

the country, while, by their attempts to patch up alliances for the purpose of grasping power, they compromise the most vital interests of the State.

What is to be done? The root of the evil is the practice of setting up the offices of State as the prizes of a faction fight, which, though taken to be common to all nations and indispensable, is, as has been already said, a mere accident of the recent history of England. For this it is easy to substitute the regular election of the Executive Council by the Legislature under proper conditions, and with such a scheme of rotation as will preserve sufficient harmony between the two. The men may then also be chosen on account of personal fitness for the particular office, whereas, at present, the offices are simply distributed as booty among the leaders of the party, often with no regard to special fitness at all. No valid or even definite objection has ever been raised, so far as we are aware, to this change. That the mode of election to the Legislature itself will in time be seen to require alteration is more than likely. The one valid excuse for Party is that it is, or rather has been, a mode, though the worst of all possible modes, of collecting together a sufficient number of the atoms into which a democratic suffrage divides the supreme power, and which have no cohesion or faculty of combination among themselves, to furnish the foundation for a Government. Democracy was sure, in its first stage, to be unformed and crude. Such changes require organic legislation, which those who desire to get rid of partyism must steadily keep in view as their ultimate aim. But to bring about organic legislation will take time and effort; the Legislature is in the hands of the party leaders and the wirepullers, who will not, if they can help it, kill their own trade. The advocates of National, in place of Party, Government must be prepared for an uphill struggle. We must preserve our own independence, and do our best, each in his sphere, to awaken public intelligence and loosen the yoke of the Machines. We must not disdain small mercies: we must promote and support independent candidatures where we can; where we cannot we must, of the two machine candidates, support, without regard for party, the best and the least servile. The formation of a third party, if it were possible, would not be desirable; it would be a recognition of the system, and the third party would soon have wirepullers and bosses of its own. But without forming a third party we may combine our action wherever we can. A few really independent members in Parliament would have a moral weight out of proportion to their numbers. The growing independence of the Press is an immense gain to our cause. The debating societies, which are multiplying, will be useful in accustoming young men to hear both sides, keeping them out of party clubs, and tempering the violence of their antipathies. Everything that quickens the intelligence and opens the minds of the people fights on our side. There is no royal road to this any more than there is to any other great reform; but to this as to other great reforms, if reformers are in earnest, there is a road.

### THE JUBILEE IN INDIA.

THE fiftieth anniversary of Her Majesty's accession to the throne was celebrated in India on the 16th of last month. In no dependency belonging to that wonderful little group of islands in the north-east corner of the Atlantic Ocean will Queen Victoria's Jubilee be regarded with so great interest as in India; for in no other region will the festivities bear so significant a meaning, or be more seriously observed as indicating the temper and loyalty of the people, as will they in the land which now stretches from Beloochistan to China.

What conception the average native of India has formed to himself of the sovereign of the mighty nation that has ruled his country for some two hundred years, probably no western mind can wholly comprehend. The line drawn between castes is so strongly defined, so great a gulf has for centuries been fixed between the rich and high-born and the poor and mean, that the latter has a most strange and exaggerated notion of "great place." To the Pariah a Brahmin is a being of quite a different genus; a Rajah probably something divine. What, then, must be the Kaiser-i-Hind, the Empress-Queen, of whom the highest Maharajah is but a slave?

In a land where nature is gorgeous and lavish it is natural that the popular signs of greatness should be gorgeousness and lavishness; and for ages display has been the instrument by which the ruler has sought to impress the ruled. It is natural, too, therefore, that in celebrating the Jubilee of the ruler of rulers India should indulge to the utmost her love of display. This the accounts of the *fêtes* prove. The City of Palaces at day-break inaugurated the proceedings by a royal salute of one hundred and one guns. At nine the Viceroy, wearing his insignia of the Star of India, attended by the Commander-in-Chief and a brilliant staff, and escorted by a bodyguard, held an imposing review. The artillery fired an Imperial salute, the infantry a *feu de joie*, and the massed bands played the National Anthem.

Three cheers were given for the Empress, and the troops marched past. In the afternoon an immense number of addresses were received in public with all the ceremony that the oriental mind could conceive of, and a display of fireworks delighted thousands in the evening. At Bombay similar festivities were indulged in, as also at Madras. Nor was the celebration confined to the Presidency towns alone; but in the great inland cities, in the capitals of semi-independent principalities, even in Burmah, at Mandalay, but nineteen months ago the stronghold of a troublesome enemy, great and real enthusiasm was exhibited.

Nor was the celebration confined to reviews, ceremonies, balls, fireworks, and illuminations. Twenty-five thousand prisoners were liberated, many debts were paid by the Government, and large arrears of land-revenue were remitted. The foundation-stone of a library—the Victoria Library—was laid at Indore; that of a college, also styled Victoria, at Gwalior; new waterworks were begun at Bhopal; a dispensary at Rewah; a women's hospital at Ulwar; and at Bombay eighteen thousand children of all races and creeds were feasted.

The fine arts, too, were not forgotten. Lord Dufferin, recognising the great learning and scholarship attained by many loyal Hindoos and Mohammedans, has instituted two new and high-sounding titles dear to oriental ears, even to those of sages and philosophers. They are: "Mahamahopadhyaye" for Hindoos, and "Shamsululama" for Mohammedans. The title is to be prefixed to the name of the holder, and is accompanied by a *khillat*, or gift of honour. Such things may raise a smile amongst us in the new world. "Mahamahopadhyaye Jno. Bright," or "Shamsululama Wm. Barnes" has a somewhat ludicrous sound; but, in the eyes of Ramasawmy Venketachellum Moodelliar, or Ali Kadir Sayid Husan, a K.C.M.G. or G.C.B. is not to be compared to them.

Nowhere will the celebration of Her Majesty's jubilee be attended with so deep, lasting, and perceptible benefit as will it be in India. India, a scething caldron of fanaticism, a fanaticism kept ever at boiling-point by the extraordinarily heterogeneous mixture of religions, races, castes, of varieties of thought and modes of life, is a country extremely difficult to rule. In this single dependency, between the Hindoo Koosh and Cape Comorin, are collected all varieties of intelligence, from that of the mud-hovel-building Toda of the Nilgherries to that of the haughty and pedantic Pundit. With such divergences, universal consent to measures for the protection of person or property is impossible. Clemency is mistaken for weakness, justice for oppression. To overcome such all but insuperable obstacles to good government, nothing is more efficacious than such measures as will tend to knit together this conglomeration of nations, will give them some common aim, will implant in them some common sympathy. Towards the accomplishment of this surely the Jubilee will do much. It has done much. No more significant proof of this, perhaps, could be found than in a proclamation issued by the high priest of Baidyanath, one of the most sacred Hindoo shrines of Lower Bengal, exhorting Hindoos of every class to give evidence of their loyalty in a befitting manner. This appeal, thousands of copies of which, in Sanskrit and Bengalee, were printed for circulation, runs thus:

May that great Empress under whose protection religious ceremonies have been practised without molestation for fifty years, may that august Empress, Victoria, live long! The lustre of her reign, which illumines the hollow vales of the wilderness and the concealed places, and which brightens the sight itself, has like a second sun made India blossom like the lotus, by dispelling the gloom of injustice originating from the severe tyranny of Mohammedanism. May the Empress Victoria, under whose kindness all her subjects have grown strong in the strength of religion and happiness, may she live a hundred years with her sons and friends! May the Empress, under whose influence uninterrupted peace reigns in India, live long!

It behoves you, Aryans, one and all, to pray for long life for the Empress. May that Empress, in whose Empire men of science sing with delight the manifold blessings of telegraphs, railways, and other inventions; may the Empress, whose moonlike deeds spread a halo of light far and wide; may the Empress Victoria be victorious! This is my constant prayer to Shiva.

Coming from such a source, this appeal may be looked upon as weighty evidence of the popularity of British rule.

The Jubilee has come at an opportune moment for India. With Russia intriguing and encroaching on our north-western boundaries, it is well to foster and maintain a deep-seated loyalty to England. Such loyalty England richly deserves. She has done much, very much, for India. Trade has increased from £21,000,000 in the year of the Queen's accession to £156,000,000 in the year 1885-6. No less than 13,000 miles of railway are now open. Public works abound. Education has marvellously spread. It is well, also, now and again to obtain widespread, tangible evidence of this loyalty. This evidence the Jubilee has undoubtedly given.

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