John Morley on Great Problems of India

An Illuminating Speech by the Great Scholar plain questions to your lordships. I those papers in any kind of detail. It today, is the opening of a great chapaspire. In the history of British responsiand Statesman-He Defines His Scheme of Reform-A Guarded Expansion of Recognized Principles—Repression Hateful as much the key to the papers as it was the policy of the noble Marquis of Indian administration, but I will secretary of state may, if there be a lence to persist in these reforms. It was the policy of the noble Marquis of Indian administration, but I will secretary of state may, if there be a lence to persist in these reforms. It was the policy of the noble Marquis overlaint them are shortly on I am Indian question from an Indian question fr But Necessary — The Opening of a New Chapter.

papers with good effect—the papers should be ashamed to detain your if I were to announce to your lordat all events in some degree, what ing to the India office pressure was will tell you. It is notorious that the try most immediately concerned. And the regulation under which men are would be the extremists and the ir-advisory councils, for example—on the then, thirdly, I cannot but apprehend now being summarily deported with- reconcilables, and for the best reasfiament—would be calculated to prejudice the reception in India of the prodice the r posals which the Government of In- place in the hands of an executive alienation between the European and desired by us, to a larger tend the power that at present exists appoint two Indian gentlemen to the general and desired by us, to a larger dealing with these proceedings in legagree to make. I submit that those I say now, that I decline to take out best way that could be adopted for very briefly what the proposals come preside. Sixth: Bombay and Madras dia office. Many apprehensions reachment of their country without for a country with a country without for are three very sensible reasons why of the hands of the Government of depriving them of the fuel for their to. I hope your lordships won't find discussion, in my view, and I hope in India any weapon they have got in the view of this House, would have circumstances so uncommon, obscure, to be deprecated. (Hear, hear.) This and impenetrable as are the circumsented with a very modest blue book, Government in India. but I should like to promise, noble lords that tomorrow morning there

THE OPENING OF A NEW

mas holidays. (Laughter.)

CHAPTER. The observations which I shall ask your lordships to allow me to make are the opening of a very important in a moment describe. I suppose, like -a Parliamentary committee to inquire into Indian government. I see had very strongly conceived that idea. On the whole I think there is a great deal at the present day to be said constitutional reform, and next to ap-Government of India and all its subornext—February, I hope—and that the regulation of 1818. again will involve both the Govern-

ly prepared to go any length and run (Applause.) any risk. It must also be borne in

space allotted to members of the uation. We cannot hope that any maanxious to burke discussion. That is obliged to pass a measure introducing between human beings. not in the least true. (Cheers.) The very drastic machinery? That is quite reasons which have made it seem to true, and I for one have no fault to

TWO PATHS OF FOLLY.

will be ready for them a series of pa- matters. One is to regard all Indian tenant-governor of Bengal. He made pers on the same subject of a size so matters, procedure and policy as if a speech of great power and force. enormous that the most voracious or they were in Great Britain or Ireland, This is the point which I am now eneven carnivorous appetite for blue and to insist that all the robes and deavoring to present to the House. He books will have ample opportunity for apparel that suit Great Britain or said that "this measure repressive Ireland must necessarily suit India. measure) did not represent even the and that then your business will be the frightful risks involved in trans- on the road to accomplishment." secting the contents of the papers, ferring and altering what ought to be man in that position at that moment a power of arbitrary repression. I am all the corroboration we need ask for alive, too, to the temptations under in persisting with reforms. His Majesty's Government here in I am alive to the danger of mistaking a headstrong excess of force for enother secretaries of state for India, forget the tremendous price you pay I found my first idea was to have for all operations of this sort in the reaction and excitement that it prothat a predecessor of mine in the India all these drawbacks I think I am one pay this possible price, however high it may appear to be. It is, like war, deal at the present day to be said a hateful thing, from which, however, against that idea, and therefore what one of the most ardent lovers of peace I have done was, at the instigation of and some of those rulers of the world and in concert with the Government the names of whom the most earnest of India, first to open the chapter of lovers of peace most honor and revere -it is one of the things from which point a royal commission to inquire these men have not shrunk, and the into the internal relations between the only question for us is whether there dinate parts. That commission will to justify the passing of the act the is such a situation in India today as report, I believe, in February or March other day, and to justify the resort to

be assassin was educated, and his re- ward strong repressive machinery AN EXPANSION OF RECOGNIZED ception was most enthusiastic and should arrest our policy of reform. spontaneous. I only mention that to That has been stated, and I dare say show the curiously unsettled atmo- many people would agree. The Govsphere in which things now are in ernment of India and myself have the dispatches, the dispatch from the published. No: I cannot think of Lon. either officially or corporeally, were Calcutta. This is not the occasion for from the very first beginning of this governor-general and my reply. They don but as my spiritual home. developing the matter, but I would add unsettled state of things never varied will be in your lordships' hands very the tedium unbearable, because, after either of them is likely to be, a Parlia-

dia and His Majesty's Government; but I said to myself, and His majesty's Government; but I said to myself, and Indian populations would be the very islative councils. I will enumerate to appoint a member of the council to council of India which sits at the Insinister and dishonest desires. I

afternoon your lordships will be pre- stances that surround the British the House. It is this, I don't know if our lordships read the speech made last Friday in the council of Calcutta There are two paths of folly in these by Sir Norman Baker, the new lieu-That is one path of folly. The other major part of the policy dealing with! is to conceive that all you have got to the situation. The greater task was allegiances. One and the first is, of do is to do what I saw suggested, to to adjust the machinery of governmy amazement, in print-to blow a ment so that their Indian fellowcertain number of men from the guns, subjects might be allotted the part which a self-respecting people could done. Each of these paths of folly fill. When the constitutional reforms is certainly the only place where I me to say so at this stage—will create tinguished visitor is invited. Weeks leads to disaster as much as the other. I which were being considered were finally announced, as they would be wards it a loyalty, an affection and a like to say this about the shortly be believed this task (the research of the official majority. The House thousands of dollars in expense; 50 to do not know how to leave it (I) illusions whatever. I do not ignore storation of order in India) would be

THE VERNACULAR PRESS I have talked about reforms to men of authority and experience in Indian affairs. I have talked with experts of all kinds of reform, and I admit they shook their heads very often. vokes. If there is a man who knows Shall we do nothing?" There is not one of these able and experienced men that a predecessor of mine in the India; of them. But there are situations in office, Lord Randolph Churchill, who which a responsible government is one of these able and experienced men to whom I put that question who has the predecessor of mine in the India; of them. compelled to run these risks and to Whatever else you do, you cannot stand still." Supposing we did, I would not be surprised if there are any here who would say, "Well, you ought to have some very strict machinery for putting down the press." A long time ago a great In dian authority, Sir Thomas Munro, used this language, which I will ven ture to quote not merely for the pur poses of this afternoon but in order that everybody who listens and everybody who reads may feel what tre mendous difficulties we and our predecessors have overcome. Sir Thomas ment of India and the India office in SUMMARY PROCEDURE JUSTIFIED Munro said, "What we are trying is Whitehall and Parliament in pretty I cannot imagine anybody reading an experiment never yet tried in the laborious and careful inquiries. It the speeches and the list of crimes world-maintaining a foreign dominought not to be expected that an act perpetated and attempted to be per- ion by means of a native army and passed as the great act of 1858 was petrated read out last Friday in Cal- teaching that army through a free passed, amidst great excitement and cutta-I cannot conceive anybody press that they ought to expel us and very disturbing circumstances, should reading that list and thinking what deliver their country." He went on to have been in existence for half a cen- they stand for and doubting for a lay that a tremendous revolution tury and its operation not be better single moment that summary proced- might overtake us originating in a free for supervision. I spoke of delay in ure of some kind or another was jus- press. I do not deny for a momentthese observations, and unfortunately tified and called for. I see abroad a on the contrary, I recognize to the full delay has not made the skies any tendency to criticise this legislation on -the enormous force of a declaration brighter. But do not let us make the grounds that strike me as extraor- of that kind. But let us look at it as Indian sky cloudier than it really is. dinary. After all, it is not our fault practical men who have to deal with Do not let us consider the clouds to that we have had to bring in this the government of the country. Supbe darker than they are. Let us look measure. You must protect peaceful posing you abolish the freedom of the -I invite your lordships to look-at and harmless people, both Indian and press or suspend it. That would not the difficulties, considerable difficul- European, from bloodshed and have end the business. You will then have ties, even formidable difficulties which of anarchic conspiracy. I say, what to shut up schools and colleges, for now confront us in India with a due everybody in the House would say, what would be the use of suppressing sense of proportion. I could give no that I deplore this necessity, but we the newspapers if you did not shut better example which I would wish are bound to face the facts. I myself the schools and colleges? Then you members of this House or any other recognize this necessity with infinite would have to stop the printing of House to imitate than what I venture regret and with something, perhaps, unlicensed books. To possess a copy to call the intrepid coolness of Lord rather deeper than regret, but it is of Milton, or Burke, or Macaulay, or of the Globe Theatre without wonnot the Government, either here or in Bright will on this theory of govern-dering what Shakespeare felt on India, who are the authors of this ne. ment-an unthought-out notion of cessity, and I do not at all mind, if it government—be like the possession of that night of nights when "Hamlet" Now, what is the state of things as is not impertment and unbecoming for a bomb, and you will have to have an It appears to a person of authority me to say so, standing up in another explosive book act for Milton, Burke and ample knowledge in India. One place and saying exactly what I have and that great array of writers and very important friend of mine in In- said here—that I approve of these orators who are the glory of our grand dia says this: "The anarchists are few. proceedings and will do my best to and superb English tongue. Well, all On the other hand, they are apparent- support the Government of India. this and its various sequels and complements may make a policy if you! please. But after such a policy had mind that the ordinary man or lad in REFORMS TO BE PERSISTED IN. please. But after such a policy had produced a mute, sullen, muzzled, India has not too much courage, and But now a very important question lifeless India we could hardly call it the loyal are terrorized by ruthless arises for which I will ask for a mo- the brightest jewel that ever sparkled extremists." It is a curious incident ment the close attention of your lord- in an imperial crown. No English

PRINCIPLES.

he policy of reform, and I put two through the plan or the contents of what you are beginning to consider goal to which I for a moment would far, at all events, those apprehensions places about the weakness of conces- expansion of principles that were bility to India. (Cheers.) sion to violence and so on. But per- recognized in the year 1861, and still REFORMING THE LEGISLATIVE severing in our plan of reform is not more directly and closely connected a concession of violence. The reforms with us now by the Marquis of Lansthat we have publicly announced, downe in 1892. That is what the noble adopted and worked out for more than Marquis said in 1892, and it is really tinguished handful of gentlemen in think, be defended. There is no legal ask one of these two gentlemen to is simply standing to your guns. and the Government of that day. He (Cheers.) A gentleman, of whom I said: "We hope we have succeeded in is the list of the powers we shall have ommend His Majesty to appoint an find in it a chance of obtaining an wish to speak with all respect, addressed to me a very courteous letter councils a form sufficiently definite to the other day exhorting me to remember that Oriental countries inevitably representation of the people in our proposals for legislative bring in the bill. But I feel it my duty to tender to the King representation of the people in our propose to bring in a bill next year my advice that an Indian angle of obtaining an Indian angle of vision, and I feel bring in the bill. I may say that we that during my retention of office sometimes as if I was actually in the secure a satisfactory advance in the people in our large member and a propose to bring in a bill next year my advice that an Indian member. All I want to say in Indian angle of vision, and I feel bring in the bill. I may say that we that during my retention of office sometimes as if I was actually in the donot propose to bring in the bill feel it my duty to tender to the King representation of the people in our large member and a logical time account of the people in our propose to bring in a bill next year my advice that an Indian angle of obtaining an Indian angle of vision, and I feel bring in the bill. I may say that we that during my retention of office sometimes as if I was actually in the donot propose to bring in the bill there should be a vacancy I should be a vacancy The House of Lords met on Dec. 18 "There is no fear of anything in the and invariably interpret kindness as legislative councils and to give effect propose to bring in a bill next year, my advice that an Indian member side, but this at all events surely is to hear Lord Morley's statement on nature of a rising, but if murders conto near Lord Moriey's statement on nature of a rising, but it murders con-the Government of India. There was tinue general panic may arise and a large attendance of peers and the greatly increase the danger of the sitmistake kindness for fear I can only capable of assisting us in that mansay I don't believe it. Though I am ner." Then you will find the Govern-statute. We shall come to Parliament obscure ground, but here I have the country, and can give him the point of Viscount Morley, of Blackburn, was rages at once. We must be prepared not an Oriental I don't believe a word ment of India quoting the language of Viscount Morley, of Blackburn, was rages at once. We must be prepared to authorize an increase in the numbers of those councils, both the Vice-roy of the Government of India and to present papers." He said: My lords, I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I feel that I owe a very sincere apol- I don't believe a word ment of India quoting the language of the outcomes in council should be the find and con- likely to be an enormous advantage. I when we all rejoice to see still quoting the language of the councils, both the Vice- outcomes in council stands and the provincial councils. Second: Members are now nomition that I believe a word ment of India quoting the language of those councils, both the Vice- outcomes in council stands and the provincial councils. Second: Members are now nomition that I believe a word another governor-general in council should another governor should another governor should another governor should ogy to the House for the disturbance persons in the Government of India is I don't believe that either the Oriental ment in administration that this ogy to the riouse for the disturbance persons in the Government of find a life of the country I pro-House of which I have been the cause, Government in India is as sound and world ever subsisted upon either of It is chiefly desirable as an instru-House of which I have been the cause, Government in india is as sound and the innocent cause. It has well founded as it has ever been, these principles—that kindness is al- ment of political and popular educathough the innocent cause. It has wen founded as it has ever been, been said that by the delays in bring- (Cheers.) But I shall be asked, Has ways a mistake or that brutality is tion." Those were the doctrines enun-

WOULD LIVE IN NO OTHER

I own to two patriotisms and two Government of India at this moment. course, to my native country; the other is to London. Nearly forty

oughfares called accidentally or capbusy, noisy, and almost harsh thor- dispense with an official majority

pilgrimage to Canterbury, which is rely on the public spirit of non-official more vivid to your memory than the members to enable us to carry on the excursion trip to Paris which is start- ordinary work of legislation." was performed for the first time? Last ous logical inconsistency. So it would week pilgrims on foot or in thought be on one condition. If I were atwere rassing through some of the tempting to set up a Parliamentary streets that radiate around the Man-system in India, or if it could be said to stay inside the rocking howdah, sion House and the Stock Exchange; that this chapter of reforms led dibut they were thinking not of civic rectly or necessarily up to the estab- gree of accuracy. The tiger is away but they were thinking not of civic rectly or necessarily up to the estab-feasts or of money-changers, but of lishment of a Parliamentary system let through its shoulder. Another shot that sad. stern, heroic spirit whose in India, I, for one, would have nothsoul dwelt apart and saw the inner ing at all to do with it. I do not bevisions of "Paradise Lost." I never lieve—it is not of very great conse-pass through Oxford street without quence what I believe, because the recalling that touching and haunting fulfillment of my vaticinations will line moves forward. Bang! Bang! that on the very day before the attempt to assassinate Sir Andrew made an inspection of the college in which the would-be assassin was educated, and his re
that on the very day before the attempts in an imperial crown. No English passage in which De Quincey, address-not come off very soon—in spite of the attempts in Oriental countries at thing for a minute, and the last man the street," bids farewell to the week of this moment, interesting attempts, to acquiesce in that policy would be poverty, hunger and despair which it which we all wish well, to set up some be assassin was educated, and his re
that on the very day before the attempts of its temerity. The passage in which De Quincey, address-not come off very soon—in spite of the attempts in Oriental countries at this moment, interesting attempts, to acquiesce in that policy would be poverty, hunger and despair which it which we all wish well, to set up some had witnessed in his re
that on the very day before the attempts of its temerity. The passage in which De Quincey, address-not come off very soon—in spite of the attempts in Oriental countries at this moment, interesting attempts, to acquiesce in that policy would be assassin was educated, and his re
the very day before the atbeautiful of its temerity. The passage in which De Quincey, address-not come off very soon—in spite of the attempts in Oriental countries at this moment, interesting attempts, to acquiesce in that policy would be acquiesce in that touching and haunting fulfilline moves forward. Bang! Ban had witnessed in his young life. The sort of Parliamentary system—it is of a mahout and dragged him down shade of Thackeray accompanies me not an ambition of mine, at all events, with him. And so the great hunt goes In Pall Mall: Dickens hovers round to have any share in beginning that on until the sun begins to sink, when

COUNCILS. been said that by the delays in bring- toneers.) But I shall be asked, has always the frue test of the relations clated by the noble marquis opposite public bodies. We do not propose to lowed to give a personal turn to the and to appoint at least one Indian long forward this subject I have been not the Government of India been always the true test of the relations clated by the noble marquis opposite and by my noble friend, and that is ask Parliament to abolish nomination, matter, that Lord Minto and I have member in each of those two cases as the point of view from which we have We do propose to ask Parliament in a had a very different experience of life well as in the governor-general's approached the present situation and very definite way to introduce election in the world, and we belong I dare say council. Nor, as the papers will show, Now to my main questions. There have framed the present proposals. I working alongside of nomination with to different schools of national politics, shall I be backward in advancing tome desirable that the discussion on find with them for introducing this are two alternative courses. We can won't trouble the House—it is not a view to the aim admitted in all prethis most important and far-reaching machinery and taking that step. either withdraw our reforms or we without interest, but it will all be vious schemes, including that of the party opposite. It is rather a re-require in respect of at least four of without interest, but it will all be vious schemes, including that of the thing that two more differences to the party opposite. range of topics should be postponed (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, I can persevere with them. Of these found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the history noble marquis opposite—the due rep-markable thing that two men differing the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had found in the papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces. I wish it had the major provinces are papers—with the major provinces with me, reasons of commonsense. In to the very full the responsibility for flagrant sign of weakness—to hold lieve that the House will be satisfied, the common type of the course of proceedings. I betwo courses which weakness—to hold lieve that the House will be satisfied, the common type of the course of proceedings. I betwo courses which agrees in it.

We need not now discuss but as I said when I rose I report as the first place, discussion without anyto I understand that I am faced with
steadily on to your policy despite
steadily on to your policy despite
as I confess that I am, with the canbody having seen the papers to be disto your policy despite
as I confess that I am, with the canand patience that has been beand prohibition—either resolution or assigned. That will be settled on the take too gloomy a view. There is not cussed would evidently have been inconsistency. That is a matter on the take too gloomy a view. There is not stowed on the preparation of the and patience that has been be- and position—either resolution or assigned. That will be settled on the take too gloomy a view. There is not stowed on the preparation of the and patience that has been be- and position—either resolution or assigned. That will be settled on the take too gloomy a view. There is not stowed on the preparation of the and patience that has been be- and pati effective. In the second place, it would which I am well able to take great drop your policy? My second question in council in financial discus- merits of the individual. This is a the slightest occasion; none of those drop your policy? My second question scheme in India. I hope I may add drop your policy? My second question scheme in India. I hope I may add drop your policy? My second question scheme in India. I hope I may add drop your policy? My second question scheme in India. I hope I may add drop your policy? My second question scheme in India. have been impossible to discuss those care of myself (laughter), and I is this. Who would be best pleased that it has been treated with equal sion. We shall ask Parliament to re. great object, and I believe everybody who are responsible take a gloomy patience and candor by us here. The peal this prohibition. Fourth: We in the House will agree it is a sign view. They know the difficulties, they which I am going this afternoon to lordships for a single minute in argu- ships tonight that the Government end of it is that, though some points shall propose to invest legislative that the merits of individuals are to are prepared to grapple with them end of it is that, though some points shall propose to invest legislative that the merits of individuals are to are prepared to grapple with them present to Parliament—until we knew, ing that. Quite early after my com- were determined to drop reform? I of difference arose, and though the councils with power to discuss mat-Government of India agreed to drop ters of public and general importance, and independent or race and color. their reception had been in the country but upon me, very honestly, to repeal men who would be best pleased certain parts of their scheme—the land to pass recommendations or resothen, thirdiy, I cannot but apprehend the properties of the interties to t

> have now executive councils number-ed me as to what might happen. So moment taking from the central power ing two. I propose to ask Parliament for power to double this number. Seventh: The lieutenant-governor has no executive council. We shall ask Parliament to sanction the creation of such councils not exceeding two, defining the power of the lieutenantgovernor to overrule his council. I MAGNIFICENT SPECTACLE WHEN am perfectly sure there will be differences of opinion as to these proposals. only want your lordships to believe that they have been well thought out and that they are accepted by the

years a dwelfer in London, it seems importance, and which, no doubt— of the favorite sports to which the disto me now almost my first home; it though it may not be diplomatic for spirit of patriotism, as though it were knows what an official majority is. It 100 elephants are utilized in the hunt. a country and not merely a city. This, is a device by which the governortude of everyone who has either been Madras may secure a majority in the for all the world like a small army the ordinary power under the law to making a statement like that is really born within its mighty portals or has action of his legislative council by about to take the field. Generally come to it from other lands. You means of officials. Officials, of course some 20 to 30 guests are invited, and can never think of it as an ordinary -just like a cabinet minister or an city. Its vastness, its infinite and in- under secretary—whatever the man's exhaustible variety, its splendid his- private opinion may be, would still tory, its association with everything vote, for the best of reasons, and I great in the history of the nation and have no doubt with perfect wisdom, with every illustrious name—all these with the Government. (Laughter.) differentiate it from any other city, Anybody can see how directly, how even from any other capital, in the palpably, how injuriously an arrange world. You do not think of any one ment of this kind tends to weaken, of its chief streets as of mere thor- and I might say even deaden, all sense of interest and responsibility in riciously by a certain name; they rise the minds of non-official members of to the height of some highway of a legislative council. Anybody can history, along which pass the great see how the system tends to throw human figures. You have only to non-official members into an attitude close your eyes and regard any bit of peevish, sulky, permanent opposiof it with the mind's eye, and at once tion. I know it will be said that if there rises up before you a great pro- you take away the official majority cession of wonderful personages. It is these councils will pass all manner of country as well as town. Leave Pic- wildcat bills. The answer to that is cadilly and stroll into Hyde Park or that the head of the province can veto Kensington Gardens, and you can wildcat bills. The governor-general very well believe that you are a score can withhold his assent, and the withof miles from streets and pavements. holding of the assent of the governor-Walk on the embankment, and you general is not a defunct authority. It can look on that broad and swift and is a living power, and only the other tranquil river as though you were day the governor-general disallowed a looking at something as infinite and bill passed by a local council, and it as splendid as the ocean. You can had the most advantageous effect. Renever think of it as one city, belong- member, when thinking of wildcat ing to one race. You pass from bills, that the range of subjects with-Jerusalem to Italy, from Italy to in the sphere of provincial legislative Switzerland, from France to Germany, councils is rigorously limited by stain a comparatively short walk; it is tutory exclusions, though more than the city of splendor and it is the one subject of importance still remetropolis of friendless and hopeless mains. There is one proviso in this phants' backs in many places and it is poverty. It is the counting-house of matter of the official majority in the world, and yet it is also the chief which your lordships may perhaps asylum of exile, despair, and poverty. find a surprise. We are not prepared It is the mightiest of inland towns, to divest the governor-general in his and yet it is almost a seaport. To council of an official majority. (Hear, the man of letters there is scarcely hear.) Let me say, though, that it a spot in it which does not conjure lags a stage behind the Government of up some illustrious name and some India themselves, because the Governtragic or gay moment in great lives. ment say in their dispatch: "On all Can you ever go to Borough-now a ordinary occasions we are ready to oughfare-without thinking of that the imperial legislative council and NO PARLIAMENT SYSTEM

CONTEMPLATED. That, it may be said, is a tremend-Now I pass to the plan contained in Covent Garden, where this paper is operation. (Cheers.) If my existence, the long procession wends its way back from the correspondent of min; in our determination to persevere in shortly. I don't think I need go all, what we are considering today, mentary system in India is not the in Recreation.

INDIANS AND THE VICEROY'S

Indian member from the viceroy's readily believe me when I say that There are only a small but dis- executive council can no longer, I the advantage to me of being able to

THE ADVANTAGE OF INDIAN ADVISERS.

HUNTING TIGERS IN A HOWDAH

THE INDIAN ROYAL PRINCES GO AFTER BIG GAME.

Then commissariat arrangements have to be made for the elephants for weeks (each elephant eats 600 or 700 pounds of grass a day), their attendants and camp followers. Scores of horses and camels are gathered in, and bullocks by the hundred, and all this small army respected by all Englishmen who mix have to be fed, which will give some with them? . . . I would not peridea what an entertainment on this

scale means. All preparations have been made, and at daybreak everything is ready for the hunt. Rows of kneeling giant tuskers backs, and their mahouts seated on their necks, waiting for the rifles to get in. The hunters come bustling out of the tents, the new hands, nervous and busy with their equipment, the veterans, good-naturedly chaffing one another, the Indian dignitaries almost enthusiastic, and the women guests all a-flutter with excitement. Soon the sportsmen have all entered the howstretches away to the distant horizon. When the hunting ground is reached a long line, or beat, is formed, several

at each end to keep the tigers inside. Now royal sport, in Indian significance. phant grass, reaches up to the elehere that the tiger is hidden; not only tiger, but deer, and sometimes rhines are to be found. The long line at last moves forward with the precision of a regiment on parade, and the din is awful as the line goes crashing through the dense grass screen before it. Have swaying on their backs like ships at

Presently a shot is fired. A tiger has sprung on the head of one of the elephants, but to hit the brute even at that close range is not so easy as it would seem, for as soon as the tiger sets its claws in the elephant's head, the poor brute tries in every way to shake its enemy off, and it is not easy much less aim your rifle with any derings out, then another; this time it is a huge rhinoceros, which has tried to the tented encampment, bringing the prolonged twenty times longer than trophies of the day's hunt on the back

have all been dissipated. (Cheers.) The concord between the two Indian members of the council and their colleagues has been unbroken; their One point more. The absence of an work has been excellent, and you will

I am not altogether without experi- lieve that that is so far unsapped; its authority will be to strengthen the tenance of our authority will be all with our own authority, the aid and stances, of the Indians themselves. Military strength, material strength we have in abundance. What we still want to reacquire is moral strength in guiding and controlling the people India in the course on which time

and they hope, and we hope, to at-

launching us. CALUMNY AGAINST NATIVES.

myself to read this language, and hope how to govern it. Let us abandon all that system of calumny against natives of India which have lately precile, the most governable race in the world, how could you have maintained your power for 100 years? Are they not industrious; are they not intelligent? Are they not, upon the evidence f the most distinguished men the Indian service ever produced, endowed with many qualities which make them mit any man in my presence, without rebuff, to indulge in the calumnies and expressions of contempt which I have recently heard poured forth without measure upon the whole popuare ready with their howdahs on their lation of India. The people of India do not like us, but they scarcely know where to turn if we left them. They are sheep literally without a shepherd." However that may be, we at least at Westminster here have no choice and no option. As an illustrious member of this House wrote: "We found a society in a state of decomposition, and we have undertaken the serious and stupendous process of reconstructing it." Macaulay, for it was he. said: "India now is like Europe in the fifth century." Yes, a stupendous process, indeed! The process has gone on with marvellous success, and if we all, according to our various lights, are true to our colors that process will go on. Whatever is said. I for one. though I am not what is commonly called an Imperialist, so far from denying, most emphatically affirm that for us to preside over this transition from the fifth European century in some parts in slow stages up to the twentieth-slow and uneven stages-so that you have before you all the centuries, as it were-for us to preyou ever heard the roar of a prairie side over that, for us to be the guides fire or a forest fire with a strong wind of the people in that condition is, if behind? It is like that. Nothing but conducted with humanity and syma rash tiger will confront the moving pathy and wisdom and political courwall of elephants, with their howdahs age, not only a human duty and a great national honor, but what is was called the other day, one of the most giorious tasks ever confided to any country. (Cheers.)

> Why does his criticism anger you, friend? If you are grateful for rebukes you are helping yourself to

