restraint, fortitude, patience, love of truth, justice, modesty, purity, consideration for others, and a ready sympathy with the weak, the suffering, and the oppressed, and, above all, with that noble courtesy which not merely consists in grace of manner and the veneer of conventional politeness, but which is the outcome of an innate simplicity and generosity of spirit, which instinctively shrinks with scorn and disgust from anything approaching to egotistical vanity and of vulgar self assertion. On the other hand you should be equally watchful against those temptations to which wealth, with its opportunities of self-indulgence in all ages and in all countries, has been peculiarly exposed, such as sloth, idleness, intemperance, sensuality, effeminity of mind and body, and all those baser influences which render man a burden to himself, a disgrace to his family and a curse to his country. And in saying this, I would warn you that we are living in a shifting world—a world in which those very privileges you have been led—I do not say illegitimately—to pride yourselves upon, is being continually exposed to the criticisms of public opinion, or the ordeal of intellectual competition. If Rajputana is to maintain her historical position as one of the leading provinces in Hindustan, as the ancient home of all that was high bred, chivalrous, and heroic, it is absolutely necessary that the sons who are the representatives of its famous houses should endeavour to show themselves as leaders of people in the arts of peace and as their exemplars in the van of civilization of that pre-eminence and renown which their forefathers won fighting sword in hand, at the head of their clans on many a field of battle, and, believe me, in such peaceful triumphs, promoting as they do, the well being of multitudes of our fellow creatures is far more worthy of your ambition than any which were to be gained in those miserable days when scarcely a twelve months passed without the fair fields of India being watered with the blood of thousands of her children.

The most of the princes in the Bombay Presidency cannot turn to the above counsel with less advantage than those directly addressed. It is said music soothes the serpent. Well, then, if the business of a vigorous and virtuous administration be a repulsive commodity to the minds of those princes not tried in the humane paths of life, the exceedingly pregnant admonitions of Lord Dufferin must entirely convert that commodity into the most cheering and most acceptable metal. Both the darkness and the sunshine of an elevated princely life is here traced in a design no less agreeable than the lights and shades of a lovely and perfect picture. We would beg of Major Loch and the other Rajcumar Principals to insert this one of the noblest piece of oratorical passages in a text-book, and have it recited by the princely students in Prize Exhibition meetings. We are sure they will never forget it, while, in course of time, they would assimilate it with their own feelings and aspirations.

The Viceroy next turned to the subject of Indian princes and people acquiring the knowledge of English as the true medium through which they could learn the best thoughts of the greatest of the men of the past and the present, and guide their conduct and faculties to the best advantage.

The universal necessity now felt for mastering the English language has been very strikingly put by the Viceroy :—

“Passing from these general topics, I would have wished to have made a few specific recommendations with regard to matters of detail. Having, however, already detained you longer than I intended, I will confine myself to the single point which has already been so frequently referred to on similar occasions, namely, the great desirability of your becoming thorough masters of the English language. In doing so, I will not particularly insist on the obvious advantages your acquaintance with a tongue so rich and varied in its literature and thought, which you can make yourselves acquainted at first hand with the ideas of some of the greatest men that ever lived, as well as the latest results of modern philosophic thought and scientific research, I would rather remind you of the practical benefits which a due prosecution of your studies in this direction will confer upon you. English is the official language of the Supreme Government under which you live, and of the books which deal with public affairs, domestic administration and the general interests of your country, and it will be of continual use—indeed, I may say of absolute necessity—to you in the positions which you may be called upon to fill. Keen-witted inhabitants of many other parts of India have fully appreciated this fact, and all their energies have consequently been devoted to the acquisition of English, and, as a consequence, many of them both speak and write it with an eloquence and fluency beyond all praise. Now I trust that those I am addressing have sufficient self-respect to take sufficient pride in their province, not to wish it to fall behind other component parts of the Empire in this particular. Therefore, again I say, let it be one of the principal objects of your ambition, while within these walls, to acquire the English language. Already in the councils of Providence the edict has gone forth that English should be the language chiefly prevalent upon God's earth, and within another hundred years it has been calculated that the English-speaking races of the world will number upwards of a thousand millions. Under such circumstances, it would, indeed, be a disgrace if any of her Majesty's subjects in India, with any pretensions to belong to the educated classes, should remain ignorant of it.”

Of all the languages of the world the English language is the most successful. It has formed individuals and nations; the highest and noblest achievements have been acquired through its instrumentality. It has developed the most pious and the most philanthropic characters. It has reformed vast kingdoms and lifted up mankind to the highest feats of enthusiasm, chivalry, and valor; of enterprise, arts, and sciences; of the profoundest philosophies, the purest materialism, and the sublimest spiritualism. It has taken its purest and its most radiant spark from the cradle language of the Mazdiasni Aryans,—the most divine and the earliest language of the Earth; and its profoundly balancing influence from the more developed and secondary languages: the Sanscrit and the Arabic. It is destined to sweep away every language in India and the East, till the antique Avasta is fully reclaimed and reaches the same pinnacle as the English, the Sanscrit and other Eastern languages forming their more prominent accessories.

In quoting the above valuable extract from the Ajmere speech, we may be allowed to impress upon the minds of the princes and the nobility the most paramount object which, according to His Lordship, must actuate them to study the English language. It is not to be acquired as a direct instrument to counteract the British influence in India ; this would be opposed to the intentions of Providence itself. Let us dive deeper and deeper into its currents in order to do good to all who come in our way, and to acquire the highest capability of the most genuine character for its own sake. Destined to remain ever grateful to the source whence the Anglo-Indian regeneration flows to us, any ingratitude in ignoring the original blessing cannot fail being branded as a rank sin against God, which the Aryans will, we doubt not, be the last nation on the earth to commit.

Native India must be much pleased with the genuine encomiums passed on the young Maharaja of Ulwar—" an honored pupil of Mayo College, " who has more than kept the promise of his youth by the intelligence of " his government, the personal industry which he brings to the management of his affairs, in administering his State in a way that has con- " duced to the prosperity and contentment of his people and his own repu- " tation, and the honor and welfare of the Supreme Government."

The reply made by the Countess through her illustrious husband to Major Loch's address to her Ladyship, was characteristic—one which the noble pupils may bear in mind for a long time to come —

" Major Loch,—Lady Dufferin has requested me to think you warmly in her name for the beautiful present which you have made her, and bids me to add that she has read in a certain Greek author of a certain person who was boasting of the strength of the walls of his city. The person to whom he made the observation replied that the walls of a city were the men who dwelt within them. You have alluded in becoming terms to this beautiful hall, to its lovely decorations, which are worthy praise you bestowed upon them, but to her mind its chief ornaments are the bright, industrious, intelligent youths who stand around us. In conclusion, Lady Dufferin proposes, with your permission, as long as she is in the country, to present a gold medal to Mayo College to be competed for on terms which we will settle hereafter."—*15th November, 1885.*

PART IV.

POLITICAL ASPECTS.

It is just sufficient to put down this heading (vide in the margin), and it may be said with confidence that all really good and sensible men, Europeans and Natives residing in India and knowing India, will consider that the vices of scurrility and sedition—such as have been understood by the great paper—claim no proportion in any measure commensurate with the extent and the strength of the country. The following passages have been selected from some obscure papers and telegraphed from Calcutta to the *London Times*, which has consequently come out with an article a little too serious than the circumstance actually demanded. If we should have to quote such passages at first hand, we would be fully ashamed to do it, unless we subjected them to a rigid criticism. Here are some of the passages which the telegraphic correspondent of the *Times* has made historically famous :—

“The fiendish Englishmen say laughingly that the people of Madras died of starvation because they were improvident. If those whom they have robbed of everything lament, the fiendish Englishmen call them rebels. To beg for employment is impertinence. They call men idle if they cannot work on account of weakness caused by insufficient food.”
[The name of the paper from which this is quoted is not given.—Ed.]

“Foreigners have taken possession of India and are sucking her dry. The people of India look on in a helpless manner. Their best interests are sacrificed for the benefit of the English. Over and above this, the innocent natives are insulted and killed. At every step the people send up a cry for succour, when the English whip or the English kick falls upon them. The demons are engaged, heart and soul, in violating the chastity and taking the lives of Indian females. What a heart-rending scene! It is a matter of regret that the people of India do not gird up their loins to get rid of the oppression of white men.”

“Justice Norris did not hesitate even to perjure himself on the Bench. Perjury did we say? Yes; for did not Justice Norris take oath to be a

"conscientious Judge when he accepted his appointment?" [Name of the paper not given.—Ed.]

The Native Press has always admitted that a part of it employs language so low and violent that we would sincerely desire for its suppression—if for nothing else for merely the reputation of native journals in general. The rabid part, however, forms but a very small part of their circulation. The influence of the Native Press, taken as a whole, is almost *nil* in so far as the enormous multitude is concerned. It tells on the educated classes, illiterate fanatics and the reading aristocrats for good or evil. The Native Press, in a greater part, uses enlightened language, now and then some strong language, but certainly not the language of scurrility employed by a very small portion of it indeed. The frantic declarations that a few journals may give vent to in India, have not as yet produced any result worth noting beyond making a few schoolboys saucy, or some exceptional upstarts insolent and noisy. But a few of "the native newspapers" have indulged in the scurrilous tone, and not them, as a body, as the urgent message conveys to the notice of the British public. "Our Indian dominions have a share in the happiness which proverbially belongs to "nations that have no history." The telegram has, however, marred this happiness:—"Unfortunately this tranquillity is not destined, it seems, to "be enduring. In the telegrams of our Calcutta Correspondent exciting "topics, or, at least, topics which Anglo Indians consider exciting, have "again begun to make their appearance." The happiness of a large continent like India may be said to be disturbed if ever the atmosphere of a hall can be vitiated by the attack of some nasty smelling bees on a rainy evening, which love to hover round the lights. It is urged, and we quite agree, that the above quotations are as outrageous as those of 1878, which moved Lord Lytton to pass the Vernacular Press Act, curbing the violence of the lower orders of the native journals. But how can the effusions of some ill-ordered minds be cited as a strange result, considering that it appears "under the rule of a Governor-General who has striven to conciliate native opinion and native sentiment by every form of concession "and indulgence?" These concessions are always made on specific and general grounds which have no direct bearing on the activity or the dormancy of rabid writers. A disappointed or an ill-conditioned writer, devoid of culture, will take any incident on which to hang a thrilling tale, while a most beloved Viceroy may shower every possible bliss on the natives of the

country. "The absurdity of the charges put forward in the native journals [a few of the *obscure* native journals be pleased to mention on a future occasion.—Ed.] is almost surpassed by their malignity of purpose and their grotesque style." Quite so. But furtheron:—"The patriotic fervour of a Bengali Baboo who deplores the humiliations inflicted by narrow-hearted Englishmen," or "a brave prince like Holkar, is a curious flight of fancy, for the writer is probably as well aware as any one, though he presumes, with good reason, on the ignorance of his readers, that if Holkar and the Mahrattas were not constrained by the *Pax Britannica*, the people of Bengal would be trampled under their horse hoofs or crouching at their stirrups." The flight of fancy is only a little less curious than our contemporary's own imagination about the Mahratta kingdoms which are a good deal changed, but which being in an embryo condition of the modern times can hardly deserve the epithets applied to them. What may be applicable to one set of circumstances can hardly be applicable to another, and a radically differing, set of circumstances. The Native Press has always acknowledged, however, what confusion might ensue on the withdrawal of the British power from India. But the first is as improbable an event as the second. He must be a hopelessly crazy man who said, "it is matter for regret that the people of India do not gird up their loins to get rid of the oppression of white men." None excepting those who starve and are fanatic can ever express this. They cannot, however, interfere with the tranquillity of the country. It is not easy for a foreign press to know exactly the sources—if any—whence sedition in some papers is generated. But the *Times* is not backward in guessing the character of such sources. "In the East Bazar rumours have always been thought to indicate that some mischief is brewing, and the writing in the Vernacular Press is nothing more than a modernized edition of bazar rumours, stiffened and stereotyped and made absurd beyond all former experience by passing into the mould of a foreign and distorted literary style. * * * Whether it is the renewal of the activity of Russia beyond the Afghan frontier, or the ambiguous attitude of some of the native princes and the magnitude of their armies, which have now set disturbing rumours afloat in the bazars and sent their echoes resounding through the Vernacular Press, it would be difficult to say." No honest politician in India, whether he be Native

or European, can so easily and directly trace the foolish writings of violent journals, to either an inspiration from the Bazzars, the Native Courts, or any imaginary organization breathing from the side of Central Asia. It is often found that half-illiterate or semi-starving writers might advocate the cause of a Native State in the most violent style, though that State might not have the least relation with them. Out of mere personal vice or vanity, or influenced by a delusive and scanty knowledge of what goes on in European societies, they may indulge in all sorts of braggardism for which not even the most suspicious bazars may be responsible—almost invariably. It is expected that some native princes might not always be satisfied with all that may be done in their connection by the British Government. The attitude of such princes towards the Paramount Power may be “ambiguous.” Before, however, we can so seriously ~~construe~~ such an attitude into a disloyal one, the public will certainly demand proof, and are hardly likely to accept the verdict of the *Times* as at all just or true. No amount of blasphemous language employed in the public in the way it has been, can ever warrant us to connect it with either a multitude or a native court. While Lord Lytton’s Press Act was introduced in the Supreme Council—even on such a serious contingency as that—we do not remember any instance of this sort cited in support of the bill. The India Council, though not vetoing the Act, insisted on its provisions being made less stringent than they were. If ever a multitude or a native court instigated the Press to arraign itself against the Government, that was surely the occasion when this might have been hinted. It is more just to put down the offensive ebullitions of the excitable and neglected portion of the Press—to quote the happy words of our illustrious contemporary—to a “modernized edition” of “reckless and superficial speech of irresponsible thinkers stiffened and stereotyped, and made absurd beyond all former experience by passing into the mould of a foreign and distorted literary style,” than to any supposed or real influential embodiment of sedition in India. “The millions of peasant cultivators, artisans and petty traders have nothing to gain by frightening Lord Ripon’s Government,” though “it is not so with the self-interest and the vanity of the writers noticed.” Where is the harm, then, done to the tranquillity of India?

We hope to have clearly proved how absurd it is to talk of the Native Press when it is the minor and unwise portion of it which entirely

attracts unfavorable attention. Take the mass of its writings, and its fairness and intelligence must far, far outweigh the rubbish to which so much prominence has been given. If the Anglo-Indian journals were only to be kinder to their native brethren in the press in allowing it a free access to their columns, we shall hear much less of such sensational effects as the *Times* has just been able to produce. The more influential journals of the country might with advantage quote the able and loyal writings which not unfrequently appear in the respectable portion of the Native Press.

We would rather hesitate in mixing up, as the *Thunderer* has done, the recent action of the Calcutta Municipal Commissioners with that of the over-zealous writers in a part of the Bengal Press. If we admit that there was any failure on the part of that body, it has no immediate, nor a notable, connection with the journalistic rabidness displayed in Bengal. The partial inefficiency of the Calcutta Board is owing to complicated causes, in which all the officials and non-officials are involved. Whatever the urgency of the governmental action, the plight to which the Board there has been unfortunately reduced has nothing whatever in common with the derangement displayed by fantastic public men, who have followed their own special instincts. We are sure, had the *Times* been well-informed, it would have refrained from throwing a slight on the Calcutta Board in direct reference to the alleged Indian sedition, which, by no means, is national, or even sectarian, considering our varied and numerous populations.

Most of us would be inclined to thank the *Times* for frankly telling us what even hasty impressions of the people of England are likely to be when its administration is coarsely assailed by any of its subjects. The *Times of India* gave us the true solution of the difficulty when it laughed out the silly effusions, and suggested a remedy to be adopted by the better class of native journals meeting them every time with a little good-natured ridicule. We strongly think that this remedy ought to be consistently followed in the interests of the Native Press itself, if for nothing more. Every respectable journal will find hard to tolerate a language employed in the public, which is calculated ere long to give rise to such race animosities as might defy then all such endeavours as may now be employed with some certainty. Ridicule ridicule, therefore, any disgusting stuff appearing in the prints we have noticed, and such as the *London Times* has done a service in placing before the public, however incorrect its inferences have been.—21st September, 1884.

THE *Times of India* gave a concise account on Tuesday last of a meeting of native gentlemen held at Bombay to organise a Committee for despatching to, and publishing in, London the essence of native public opinion on the various burning questions which agitate the public mind in India from day to day.* The prevailing sentiment of the meeting was that as the telegraphic despatches sent from India to the London *Times* have often distorted and exaggerated facts calculated to prejudice the interests of educated India, it has become desirable that a telegraphic service from an opposite point of view should be established in Bombay, so that misrepresentations promulgated in England may be corrected, and the facts with reference to the true spirit and aims of the Indian people may be laid with promptitude before the English Ministry and the public. The following gentlemen have taken a lead in establishing the telegraphic service, for which it is expected that as much capital will be collected in the shape of donations, &c., as would fetch an interest amounting to Rs. 12,000 required for giving effect to the Committee's object. The leaders of the movement are.—

Professor Wordsworth, Sir W. Wedderburn, Dr Peterson, Mr. A. O. Hume, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, Messrs P. M. Mehta, Dadabhai Navroji, Nowrozji Furdunji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, R. M. Sayani, F. R. Vicaji, Waman Abaji Modack, Javerilal Umashunker, Shunker Pandurang Pandit, K. N. Kabraji, B. M. Malabari, Dinshaw Edalji Vacha, J. A. Dalal, Damodur Thakursey

A provisional Committee will be appointed with authority to send a weekly summary of news and extracts of opinions on important political questions of the day to one of the daily newspapers in London, the choice of the paper being left to the discretion of the Committee.

The importance of this movement cannot be over-estimated as emanating from the rising as well as the veteran gentry of Bombay. The necessity of spreading the public opinion of India in the British Isles was pointed out in a practical form by the present writer to some influential gentlemen in Bombay much more than a decade ago, when the scheme was not then deemed feasible. The aim of that scheme was that events in India required that a powerful journal should be started in London wholly conducted by native writers of reputation and experience to acquaint the people of England with the best and safest views affecting the public interests of India as independent in themselves as also affecting the

privileges and integrity of the British Empire. The Editor for the journal was to be selected in India—a thoroughly patriotic and veteran native ; and the organ was to be entirely devoted to a dispassionate and vigorous discussion of the Indian questions in England, so as to effectually train public opinion of England on the spot on all matters transported to England, or originated there, in reference to India. Besides guiding the public agitation of Indian matters, one of the other important features of the journal was to be a series of sketches given from time to time of the statesmen, heroes, and reformers of English and Indian extraction, who in times past laboured towards the end of kingdoms and empire, or in variously helping on and consolidating the various communities of India. Again, the politics of Great Britain, Europe and Asia in general, were to be discussed from the point of view which the increasing vitality of the East and a complete unification of all the ancient and modern continents might suggest. In short, the proposal was to create a powerful public opinion in England in behalf of India, which would accelerate its various points of progress at the same time that it sympathized with the traditions and genius of the British Lion.

The movement under notice seems to us as being a brief preamble of the above measure. The good people of Bombay and Calcutta will find in a short time the telegraphic despatches to be entirely inadequate which will be more than overcome by the force of Anglo-Indian opinion. The short messages are sure to be ridiculed by the torrential Anglo-Indian and other opinions, which will find vent in the journals of England. As a starting step, however, we hail it with deep interest, and wish it the full success it undoubtedly deserves.

The only regret is that gentlemen in Bombay should at all have prescribed the reason for establishing the service in the way they have done. The manner in which they have proceeded to work out the scheme might produce those first prejudices against a public measure which always ought to be avoided. What's the use of proclaiming to the world that since a certain correspondent of a certain journal has habitually used misrepresentations in his telegraphic missives to a certain influential journal in London, that, therefore, the present measure is taken to foil that correspondent? We do not think this to be the most agreeable method of interesting a very powerful and universal community in matters of our weal or woe. We ought not to make such an important start by an

exhibition of such a pointed motive, nor by expressly seeking the depreciation of the leading exponent of the public of Great Britain and Ireland. We have ourselves not unfrequently dissented from some of the serious opinions of the *Times*, and unravelled its fallacies of principles and views in regard to the manner and spirit in which Great Britain has to discharge its duty towards India. What may always be temperately urged in the course of a controversy cannot be erected into a repugnant prime motive in the conduct of a very powerful organ, whose good graces ought to be conciliated by us while setting on foot an important movement like the present. The public of Bombay should not make too light of the influence exercised by the London *Times* which is immeasurably superior to what we should be able to exercise for some time yet in England. Whatever the inconsistency of the *Times*, it may be admitted that we shall not be able for a long time to come to shake the esteem in which the *Thunderer* is widely held in England,—that is, if the task falls within the range of possibility. We would, therefore, venture to advise the leaders of Bombay not to be too sanguine, nor enter into any rivalry with either the *Times*, or its Calcutta correspondent. The most feasible policy would be to select questions without any reference to the personal opinions of any correspondent, or journalist. The people in England should not be carried away by the impression that a coterie of native gentlemen in India have organized themselves to forward their own interests and endeavour to lower the favourite journal in their estimation. The motives and scope of the policy of the worthy Bombay leaders being entirely honorable and commendable, we do not desire that such an admirable business should even seemingly assume any party passion or prejudice. While we desire that the faith of the Englanders should be shaken in the really inimical efforts made in England, should we not carefully refrain from any speech or action which would at once put on a form of an opposite party combination? We regret, therefore, that the ostensible reason for adopting the measure under notice put forward should have been the one of which the patriots of Bombay have made no secret. There is nothing which suits so well the genius and the vanity of the British nation as an impersonal and skilful handling of political questions; but the Bombay gentlemen have too frankly shown their hands, and we would only wish that everything would go on successfully. Meanwhile we would strongly urge on Indian leaders to go to the very heart of the British nation, and there establish a

moderate and a vigorous, constant-speaking organ in behalf of India. There is no venture which deserves a better patriotic support than the one we have noticed above. Both the wealthy and the enlightened ought to be interested in a project which besides advocating Indian interests just on occasions when that advocacy is most needed on the spot, might also help to enlighten us with those secrets which have secured unrivalled prosperity and advance to the British Isles, and which would be of such great use to the commercial, industrial, and literary members of the Indian populations. Native gentlemen selected for conducting a journal in London, which might aptly be named *The Sur, or The Light from the East*, should be of a thoroughly tried character, of deep and various experience, and true patriotic natives of India, the whole concern being supervised by an influential and public-spirited Committee in Bombay, aided by supplementary committees in other parts of India. We ask the *Voice of India* to put the suggestion about this scheme in circulation throughout India. We are sure the time is *now* ripe, when some philanthropic gentleman can successfully identify himself with the execution of this humane measure of considerable relief and protection both to India and England. —25th January, 1885.

THE visit of so gifted and so influential a politician like Lord Randolph Churchill to India is an event of some importance for the fruit it is likely to bear in the immediate future. Our young friend, Mr. B. M. Malabari, did well in arranging for an interview between his Lordship and some of the political leaders of Bombay at the *Indian Spectator* office. Among the few invited, there were present the Hon'ble Budrudin Tyebji, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, Mr. Dadabhai Navroji, Mr. P. M. Mehta and Mr. Nowrozji Furdoonji. The conference lasted for about two hours, during which the interviewers endeavoured to acquaint the Lord with some of the main grievances affecting the interests of the various communities and peoples of India. The questions touched upon related to the obstructions which existed in native admissions to the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Civil Services and the Legislative Councils of India, as also bearing on the publicity of the annual budgets as now obtained in India and England, the annual heavy drain on the resources of India on account of the Home Charges, and the absence of Parliamentary guarantee on India's public debt. We have

ourselves so often discussed these questions and even thrown out suggestions of practical importance that we shall not seriously discuss them to-day, but pass on to a general observation which the kind visit of his Lordship to India suggests to us.

The answer of his Lordship to the interviewers was rather disappointing. He observed that though he listened to them with pleasure the questions to which his attention was drawn were of such vast and complex character like the country and its people, that each of them, he said, would demand a study of years to acquire a full mastery over it. We scarcely think that such a long time would be necessary to understand the questions brought to his Lordship's notice. Probably his Lordship thought this the best way of avoiding the responsibility of expressing opinions and views which may not suit the present condition of the government of the country, and which may excite the disapproval or displeasure of either of the two great parties in India. It would not surprise us if he did not find himself prepared to deal authoritatively with the questions brought to his notice. He may be influenced by a genuine and laudable desire not to say anything which may, perhaps, tend to embarrass the administration of Lord Dufferin just when the Viceroy is committed to a deep study of the questions which either apparently agitate the country, or silently affect its interests. Lord Randolph was, however, unreserved on one point. "He suggested that natives of India "could not do better than send deputations from this country to England "consisting of such of their friends as thoroughly knew these questions, for "the purpose of interesting members of Parliament and others in them. "Unless they moved actively in the matter it was vain for them to expect "English politicians to evince that interest in Indian questions which they "wished him to do." Lord Randolph has at any rate made a valuable suggestion. To take measures to interest the members of Parliament in the progress of Indian questions means that the leaders at Bombay and elsewhere should themselves be identified with them more closely than ever, and initiate a very important practical movement.

The establishment of a telegraphic service and a reformed political association in Bombay must pave the way to open that intimate intercourse with the English Parliament, which must, in future, be the necessary condition of political existence in India. We are very happy to notice that since we dwelt on the lamentable necessity of starting a Central Political

Association in Bombay as the parent institution of the Poona *Sarwajanik* and other like Sabhas in the Presidency, actual steps have been taken to start a head Association in Bombay. We warmly congratulate Mr. Dada-bhai Navroji, the Hon'ble Mr. Telang, the Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin, Messrs. Nowrozji and Pherozshah Mehta for the activity they have displayed in organising a grand meeting for establishing the Association. We call upon the princes and leaders in Gujerat and Kattywar to support the project substantially, as well as with their moral influence. That all may be able to join the movement, we have no doubt the first meeting contemplated in Bombay will do nothing more than dwell on the broad questions of the public benefit which India in these days so sadly wants. We need not especially trouble ourselves with what individual politicians or journalists may say about India. The basis of the Association should be temperate and effective representation of large questions of interest to the largest possible numbers of the country.

If the projected Association is expected to fulfil the function suitable to the present times, it must be especially represented by constant and powerful organs in India, but especially in London. One of our strongest contentions of years is that India should be represented by a powerful journal in England. The suggestion of Lord Randolph that deputations should be sent to England to interest members of Parliament in Indian questions, commendable as it is, should be supplemented by a more abiding measure in the founding of a powerful daily organ in the metropolis of Great Britain. It would often be impracticable to reach the British Lion by occasional petitions or deputations. The members of Parliament and the British public should be daily and hourly instructed as to the public needs of the country before any notable or abiding impressions can be made on them in a manner that would benefit both India and England, and strengthen and permanence the peace and prosperity of the Queen's Eastern Empire. Ample means should be provided to conduct the said journal in a thoroughly independent and active manner so that it may be able to claim the respect and esteem of the British statesmen and the people. Considering the dense ignorance existing in England on Indian subjects, the natural tendency of the British people to be led away by party predominance and the oracular assertions of the London press; considering also that the present influence exercised in a spasmodic way is almost lost on the English Parliament, the real instrument which can tell on such a powerful

people as the English is only a daily journal *printed and published in London entirely by competent native agency*. It is the *Sun or the Light from the East*, taking its birth in our Queen's Metropolis, which can shed true light on Indian topics, and illuminate the uninformed minds of both Houses of Parliament, the Ministry, and the people at large of England. We beg the leaders of Bombay not to beat about the bush, but go direct to the point of action, and skilfully and courageously adopt a measure which will directly tell on the minds of the British people. Let the Indian rays of light be shed *there* clearly and constantly as the Sun acts from day to day, the measure being worked by an honest, patriotic and wisely and honorably active native agency, working on broad national principles affecting the good of no particular clique but of the whole of the Indian continent and the Eastern Empire at large. The organ to be established should reflect the views of the Great Native India, whatever the caste elements making up that power. India must then act in sympathy with all the Kingdoms in Europe and Asia and such of the European and Asiatic Kingdoms which can act beneficially on the Native Kingdoms of Asia, as the British power now does on the Indian territories at large. Surely a journal of such Eastern light cannot in course of time fail to secure the influence of the British Empire and of all the prominent Native States in India, Asia and Europe. Instead of frittering away our resources in the limited and chance-work way we do, a National Association should make its articulation felt in the manner we have respectfully pointed out. Create this telling influence in the heart of the British nation, and then exercise it vigilantly and quietly, but in a constant and respectful manner, and then see what the fruits of this righteous and cautious action will be in the course of the very first five years of the existence of the journal we would wish to see started in London.—*1st February, 1885.*

THE establishment of a Native Political Association in Bombay as declared in a public meeting held in Bombay two weeks ago, is an event of some importance in the current Indian politics. That the Association is headed by the Parsi Baronet, its operations being closely watched by able native patriots like the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C.I.E., the Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin Tyebji, Seths P. M. Mehta, Dadabhai Navroji, Nowrooji Furdunji, is at once a guarantee that our political affairs rest in competent hands. It is an interesting task to notice the first proceedings which were*

A Political Meeting at Bombay.

presided over by the young and worthy Baronet, Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy. As he said, the necessity for this organization has been doubly felt owing to Lord Ripon's regime having given fresh force to native public opinion. This view as well as the other one of the Parsi knight stating that the present Viceroy desires to follow the same line of policy as has been chalked out by his predecessor, would have been objected to by anti-native critics, but for the qualifying assertion of Sir Jamsetji that "the true interests of this country, as every capable judge admits, are identical with the true interests of Great Britain." It is a misfortune that there are many influential people in India and England who do not admit the correctness of this theory and thus retard the progress of the country.

The Hon'ble Mr. Budrudin Tycbji very eloquently showed why Bombay should have its own political association, and a national one, as affecting the interests of the Indian Empire at large :—

"It is, I think, with nations as with individuals that with the growth of political life new aspirations arise, and these aspirations require an organization to give them due expression, and the organization in its turn watches, regulates, develops and directs national aspirations. Now, gentlemen, it cannot be denied that a city like Bombay, the capital, I may say, of West India, with its vast population, with its keen and intense political life, a city which has been described by eminent statesmen as the chief and best centre of political thought in India, ought to possess a well organized, strong, and true national association for the purpose of watching the interests of this country. It is perfectly true that there is in our midst a branch of the East India Association, which has no doubt for many years done good service to the people of this country. But that branch was established rather in aid of the parent association in England than as an independent association in this country. It no doubt served temporarily to fill the gap that was created by the death, if I may use the expression, of the late Bombay Association. But, gentlemen, I think the time is come when temporary measures of this kind should be set aside, and a political association that may be called a truly national association should be founded upon a permanent basis. Gentlemen, Bombay cannot afford to be satisfied with the branch of any association, however powerful, eminent, or useful that association may be. Bombay, I say—as the chief centre of political thought in India, ought to possess an association worthy of its greatness, worthy of its active political life and political history (cheers)—an association which shall not merely follow the sentiments and movements of our friends in England, but rather in a measure lead them. Gentlemen, I feel therefore that we are performing a great duty this evening in laying the foundation of such an association."

It is one of the signs of the times when we have a Mahomedan gentleman furtheron admitting that the Western enlightenment tends to unite the discordant nations of India into one, and that their aspirations being made common, their effect on the country is to gain for it greater freedom and privileges at the same time that the strength and security of the

Empire are increased, and the bonds of friendship and of harmony "which at present happily exist between Her Majesty's Eastern and Western Empires drawn closer together." The most violent opponent of native interests will hardly demur to the proposition put forth by the hon'ble gentleman, which the Association has promised to bear in mind from its very cradle. He wisely said: "I trust that in times of excitement and agitation it may exercise a moderating influence upon the popular feeling. Above all, gentlemen, I think it must not confound real independence with that petulant and carping spirit which can see no good in any Government measure and detect nothing for the benefit of the people of this country." Perhaps this is the first time we find an important principle of patriotic action enunciated in a public meeting as led by the distinguished band of patriots whom we have already named. The difficulty which will now be felt is to apply this principle in practice. We have no doubt they will overcome the difficulty. But there is a still greater difficulty to overcome dwelt upon by ourselves very recently. That difficulty relates especially to the study of financial and military problems as to which our politicians have yet to evince a knowledge and insight at least as great as those of the actual administrators.

Short as the Hon'ble Mr. K. T. Telang's speech was—whom the public would always desire to hear at length as being an effective, sensible and experienced orator—he must have gratified the meeting by disclosing the material resources already gained for conducting the Association. This short speech we quote entire, calling upon the people and the princes of the Presidency who are interested in our political advance to contribute their resources to the vigorous working of the Association :—

"The object of the meeting has been so often discussed during the past few years, that it will be a work of supererogation to say anything in support of it. There is only one remark which I should like to make at this meeting with reference to it, namely, that the response which has been received to the call made by myself and my friends for help from the public of Bombay is a response which has completely satisfied us all. We are in a position to announce that nearly three hundred gentlemen have already consented to register themselves as subscribers to this association. (Cheers.) But what we regard to be more important is this, that nearly forty-five gentlemen have promised donations of Rs. 300 each, which will form the nucleus of a permanent fund for the association. (Cheers.) Now I will not be understood to say that this is at all a large sum, but it will be necessary to supplement it hereafter, and I have no doubt that the public of Bombay will help us in that matter in the same way as it has already helped us by giving us so many annual subscribers. I may say that the response hitherto given to our invitation is such as is calculated to cheer us on in this work, and one which I think may be treated

as a respectable response at this stage of the association. But so far as things have progressed, I think we may all congratulate ourselves on the satisfactory results achieved. When we have any work on hand well begun, it is said to be half-done, and I think we have more than well begun this undertaking (Cheers.)"

Mr. P. M. Mehta quoted a most appropriate extract from one of the old speeches of the Earl of Dufferin addressed to the citizens of Quebec, in which the noble Lord exhorted them to sacrifice some of their means and leisure in the pursuit of the self-government of their country. The extract is so important, so eloquent, and so admirably suited the object of the meeting which Mr. Mehta addressed that we must thank him for putting it in a prominent light as below.—

"I cannot help wishing to express the extreme satisfaction which I experience in observing with what alacrity and self-abnegation the chief citizens of Quebec, gentlemen whose private occupations and engagements must be extremely absorbing, are content to sacrifice their domestic leisure and the interests of their private business in order to give their time and attention to the public service. Gentlemen, I take it that there is no more healthy sign of national life than this, or rather that there would be no more fatal indication of an unpatriotic selfish, and despicable spirit, than were what are called the business-men of the country, that is to say, those persons who, by their education, character, habits, and intelligence, are best fitted to serve her, being tempted by an over-absorption in their private business to abstain from all contact with public affairs, and from a due participation in the onerous and honorable strife of municipal or parliamentary politics. Were such a defection on the part of the most intelligent, energetic, and high-principled men of the country to prevail, the consequence would be that the direction of its affairs would fall into the hands of corrupt adventurer, and trading politicians, and that the moral tone of the nation as a nation would deteriorate throughout every stratum of society, and what I ask, is the worth of the largest fortune in the world, of the most luxurious manner of all the refinements and amenities of civilization, if we cannot be proud of the country in which we enjoy them, if we cannot claim part in the progress and history of our country, if our hearts do not throb in unison with the vital pulse of the national existence, if we merely cling to it as parasites cling to a growth of rotten vegetation. Of course, I do not mean to imply that we should all insist on being Prime Ministers, Secretary of State, or Mayors, or Members of Parliament, or Town Councillors. Such aspirations to all would be neither useful nor desirable. A large proportion of the energies of the community must be always employed in building up its mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural status, and in its learned professions, but I venture to think that no one, especially in a young country, no matter what his occupation, should consider himself justified in dissociating himself altogether from all contact with political affairs. The busiest of us can examine, analyse, and judge, we can all canvass, vote, protest, and contend for our opinion, we can all feel that we are active members of a young commonwealth, whose future prospects and prosperity depend upon the degree of patriotism, self-sacrifice, and devotion with which we apply our energies in our several stations to her material, moral and political development."

These words shrewdly quoted will serve to remind our present Viceroy

of what the natives of India may expect on his hands, as well as instruct the latter as to the responsibilities which they would incur in assuming the aspirations which the Earl of Dufferin has so forcibly pointed out as being a requisite feature of a noble and powerful citizenship. It is, however, one thing to be animated by noble thoughts placed before us, and another to pursue legitimate ends in consonance with them. The difficulty lies in rendering abstract ideas, however well developed and generous, consonant with the business instincts which can fully fall in with the times and circumstances of the place where such abstract ideas are sought to be utilized. Even in patriots whose feelings and sentiments are to be so much commended, we should prefer to see a practical force generated much more than a simple desire for securing larger rights and privileges for natives in general. What seems essential in the present state of things in India is that we should all unite to practically sympathize with the higher forms of British administration, and, while thus laying practical services at its disposal, share in the glory of perfecting the consolidation of the Indian Empire. We beseech the distinguished Bombay leaders to comprehend the gravity of the military situation in India. Their efforts should be directed to bring about an effective conference of the suzerain power with its feudatories on the question of reforming their forces on mutually creditable and useful principles, and once for all to accomplish the permanent object of so securing India to itself that it can always present an impregnable barrier to its present and future foes without being placed at the mercies of the dangerously shifting politics of Great Britain. We respectfully insist on public men in India inducing the Government to secure once for all the permanent security of India as mostly dependent on its own military resources, which we have always pointed out as being abundant, if only earnestly considered and frankly and honorably utilized. The military problem is not the only one imperatively needing a satisfactory solution, though at the present moment it surpasses every other in respect of imperial urgency. Unless the worthy leaders at Bombay show themselves deeply alive to the dire necessity of immediately augmenting the defences of India, it is hardly likely that the public and the Government of England will be moved to take up the question in a thoroughly earnest spirit. As the state of things now appear, is it not possible that our safety on any unforeseen contingency might drift into an helplessness, certainly not so bad as has appeared in the affairs of Egypt for the last few

years, but nevertheless such as may cause great anxiety. Where is the man in India who can pronounce a confident opinion as regards its safety as influenced by the numerous unknown complications which have ensued from the favorable and unfavorable aspirations, traditions, and prejudices of the various powerful nations of the West and the East? What sagacious politician in India will refuse to believe that such difficulties as those in Egypt, on our own frontiers, and those connected with some of the European and Asiatic States may one day endanger the peace of India!—
15th February, 1885.

WE feel greatly interested in the concise account given by Lord Randolph Churchill of his recent tour in India, and have, therefore, great pleasure in producing it below. We are specially gratified to publish it for the edification of our readers, as it is singularly truthful, unsensational and modest. What amount of harm is done to India when some of those who visit it give an exaggerated and unsympathetic account of Indian affairs! Young India ought not to be too fond of such feeling accounts, because the real wants and necessities of India are concealed under the ludicrous and sensational pictures sought to be portrayed by those who, though exceedingly well-meaning, are incapable of controlling their temper and judgment when they hear that affairs in India do not improve and progress as fast as they do in America or England. What a simple and quiet account did our good and noble Lord give to his interviewers about what he saw in India, which ought to have had a wonderful effect on those personages who probably desired to report some startling stories as emanating from him, for did they not know what high-pitched things were lately narrated in the London periodicals? Lord Randolph frankly stated that, considering the present political crisis in India, he would refrain from laying much stress on the conditions in vogue there. He wondered, and very rightly too, that a large number of politicians of England did not visit India and study public questions on the very grand scale which our country so well afforded. We expect immense good to India if his Lordship's suggestion were adopted by his brother noblemen and the members of Parliament, who consider that the elysium of the Earth is comprised only in the tight British Isles. The Reporters must have been amazed to know from the noble Lord that he did not find any pinching starvation or poverty among

the peasantry in India, and that the recent railway extensions in the Bombay Presidency must render any widespread famine in the Deccan impossible. We would rather now allow the account we have spoken of to narrate the results of Lord Randolph's memorable and extensive journey in India, which we may be permitted to hope his Lordship will fully record in a suitable volume, which, further, we may be allowed to hope, he may present to India in return for what interest it may have roused in his mind while touring through its principal districts :—

Lord Randolph Churchill arrived in London on the 7th instant. A representative of the Press Association had an interview with his Lordship on the 8th instant and obtained from him an account of his extended tour in India. His Lordship said that in view of the Russian advance in Afghanistan, which naturally excited so much anxiety in the public mind, he felt reluctant to enter fully at present into his impressions of the political opinions and condition of our Indian fellow-subjects. The same question as to Afghanistan was now uppermost in the minds of all Indians who took any degree of interest in politics, and for the time ha' quite superseded in their attention all local controversies or discussions about local self government and other matters of that kind. Their attitude towards the frontier question could scarcely be described as one of anxiety, but rather as one of intelligent curiosity as to the eventful result of the communications now passing between Great Britain and Russia on the subject. In reply to further questions, his lordship proceeded : "I have been absent from England 125 days, and find that I have travelled no less than 22,800 miles, showing how much can be accomplished in the present day within a very short period. Throughout my whole tour I was received with the utmost hospitality and kindness on every hand. I derived from various sources very much information that I could not otherwise have obtained about our Indian Empire, and what I have learned naturally stimulated my interest in its welfare ; but after a comparatively short and hurried tour I do not feel quite warranted in at once giving any positive opinion as to its present condition, progress, or future prospects. I think, however, that people in this country have very little real idea of the extraordinary attractiveness of Indian travel, and the great importance of the interests involved. It is now a matter of intense surprise to me that a far larger number of our fellow-countrymen, especially those of them who are active politicians, do not visit our great Empire in

the East, all political problems in India being solved on such an enormous scale, that a study of them on the spot cannot but open the minds and enlarge the ideas of visitors. Lord Salisbury has said that, if we would understand the Russian question, we should study it on large maps, and everything in India is on so vast a scale that political questions may be studied there as upon a large map. The people of India feel it a disadvantage that there is such a tremendous gap between them and the British public, everything which concerns them has to filter to us through so many officials and by means of the formalities of a Government bureau, that their natural views and feelings are never put quite fully or fairly before the people of Great Britain, and they are, therefore, very glad to welcome any politician to whom they can talk freely upon subjects which chiefly affect them." Asked for an account of his route, Lord Randolph said: "I went from Bombay to Poona, and travelled thence to the very interesting old state of Beejapore, in the Southern Mahratta Country, thence to Bombay. I next journeyed to Indore, and stayed there with Sir Lepel Griffin, with whom I had an opportunity of visiting the important military cantonments of Mhow. At Indore I saw the Maharajah Holkar and his court. From that point I accompanied Sir Lepel to Gwalior, where I met the Maharajah Scindia, when I had an opportunity of seeing his Highness's army. There were 7,000 men on parade, and speaking as a civilian, without professing much military knowledge, I should say that their drill and manœuvring was equal to almost any British force. But they are only armed with the old "Brown Bess." It may equally be said of almost all the native troops in the various States that for modern military purposes they are practically unarmed. The account which Sir Lepel Griffin gives, in this morning's *Times*, of the armies in the Native States of India is most faithful and accurate. From Gwalior I went to Lucknow, and thence enjoyed a fortnight's expedition into the Terai, on the borders of Oudh and Nepaul, where we had some good shooting and killed a fine tiger, as well as some other wild game. I had also an opportunity of seeing the country and visiting many of the villages, taking care here as well as at other points, to observe for myself and to ascertain the condition of the peasantry." In reply to a question as to where he had noticed much misery amongst the common people, his lordship said: "No, I did not see any startling evidence of starvation or deep poverty, although in the British portion of the Deccan there was evidently a good deal of agricul-

tural distress owing to the absence of rain and the failure of the crops for several years. But the Government seem to be treating the people there with great consideration in the way of remitting burdens and otherwise helping them to overcome times of trouble. The efforts of the Bombay Government during the last few years, under Sir James Fergusson, to extend the railway system over the Deccan have, I believe, entirely obviated the danger of any great famine in that district for the future. There may be scarcity from time to time, but no probability of another famine upon any serious scale." Resuming the narrative of his journey, his lordship said: "From the Terai I returned to Lucknow, and there by the kindness of General Dillon I saw some of the native regiments, including the 15th Sikhs, a magnificent regiment now in the Soudan. From Lucknow I travelled to Calcutta, where I stayed a week, and had the advantage of making the acquaintance of most of the leading officials as well as of many of the principal native gentlemen, many of whom I found to take a great interest in British politics. Here, as in the other large towns, I found the intelligent natives to be equal to any Europeans in information, extent of reading, and public spirit. From Calcutta I went to Allahabad, where I was the guest of Sir Alfred Lyall, and met General Sir Frederick Roberts. I next visited the Native States of Rewah, and there enjoyed some more sport. The prince there is a minor, and his State is being administered by the British during his minority. From Rewah I went to the sacred city of Benares, where I had the honour of being the guest of the Maharajah. My next point was Delhi, from which I went to Agra, thence to Jeypore, and next to Baroda. The Gackwar of Baroda is as fine a specimen of a native ruler as one could desire to meet. He is quite a young man, I think only 22 or 23 years of age; but is intelligent, firm, discreet, and shows an intense desire to promote the welfare of the general body of his subjects. There is nothing in the way of representative government; indeed, the Gackwar himself manages the whole affairs of his State, assisted by a council of native ministers chosen by himself. Although the ruler is himself a Hindu, his Prime Minister is a Mahomedan. Both of them speak English perfectly well, and, indeed, the knowledge of English among the leading natives is very general and remarkable. From Baroda I went to Hyderabad, and remained there a week, spending a couple of days in camp with the Nizam on a sporting expedition. A large tract of jungle was beat towards us, in the usual way,

by a number of beaters on foot, but the tiger was not at home. Although we had little sport, the life in camp was exceedingly pleasant and luxurious. When in Hyderabad, I saw all the sights of the city, and made the acquaintance of the ministers. In many respects the State of Hyderabad seems to possess a more advanced and enlightened government than any of the other Native States. Its present Prime Minister, the Nawab Salar Jung, has surrounded himself with a body of very excellent colleagues, principally Mahomedans from the north. The Nawab is actually carrying out the great reforms initiated by his father, and in these he is well supported by the Nizam. If he is properly supported by the British authorities, I think the State of Hyderabad will be fully as well governed as any part of India. From Hyderabad I returned to Bombay, which I left on the 20th of March on the homeward journey." When asked which of the Indian cities struck him as most characteristic, Lord Randolph replied that he thought Hyderabad was the most thoroughly Indian in all its features and surroundings, adding that many of the large towns in the north-west were getting more and more Europeanised.

His Lordship, who was somewhat tanned by the Indian sun, states that he is in excellent health, and thoroughly enjoyed his tour from beginning to end. By means of private correspondence and newspapers he has been able to keep himself fully informed as to the progress of political affairs in England during his absence.—10th May, 1885.

THE civilized world must be wondering at the recent change effected in the Government of England. It is unique of its kind as formed by Lord Salisbury, and as permitted by the Premier and his Cabinet under suspension, according to the wishes of our August sovereign. It is a wonder to find how easily the Opposition side has gained the day, and with what readiness the Government, which was only a moment ago considered all-powerful, have been smashed by their opponents. It is not that that Grand Old Man being very aged and over-tired himself has sought his own expulsion from office : the whole Ministry of the Liberals professing to be the favourites of the majority of the people of England have walked out, and for the time being the Whigs and the Radicals are defunct as active members of the Government of England. You may say that just now the Tories have absorbed them and have appeared to be possessed of the soul

The Change in
Government and Lord
Randolph Churchill.

of Englanders ! Such a change is startling, especially as it is not at the hustings that the fate of the Radicals has been decided, while the Tories have not yet been proclaimed masters by the electorates of Great Britain. The Gladstonians, therefore, cannot be said to have been as pointedly defeated as the Disraelites were after the great Midlothian campaigns. The dissolution of the Parliament has not yet taken place, and the national votes as to what Government will be accepted by the nation will only be taken a few months hence. Thus the majority of the House of Commons which came in with Mr. Gladstone after the defeat of the late Lord Beaconsfield, are yet intact. We, therefore, consider that the Liberal Government have been placed under suspension with the cognizance of the nation and the sovereign. The Conservatives have to rule with the tacit approval of the Liberals, who, finding the Government too hot for them, have, as it were, sought a sort of compromise with the party in Opposition. They have thus got out of hot water and have succeeded in plunging the Conservatives into the most trying position, while the nation have shown signs of mistrust and disaffection towards the party led by Mr. Gladstone. They have managed to bring the state of affairs in some doubtful and anxious position, which may or may not eventually end in everything that is right and proper, but which the genius of the people of England has begun to strongly disapprove of. The premier must no doubt be thinking that affairs are now what they should be, and that they are only in the way of being properly adjusted, but that his supporters have grown weary of constantly propping him up ! He might, therefore, very well attempt to punish the receders by getting his party to throw up the reins of Government just at a time when the nation is most anxious to know the results of the foreign policy of the statesman whom they once so unreservedly adored. This is of course our own view, which we take of the situation. Probably Mr. Gladstone may have apprehended evil results as issuing from the best he had attempted, and it would be quite right for him not to persist in the course of policy he has strenuously followed. He would wish in the interests of the nation to permit a change of treatment and watch the course of affairs for the next election. If everything went right and the Conservatives were returned, he might either seek repose, or reclothe his Liberals for again bringing the nation to his own ideal. If the Conservatives did not effect a successful administration by the time the reformed elections were complete, he would be ready to step into office

again for a short time, if only to demonstrate that Grand Old England's heart beat for no miserable creatures, but only for the 'magnificent Liberals ! Thus he might aspire after securing a long term for them after being tested by trials and difficulties. Let the Liberals only live till he lives—and then the deluge.

It is astonishing that the Conservatives have taken office without being called to do so by the nation. May we say that this event, however unusual, will serve to give us some guarantee as to the interests of our own empire—not to mention others which certainly perpetually influence ours. We may say just now—we do not care for the Liberals, the Radicals, or the Conservatives. If grave doubts have arisen how our frontier affairs would end ; how our own vigorous Viceroy's consummate policy might be dealt with in the absence of any change in the Government, then the accession of the new personae is a decided gain to us. This much is true that the Russian Government will no more continue the interested protraction of affairs which they have attempted with a Liberal Government. They will not be permitted to break promises and engagements, and find out some loop-hole by which to pounce upon other people's territories to the detriment of this country. However lofty the sense of justice as owned by Mr. Gladstone, we fear he failed in estimating its due proportion in relation to Indo-Afghan affairs, the consequence being that the Czar's Government have been naturally emboldened to extend their influence so far that a dread of their might may be established in India—which, of course, is a most unwelcome thing which neither Earl Dufferin nor those having a solid experience of an Oriental country have for a moment desired. As regards Egypt, the popular opinion seems to be adverse to the conduct observed by the Liberal Government. Any such uncertainty or complication in Indian affairs would have probably created a much greater sensation.

Whatever some English journals may say as to the inexperience and impetuosity of Lord Randolph Churchill, he has instinctively adopted the right course in viewing, as he has done, the line of conduct observed by the Russian Government. We are amused at the efforts of some of the London journalists in predicting that evil might come from his discharge of the high office of the Indian Secretary at the present serious juncture, while they base their apprehensions on one of his Opposition speeches, in which he has made a very spirited attack on the Russian Government and their supposed abettors. We do not believe that Lord Churchill, as

Secretary of State, is the same statesman who had inveighed against the late Government. He is a very bold, effective and intrepid speaker; as a party man he would be a formidable instrument to deal with. When he has the field of controversy to himself, he can be an uncompromising and a very bitter debater. He is a merciless exposé of faction-faults. But we refuse to believe that when once he has found the responsibilities of office fastened on him, he would be the same fice lancer as he has been as an independent member in the House of Commons. In the practical concerns of administration, his Lordship may be found as profound and as wary and cautious as any practical statesman of the opposite bench. We have seen with what deliberate tact and caution he conducted himself in India, and how sensibly, wisely, and intuitively he replied to the vital questions put to him on his return from India. The replies he gave elicited the admiration of all elderly India, who know the sort of stuff which carries muster with the ignorant part of the public of India and England, as emanating from some of those specious sentimentalists whose noble efforts India cannot ignore, however raw or misguided they may be. When we had not for a moment supposed any possibility of Lord Randolph accepting our Viziership, it struck us from his demeanor in India and the scope and character of his travels in our country, that he was rather misrepresented in England. We fail to find weight in the utterance of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that his Lordship lacks any of the essential qualities which are needed for the administration of the Indian Empire. It is deplorable to find how loosely such assertions are made in England. If Lord Randolph is so useless for the high office he now occupies, how many noblemen who have held office before him could be said to have even been worse than him? There have been many indeed, a little better than mediocres and time-servers, of less experience of the Houses of Parliament, and completely ignorant of the state of the countries whose affairs they have administered. In Lord Randolph we have a man who has been in the House of Commons for over a decade. He is possessed of healthy, vigorous, straight-forward and ready instincts, and is an orator of a high stamp and a forward school; one who loves India, and who has with commendable exertions seen this vast country for himself. Whatever his party predilections, his instincts for official life are just what we need; what our own capable Viceroy may be badly in want of. While in India, the noble lord scrupulously and consistently, from beginning to end, refrained

from uttering a single word or taking a single step which would compromise or even embarrass the authority of the land. And yet he was then one of the most forward and the most influential members of the Opposition, who might have, if he was so disposed, cast India into a ferment of agitation.—*12th July, 1885.*

No one will disapprove of our referring, in general terms, to the various railway incidents which give rise to unpleasantness between Europeans and Natives, first in very limited circles, and then throughout the world by the means of newspaper agitation. From individual grievances the circumstance fast grows into a political and racial question. There are, of course, warring partizans to be found in the Press, and as soon as a spark is ignited, the two inimical sides are formed for a hot contest. It is to be much doubted if permanent peace and good-will result from these wars of passions and prejudices, for any time some untoward incident occurring, the same furious agitation disturbs the public, deepening perhaps more the certain amount of estrangement now existing between the rulers and the ruled.

We hope and trust that we may soon see the time when the European and Native communities will travel together peacefully. While we say this, we are cognizant of the facts that a humane desire exists in large numbers of both Natives and Europeans to yield to mutual convenience and comfort, and that in but very few cases the latent racial prejudices existing accidentally grow into a quarrel which may be compared to something similar to a donkey forced into a tiger's skin ! There is no doubt that the timely interference of Government, whatever its actual effects be in individual instances, helps towards the formation of an healthy public opinion in both communities.

We might as well make our meaning clear by adducing some illustrations. We say that European prejudices against travelling in the same carriage with Natives should decrease, for many mistakes are made by our European brethren by not freely associating with the natives. The toleration of the latter, as a class, towards their much humbler brethren is imitable, in that a Merchant will permit his Mehta to sit with him, or that a Sowcar will think nothing demeaning in travelling in a third class carriage with a host of very inferior persons. European and native

officers with full conscience, good sense, and generosity, will now and anon look into a third class carriage, if only for the purpose of obtaining information about the social and material lives passed by the lower, but highly useful classes of the commonwealth, or about the effects produced in the populace by various administrative measures.

What is a European to do, however, if he finds the only first class compartment occupied by no usually decent native, but one who may appear repulsive, both in his clothing and in his manners ? It would be best to consult the law of the land on the subject. Such a person comes within its measurable distance, and the Railway Company is the authority to apply civil compulsion with the legal guarantee to back them up. But a large-minded European, who has probably much weightier things to engage his mind during the leisure which travel affords, will probably walk into any compartment and avoid delay and provocation. He can take an action of this sort as well as prudent natives would do in the opposite case of the only compartment occupied by European rowdies, revelling in cigars and brandy, and emitting smells not certainly less strong than that of an ill-mannered Hindu, Parsi, or Mahomedan. When a patient—whether a male or female—is in urgent need of rest, and the fact is duly made known, we cannot conceive of one person among a hundred Europeans or Natives, who would grudge to yield. Supposing a Governor or a Prince travels *incognito* in his own territories, and finds in the only first class carriage a husband and his wife. will he force them to separate, or directly repair to another carriage ? He is likely to do the latter.

In all cases of disputes between railway passengers, the railway authorities of a station ought henceforth to be able to settle the disputes themselves. The laws of right and propriety have both to go hand in hand on the railway platform, or in the train. We are of opinion that no unseemly racial disputes ought to occur which would necessitate action from the highest quarters of the Government. The railway companies would do well to instruct their officials to deal with such disputes in a firm, cordial and impartial manner, deciding questions of rights and courtesy in a way which would satisfy all parties. Whether the parties are European or Native grandees on the one side, and uninfluential Natives or Europeans on the other, the railway authorities in charge are the proper men to settle such disputes in the light of law and reason. If the law or any clear reasonable course is allowed to be violated by the responsible railway

official, he is amenable to suitable punishment. If any party, whether a European or a Native, has suffered inconvenience or in reputation, he has his remedy in law against the offending party and the responsible man abetting him. When Government have done all they could in warning their own servants, that if they be wanting in consideration towards the weak, that consideration should be unfailingly shown them, we submit Government does all that is expected of it. The relations which arise in public travelling have thus been made clear. In all such cases hereafter, the law must be allowed to take its course, and the law must be vindicated and explained by the responsible servants when they have to deal with disputes between passengers. If they do not fail in their duty, there is no reason why such comparatively little matters should in future engross the very valuable time of the Government. If legal remedies are well understood, and the law is properly enforced by the railway companies, there will be no need for severe *departmental* action being taken by the Government. The worst necessity that may be felt in future would be for a further legal provision in the Railway Act, rendering a refusal to submit to the specified legal orders of a duly appointed railway authority punishable in a Court of Law. We shall then effectually remove most of the railway rati al contentions from the bitter region of newspaper sentimentalism and extra-judicial remedies. We beg that the contemporaries of the day on both sides may ponder over the view here taken of the present agitation.—30th August, 1885.

WE have read the appeal sent from India to the Electors of Great Britain with great pleasure and interest. It will always remain as an important document remarkable for its moderate, conciliatory and comprehensive spirit. If there be any possibility of the British Electorates being influenced by solitary leaflets and speeches to pay serious attention to vital questions concerning the Queen's Eastern Empire, this appeal may have that effect, though we may differ from some of the less important views contained therein. The document is one sufficient to arrest our attention and require more than a passing reflection.

The first passage ably delineates the conditions in which the British found themselves possessed of India and the germs of the bright future for India which accompanied that possession. "Though we are one-sixth of

"the human race and are bound to you by kith and kin and by all that is sacred and true, we have no voice in the affairs of our own country." And accordingly the Electors are asked to support only those candidates for the next Parliament who can assure them that they will have justice done to India. Before the British took India "our future was most uncertain," which is nearly true. But to say that we had then "national traditions of civil freedom" is hardly as much correct. We loved to be possessed of those traditions which the internal dissensions did not permit, but which the imperial light generated from the combined forces of the West and the East are now in a fair way of granting to India.

We like it to be said as it runs in the second passage, that "our well being is so indissolubly united with your own:" one of those accurate sentiments which we have sought to insert into the mind of native India for a quarter of a century. The most elevated points of both England and India must meet on the same level. We are instructed to have it so by the cardinal principles of the Crown ever acting on recurring intervals to set right the narrow monopolies which interfered with the purely benign foundations of British intervention and supremacy—whether those monopolies referred to the public trade, the services, or vitiated the highest trusts or the state and political life and integrity enjoyed by the native chiefs. None of these reformed strides were, however, accomplished without the Crown and the Parliament having themselves taken the initiative as inspired by the acts and intentions of statesmen not different from those who now form the crowning points of the British sceptre—whether serving in India or England; whether of one party or another. Through these saint-like personages we are now enabled to make our way towards the noble soul of Great Britain centred in the hands of their honorable electors. We thank the Bombay Presidency Association primarily, and the rest of the principal Associations in India, for making this courageous and historical move.

The third passage portrays the dawn which now slowly breaks upon us to illustrate the prime danger against which India and England have to make an efficient provision as a united nation; otherwise their fate would be doomed. It is in no uncertain tone in which the necessity at least for this provision is indicated, and we quote this passage entire with the satisfaction which we must feel in observing that the paramount duty on

which we have again and again insisted is at last realized by native India :—

“ The present is a most opportune moment for thus taking stock of the results which have been achieved in the past. More vividly than on any previous occasion, the value of the connection which subsists between the two countries has been forced upon your attention by recent events. India forms the pivot round which moves the entire imperial or foreign policy of England. Your interests in the fortunes of Central Asia, in Turkey, in Egypt, in the Soudan, in South Africa, in distant China, all centre round your care for the possession of this country. For the first time your insulation which had often been regarded as justifying indifference to the movements of the great European powers has ceased to exist, and some of those powers have extended the limits of their possessions within close vicinity to your Indian frontiers. How to safeguard your interests is the question of the hour, which you are called upon to decide in a way worthy of your place among nations. Indian topics will form the chief planks of your political platform, on which in a thousand places those who lead and form public opinion will address you, when they seek your votes. Your constituencies have been by recent legislation increased in numbers and strength, and now, more than ever before, the great mass of the working classes in town and country will realise both their powers and responsibilities. These special considerations encourage us to hope that the work, so nobly undertaken in the past, will be continued by you in the present with a full sense of the sacred trust laid upon you. No new principles have to be laid down. Your work will chiefly be to enforce the principles that have been repeatedly declared by our Gracious Sovereign and Parliament as binding upon your servants here in their administration of this great empire.

The only misfortune is that the fact that foreign powers of very doubtful motives and humanity having sought to outstrip India in dreaded strength has been recognized by Bombay and general India as late as the electors of Great Britain have done for themselves.

We heartily welcome such expressions as these—‘ Mind the attacks from abroad.’ ‘ Mind the absence of reserves in men and means wanted to meet outside attacks.’ We find these in the fourth passage along with the other wants and grievances of India. The suggestion for a complete permanent settlement of land revenues is not quite happy, nor about the industrial development being in foreign hands. The extravagance of the cost of Home charges and the public services, the present utter demartialization of all peoples and states, the unchecked devastating famines, the grossly defective government councils are the right points to put into the ears of the millions of electors. But it is not quite appropriate to say that “ the taxes are trenching upon the margin of subsistence.” It would be quite right to say that many of the ablest classes of the Indian populations, European and Native, trench upon the margin of subsistence of the Government and the poor people. Again, we need not infer that we are

trenching upon the margin of subsistence of the poorer classes by an imaginary equalization of the rates of taxation payable by the poor and the rich. It has taken very long for India to adopt scientific, economic and beneficial methods of taxation, and we fear we shall still take more time in carrying the country with us in boldly maintaining the maximum of taxation and all the equitable taxes which must be borne, and not forsaken as now, for the sake of our best and most vital concerns. When shall we have our Associations to consider these problems in their full and fair light—a measure by the means of which we should be able to get the public debt reduced, and the strength of the empire in men and money increased? If it is in the power of the British electors to compel the Parliament to introduce a new era of reforms in India, it is no less the duty of our public men to assist the Government actively in devising the measures, in which their co-operation is indispensable, but is at present so much deficient. What is wanting in India itself cannot be much repaired by moving England.

The fifth passage refers to what is considered as an imperative obligation of those who may be returned for the next Parliament, *i.e.*, they must insist on a Commission of Inquiry being appointed to ascertain the abuses prevalent in India, and what would be the best remedies in pursuance of the proposition recently brought forward by Lord Randolph Churchill, the Secretary of State for India. Very much will depend on the basis supplied to such a Commission to work upon and the character of the Commission adopted. We have our own propositions to bring forward on this important question, which we shall gladly do when the time comes.

In para. sixth we find it strongly maintained that “the temptation or policy to resist aggressions by meeting the enemy far away from our frontiers being dazzling with the magnificence of its ambition should be resisted,” and that the already impoverished resources of the country should not be burdened with the extra expenditure of two or three millions annually. We welcome again expressions such as these—‘make India self-sustaining’—‘don’t let it become the sport of the policy of the foreign nations’—‘create national reserves out of the armies of Native States’—‘take Indian Princes into complete confidence.’ But for these ideas being taken up so late, we should not have been put in the present dilemma: whether to send a “robust protest” against the proposed additional expenditure, or be quietly subject to the essential extra expenditure which we may find India charged with to our grief and dismay.

The appeal-makers are in error in confounding two important questions together, which they have done terrified by the new expenditure intended to be imposed on the country. Whether India's defences should include Afghanistan or not, should be decided on its own merits : let the cost of it, however heavy, remain a matter to be separately dealt with. Both the Premier and the Secretary of State have arrived at the only sound conclusion which is possible to arrive at in the matter. We have over and over again demonstrated the fact, that if we allow Afghanistan to fall into the hands of the Enemy now posted at our Gate, we might as well leave the whole of the North-west of India to him, and that to lose Afghanistan is to sacrifice half the defences of India. It is a grave blunder to treat Afghanistan as England would treat France. If Afghanistan is not to be defended along with India, the Indian Associations would be perfectly right in protesting against the additional expenditure proposed, for in that case there would hardly be any necessity for increasing the military strength of India so much as now proposed. It is a remarkable coincidence that both the great and opposed parties in England have practically arrived at the same conclusion which we have insisted upon for years together, that Russia cannot menace Herat without doing injury to India. Has not the most Radical of the Ministers—Mr. Gladstone—exerted with all his might to arrest the progress of Russia at Penjdeh and Zulficar ? What did his preparations mean if both Afghanistan and India were not threatened by the Russian advance a little short of Herat ? It is surely no “dazzling magnificence” which has affected the statesmen who have held that Afghanistan should be kept intact ; for they have been influenced by practical considerations of the most serious import. If we have anything to do with the Afghans, they must either be our friends or foes. If they are retained as our friends, they would like us much better than the vulgar and the covetous Russians. If they are once allowed to get under the iron heels of Russia, these wolves will be stimulated to join with the bear to plunder and ravage India when a serious and general war broke out. Our public men must understand that we have not yet obtained the normal efficacy of our military strength and expenditure. Though we have been unable to get the immoralities of this expenditure checked and to insist upon our mother-country bearing a fair share in our external and imperial defences as far as these may be necessitated by the aggressions of foreign nations against the Imperial

Suzerain, there are no reasons why the wise, the prudent, and the far-seeing measure so cordially adopted by Earl Dufferin and Lords Salisbury and Randolph, and acquiesced in by Mr. Gladstone and Earl Granville, should not be enforced without a moment's delay. The additional expenditure would not be so disastrous as the ill-visioned timidity which may hereafter dictate the abandonment of the task of reorganizing our friendly Afghanistan and creating an additional force to back up its own strength for resisting the impudent foreign aggression which is now planted at the foot of the Paropamisus Range. The season, when all this should be done, ought not to be spoiled by the inadequate representation we are here noticing, though we applaud the motives dictating it.

Rather insist upon the imperative duty of utilizing the immense forces of the Native States and setting face against the dreaded additional burden talked about. Again, agitate equally strongly about the duty of England to share in the expenses of the imperial defences and suspending the inequitable expenditures incurred here and in England. But because you may not be able to comply with the demand for further expenditure, do not imperil the peace and safety of the empire ; and it would be a national crime of the highest magnitude to find the country failing to become self-acting in its own defence and in that of its neighbour on a general war becoming so complicated that the throats of the mother and the children were found strangled in all directions at one and the same time. If we have been wrong in our fears, show by facts and figures how the British Empire could stand its foes without complying with the modern necessity of keeping up the full military strength, as every Power in the world, except England, has already done.

We, of course, cannot help extremely sympathizing with the enjoinment to the electors—"It also rests with you, as the ultimate source of all power, to enforce through those whom you will select to represent you in the coming Parliament, peace, retrenchment, and a wide extension of native agency generally in the administration as the most just and safest policy to pursue for the rulers of this country." It is a pity that to such an excellent programme the not less important words of—"Do not fail also to render your Indian Empire strong and inviolate, whatever the disturbances which may agitate Europe or Asia, or whatever be the machinations employed to undo India—" were not added.—*11th October, 1885.*

WE have re-published the letters of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., C. S. I., and Mr. Dosabhai Framji, C. S. I., intimating to the Bombay Presidency Association their resignations of the offices held by them. The Secretaries to that Association have, under instructions from the Council, addressed a spirited reply to Sir Jamsetjee. The question raised on both sides is of no mean significance. We are glad that it has been raised, for the advanced natives of India must try and ascertain for themselves what would be the most effective method of influencing the British constituencies in favor of India, and what mistakes we may be liable to commit in attaining that end. It is this issue which Messrs. Mehta, Telang and Dinshaw Wacha have raised, and Sir Jamsetjee and Mr. Dosabhai have also indicated for the judgment of the public. It is to be regretted that circumstances do not seem to have favored a dispassionate and impersonal handling of the question. For the position which should be secured to carry on a controversy of high political importance, such as the present one is, should be altogether free of all minor matters, and so secure and so invulnerable that our cause in England may evoke unchallenged sympathies. In basing our position, we have to bear in mind a series of elementary facts. In the bringing up of India in the Electoral campaigns of England, the ready assumption of the mass would be that it was at any rate a very awkward intrusion. Educated Indians have not yet established themselves in the heart of England as it were, as they have not yet succeeded in going there in large numbers, or making themselves heard by the means of a powerful journal on the spot for which we have repeatedly made mention in our papers. Any constituency to be expected to favor the Indian cause will first look to the interests of its own country and those of Great Britain. It is most difficult for us to know what those multifarious and conflicting interests are, and how any of them could be handled in a manner that would win over the voters on our side. The native candidates know immeasurably better than ourselves what would easily move the springs of those constituencies, while most of our own or the foreign candidates would be at sea how to perform the miracle. We may endeavour to adopt a perfectly straightforward policy in the cause of Indian interests, but if that course of action militates against that of any of the native candidates whose programme are likely to be accepted by the constituencies applied to, the foreign programme might require a sensible modification. We have to

Our Difficulties at
the next British Elec-
tions.