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NOTES AND NEWS.

UR correspondent at Madras telegraphs an account of the fourteenth Session of the Indian National Congress which was held at Madras on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in last week under the presidency of Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose. More than 600 delegates and 4,000 visitors attended, and our correspondent states that while "great enthusiasm prevailed" on the opening day, "enthusiastic interest was evinced throughout" the proceedings of the two subsequent days. This of course is what previous experience has taught us to expect. The meeting of the Congress is one of the chief events of the year in India, and the Congress itself is perhaps the largest, most enthusiastic, and most picturesque political assemblage which ever comes together in any part of the world. The summary which our correspondent gives of the President's comprehensive address, and of the important resolutions adopted by the Congress, will place English readers in possession of the leading propositions that the Congress desires to bring home to statesmen here and in India. At the same time it should be interesting and instructive for impartial men to compare our correspondent's messages with the unusually slight and derogatory reports telegraphed by Reuter's Agency to the British Press. The opening of the Congress, according to this news agency, is sufficiently described by the statement that "among the delegates present were Mr. Tilak and Professor Gokhale, the Poona agitators," while the conclusion suggested by the Session as a whole is that "the Congress has been remarkable for the paucity of grievances set forth, and the general opinion prevails that the leaders failed to impress the audience with the sincerity or reasonableness of their indictments of the Indian Government."

This mode of dismissing the Congress is merely outrageous, and has not, we believe, been previously attempted by Reuter. Of course the Congress, and everybody associated with it, is inured to the grossest misrepresentation. As Sir Richard Garth (late Chief Justice of Bengal) put it in his memorable reply to Sir George Chesney:—

But the "cruel and persistent" misleading of the English Press and the English public has not hitherto gone the length of withholding a decent summary of the actual resolutions of the Congress. What is the cause of the new departure? The supporters of the Congress have no doubt frequently been compelled to criticise Reuter's selection of topics for telegrams to this country, and it was repeated offences of omission and commission on the part of this agency that caused us to appoint correspondents of our own in the chief cities in India. But are we to suppose that the scurvy treatment meted out to the present Congress is by way of reprisal? It will be important to find out exactly what the relations between Reuter's correspondent and the Congress have been in previous years, and what has a place this year. And it ought

not to be too much to hope that the editors of English newspapers will protest against Reuter's suppression of important and interesting news.

We need not dwell upon the grotesque unfairness of describing Mr. Tilak and Professor Gokhale—two very different men, by the way—as "agitators," and of reporting a "general opinion" that the Congress leaders "failed to impress the audience." Which audience? If the reference is to some of the European visitors, the remark is irrelevant. But the inference suggested to ignorant readers at home is scandalously misleading. If the reference is to the delegates, the remark is certainly untrue. For the delegates, who determine the resolutions in advance, are well aware of the "indictments" which the resolutions will contain resolutions which sum up and record the main points of Congress criticism during the year—and it is absurd to ask us to believe that these resolutions appear insincere and unreasonable to the men who unanimously adopt them. Note, however, the extraordinary power of a prejudiced news agency to circulate malignant opinions in the guise of Millions of Englishmen have no doubt read Reuter's telegrams during the past week, and have adopted the view-difficult to eradicate-that the Congress this year was composed of agitators, who failed miserably, their only redeeming point being that they had only a few "grievances" to "set forth."

That is one side of Reuter's activity. The other side is indicated in a further telegram from our Madras correspondent. The Times, ignorant of the contents of the President's address, did not shrink from saying that its "vague and colourless character" was "an indication that the movement is weakening." Whereupon Reuter in London telegraphs the sneer to India and it is reproduced in the Anglo-Indian journals there. Talk about "agitators" indeed! What viperous agitation is this which refuses to despairing Indians the opportunity of making their wishes known to England, but serves up to them, hot from the press, the gibes of English ignorance. Reuter may bask in the sunshine of official favour, and the Times may continue to prod educated Indians with a poisoned goad, but we tell them both that it is steady misrepresentation of this kind which has before now turned quiet students into fanatical revolutionaries.

The following account of the preparations made for the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congress may be interesting to some of our English readers. It is taken from the Madras Standard:—

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Hyde Park, Poonamallee Road, is now the seene of Congress activity. The skeleton of the huge Congress pavilion has proudly raised its head in competition, as it were, with the tall branches of the Briareus-like bunyan. Bungalows have been engaged in different places to accommodate our friends from other Presidencies and Provinces, and arrangements are being made for men from our own Presidency. Provisions are being gathered to entertain the delegates in a fitting manner. Applications are pouring in from traders and merchants for opening temporary shops in the Congress days for the convenience of delegates and visitors. Some of the railway companies have even agreed to grant certain concessions. A special post and telegraph office is being erected in Hyde Park. The telephone is in working order there already. Steps are being taken to light the premises with P. Orr and Sons' gas lights or with acetylene lights; and under the spreading banyan trees where hundreds can congregate and sip their tea in delictions communion will hang myriads of Chinese lanterns to add a fresh charm to the seene.

Our Calcutta correspondent telegraphs an account of a further meeting in Calcutta to protest against the Calcutta Municipal Bill. The proceedings of the Select Committee of the Bengal Legislative Council, which has charge of the ill-starred measure, are held within closed doors, but some information leaks out from time to time. We quote the following from the Calcutta Statesman:—

Congress have been in previous a place this year. And it ought Municipal Bill will not give satisfaction to those who entertained any

hopes of a substantial modification of a measure which has excited the indignant protest of the Native community and their well-wishers. The Government, it is very apparent, will not make any concessions in regard to material points. . The Select Committee, by a misjority, have refused to retain the present number of the General Committee, which is eighteen, and have resolved to reduce it to twelve, as provided in the Bill, despite the unanimous protest of the representatives of the non-official Hindu and Mahometan communities. The present number had caused no inconvenience, and would have secured a wider representation of all interests. With even a greater show of unwisdom, the Select Committee have insisted upon keeping the section of the Bill unaltered which reduces the representatives of the ratepayers on the General Committee to one-third of the entire number.

Is there no statesman in India or in England who will

Is there no statesman in India or in England who will interfere and stay the destruction of self-government in Calcutta? To keep up the farce of election, and to allow the municipal commissioners to select one-third of the governing body, is merely an elaborate insult.

The retirement of Mr. Crole from the Madras Board of Revenue after thirty-five years' service as a civilian has received sympathetic notice in the Hindu:—

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He is one of the few Anglo-Indian officials who have endeavoured to help the higher developments among the natives of India. He is one of those few who have been actuated by the exalted aim of preparing the people for a higher state of political existence, and of nationalising British Government in India by freely associating people with the Government of the country, by giving them power and privileges and making them feel that they are one with the British Government. A man of his political shew does and foresight, with his characteristic self-assertion and independence, could not be in sympathy with lesser minds which are impervious to like impressions; and his unique personality like his independent views has stood in the way of his being a personal grata with the charmed circle of the Madras Civil Service.

Nor are his earlier difficulties forgotten :-

Mr. Crole had several schemes for the water-supply of towns and one for the floating of a local company to construct and work two light railways over 100 miles in length, without any guarantee from Government, when to the misfortune of that district he happened to report to the Chief Secretary about the land-jobbing proclivities of the Hon. Mr. Sullivan, then senior member of Council. From that day began Mr. Crole's troubles. He had to conduct an unequal fight against a powerful but unrighteous Government; and in spite of the great odds against him he won the battle. Subsequently, no doubt, the Government of Madras evaded for a time the orders of the Secretary of State by shifting Mr. Crole to the judicial line; but ultimately the local government was compelled to give him his due and elevate him to the Board of Revenue.

By the same mail there comes a strong appreciation in the Amrita Baxar Patrika of the ways and acts of Mr. Cotton in making himself acquainted with both his subordinates and the people. The career of Mr. Crole, while it shows that the Indian Civil Service is not that company of fault-less angels its admirers here would have us believe, shows us also how the Indians admire a really sympathetic and able administrator, and how untrue it is to attribute the criticisms they may pass on Government officials to envy or sedition.

An Indian correspondent writes: In Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government Mr. Crole had an abiding faith, and the people responded to his endeavours in a most satisfactory manner and executed vast works of public utility out of their own private resources. The neighbourhood of the great Madura temple was improved, Dindigal was supplied with an adequate supply of drinking water, model farms were established, and agricultural shows were held. Mr. Crole rendered higher service by exposing the unjust land settlements of the Government, and was for a time shunted to the judicial line, but ultimately he won his way to the Board of Revenue. The history of this memorable fight about land settlements in Madras, in which many reputations have been damaged, is a most instructive one, and should be fully and impartially written some day. Mr. Crole is opposed to the present settlement policy of the Madras Government, tending as it does to impoverish the agricultural classes. For the rest Mr. Crole promoted Indians to high posts in the Salt and Excise Departments from which they had been shut out before.

Here is a cutting from Colonial Enterprise of December 29 which gives a glimpse of the treatment meted out to "our Indian fellow-subjects" in Western Australia:—

In the course of a case before Mr. Justice Heneman in the Western Australian Supreme Court on November 16, in which an Indian was the plaintiff, the plaintiff said he thought he was a British subject, but the police had told him that he would be arrested if he carried on a business on the goldfields, as the Act prohibited the issue of a business license to Asiatic or African aliens.

The judge expressed surprise at the existence of such a state of things, and wondered some solicitor had not taken the matter up before. It was clear that under the Act British subjects, wherever born, could enjoy the privilege of obtaining business licenses under the Goldfields Act. The kind of treatment that appeared from the plaintiff's evidence to be meted out to Indian-British subjects must not be allowed to continue.

"The plaintiff said he thought he was a British subject." He was plainly—as he might well be—in some doubt on the point. The judge's remarks in this case are worth noting. They seem to suggest that anti-Indian measures in this particular colony are not quite so complete as in some others. But we must ask again: What steps are the India Office and the Colonial Office taking to counteract this disgraceful boycott?

We should like to have a little more information about those nine English soldiers who were sent by the mail of October 8 last from Bombay to the Pasteur Institute at Paris, to be treated for hydrophobia. By a curious coincidence the very next day an important public meeting was held in Bombay to protest against the establishment of a Pasteur Institute in India; and at that meeting the Hon. Secretary of the Indian Anti-Vivisection Society, Mrs. Sarah S. Gostling, drew attention to the activity of the military medical authorities in thus patronising the Pasteur Institute, and asked how it was to be proved that the dogs who had bitten these nine men were rabid. This is a question very much to the point, if it is proposed to use the cases of these nine men as instances of a perfect cure, and as an argument in favour of a Pasteur Institute in India. But we have not yet seen any answer to this question. On the contrary some time ago the Paris correspondent of the Daily Mail appears to have stated that he was asked by the Director of the Paris Institute to make it known that these men arrived in Paris without any credentials or anything showing when and where they had been bitten. In addition to Mrs. Gostling's question we should therefore like to ask whether these men were sent by the Government of India; whether the Government of India paid their passages, and also the passages of five other men who were sent shortly afterwards; under what official supervision were they sent; and why was no record of their cases sent to the Director of the Institute? If no satisfactory replies are forthcoming, we trust these enquiries will be repeated in the House of Commons when Parliament meets.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika gives the following account of a reception held in honour of Dr. Fairbairn in Calcutta at the house of Rájá Benoy Krishna, a patriotic zeminder and scion of a loyal and historic house:—

On last Griday, the 9th December, an evening party was held in honour of Principal Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., and Mrs. and Miss Fairbairn at the residence of Rijá Benoy Krishna Bahadur. Every one who attended the party came away with pleasant recollections and happy feelings. The Hon. Kali Charan Banerjee, on behalf of Rajá Benoy Krishna Bahadur, said a few words of welcome to Principal Fairbairn, who in response eulogised the Indian music, and the proverbial hospitality of the East. The speaker continued by saying that the kind reception and the splendid hospitality which he received from Rajá Benoy Krishna Bahadur that evening had strengthened his conviction that the Indians were pre-eminently a hospitable, generous and kind-hearted people, and that he would carry with him in his native land the pleasant impression produced in his mind that evening at the Rájá's residence. He added that though he could not speak for any party or official faction, he, as a representative of his own people, could affirm that their good wishes were always with India and her people, that it was the earnest desire of every Englishman to do good to India, and that if they failed to accomplish their beneficial object, it was not for their want of heart, but owing to their ignorance of its real wants, and the manner in which it could be served. He concluded by saying that it would be disastrous to both the countries if England and India were separated.

The Pioneer looks with evident distrust on the proselytising zeal of the new Bishop of Calcutta. It considers that he has exhibited "a misconception of his functions so complete that it would be alarming if it were to be taken seriously." It is obvious that without our policy of religious toleration our Empire would have been impossible, or only possible as the most frightful tyranny the world has ever known. Our contemporary however believes that had Dr. Weldon the power he would transgress this great principle:—

Dr. Welldon appears to be entering on the duties of his office under the impression that the task before him is to uproot the policy of the British Government in India with reference to the great principle of toleration by which it has hitherto been guided, to cut under the magna charta of British Ind. "e Queen's Proclamation —and in the terms assigned to him by the report of his speech in the $T_{imes,}$ "to make India Christian."

The Pioneer then contrasts the views of Indian religion put forward recently by Vamadeo Shastri, so "profoundly intelligent," and so courteously urged, with those of the average missionary enthusiast. This question of toleration is a matter on which Anglo-Indian opinion and Indian opinion are at one. Our readers will note that the Pioneer refers to the Queen's Proclamation as the Magna Charta of British India. It is to be wished that it was equally ready to oppose all violations of its spirit.

However small may be Dr. Welldon's power of carrying out his plans, there is one aspect of his position which makes his remarks excessively improper. The Church of which the Bishop of Calcutta is the head is supported by the State, out of funds derived from the over-burthened taxpayers of India. This Church establishment is defended as necessary to supply the spiritual needs of the British officials and soldiers. But Dr. Welldon refuses to take this view of his function. Are we to understand, then, that the people of India are taxed to subsidise missionary enterprise? Is the destruction of the religions of India to be carried on at the expense of those who believe in them? Is the British Government to be henceforth associated in the minds of the Indians with religious proselytism? If Dr. Welldon continues as he has begun, no worse enemy of British rule has ever been found in India

The Madras Mail, Anglo-Indian though it be, is capable of learning from events. It actually discusses "How to check the 'forward' policy," and discusses it to some purpose too. It enquires whether it would be possible so to amend the constitution of the Government of India as to render the adoption of a "forward" policy more difficult, and it has no hesitation in recommending the line of reform that we ourselves have urged. This is hopeful. It points to a reassertion of the faculty of judgment over the glamour of vain imaginations. The Supreme Council consists of seven members. Two of these are the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member. The latter was invented to act as a counterpoise to the former; when the Commander-in Chief devised schemes for the efficiency or the glory of the army, the Military Member was expected to moderate his ardour by exhibiting tabulations of the cost. But, as our contemporary has sagaciously discovered, "this beautiful arrangement has quite broken down," and the two "find it much more profitable to hunt in couples" than to fight each other. The Military Member, instead of restraining the Commander-in-Chief, backs him up; "and there are two voices in the Council to start with for anything that involves gunpowder and glory." We welcome even the tardy recognition of the nature of a fundamentally bad arrangement, and hope that the *Madras Mail* will keep pegging away till some reform is achieved.

Then there is the Viceroy. The Viceroy is the immediate head of the Foreign Department; he is his work Foreign Minister. But the Foreign Department "is mainly military in composition;" and indeed civilian members are not in the least eager for "the decorations, etc., that a forward move brings about." This looks like an approval of Sir Henry Norman's diagnosis: K.C.B.mania. Anyhow, the result of the organisation is to render the Viceroy captive to the Commander-in-Chief, who thus commands three votes. Supposing, then, the Finance Minister offer opposition, and be backed by his civilian colleagues of the Home and Public Works Departments, there is a tie—a hopeful supposition, yet a very reasonable one in a muster of forces on the merits. The die, accordingly, is in the hands of the seventh member—the legal member, "a lawyer from England, who as a rule knows and cares nothing about the question at issue, but finds it easier and pleasanter to side with the Viceroy." Then "it is easy to put the matter before the Secretary of State (with whom the Viceroy is in constant private communication) in such a manner as to obtain his consent."

Such is the position, undoubtedly. Well, what would the Madras Mail wish to see done? "The first essential towards a more cautious and peaceful policy on the Frontier," it says, "is to diminish the military element in

the Council, and to dissociate the Viceroy from direct charge of the Foreign department."

The first step towards this reform would be to abolish the Military Secretariat, which as at present constituted is a dilatory and expensive Post Office between the Commander-in-Chief and the separate Military Departments (Commissariat, Ordanace, and Military works) on the one side, and the Finance Department, on which the burden of criticising all military proposals from the Treasury point of view now lies, on the other. If all the Army Departments were placed under the Commander-in-Chief, and he were allowed within Budget limits larger powers of initiation and sauction than he now possesses, the Finance Department could, with the help of the present military accounts establishments and a military officer as an extra deputy secretary, furnish all the financial control required.

The Military Member might be replaced by "a member in charge of Foreign affairs, leaving the Viceroy in the position of a Prime Minister without a special portfolio. This would certainly allow the Viceroy to see more of the machinery with his own eyes, and to take a more balanced view of any given question than he can possibly now take. But the reform lies in the future. As the Madras Mail sees, "Lord Curzon's training is not likely to dispose him to throw up the foreign portfolio."

An Anglo-Indian correspondent writes:—"And so it is 'understood that when Sir James Westland, the Finance Minister in India, comes home in March,' there will be a perch found for him at the India Office. On which branch of the official tree he will alight is not indicated; but one may feel sure that as befits a renowned financier the emoluments will be adequate. Yet the retiring Finance Minister has no sort of personal or departmental claim. He had left the Indian Civil Service and retired to New Zealand a considerable time before he was offered and accepted the post of Financial Member of the Supreme Executive Council—instead of some electioneering failure being sent out from England. So that if personal or Service claims are to weigh Sir James Westland has already had a good share; and his being provided with a perch here must be due to qualities, real or imaginary, that are of special value in the public interests of India or England. Those may have been discovered by the dispensers of patronage here—for instance, by Lord Curzon's 'eminent statesman' the Indian Secretary; but if the universal testimony of the Indian Press is to go for anything then those qualities or the use of them are such as to utterly disqualify their holder from having anything more to do with Indian financial interests.

"There have been several instances of men being transferred from high positions in India to corresponding posts here in order that they might better carry through changes or measures they had initiated at Simla or Calcutta. If the work to be done is good—the removal of burdens or restrictions, improving and lessening the cost of obtaining justice, or making productive public works the more efficient—then such favoured translations from the tropics to the vicinity of St. James's Park are to be commended as being for the welfare of the Indian people who pay for all. But sometimes the case has been very different. Occasionally there have been plausible, self-willed, obstinate heads of departments in India, who being bent on schemes of their own devising have moved heaven and earth in order to get themselves, with their often costly projects, transferred to the temperate clime, retaining here emoluments as near to the scale of Anglo-Indian pay as may be. As to Sir James Westland's artificial and extravagant currency scheme of September, 1897, that is dead as a door-nail; so it cannot be that even Lord George Hamilton has dreamed of his being 'entertained' at the India Office that he may invent some variant upon that absurd project. Yet after all it would appear that on Monday last at Calcutta Sir James had contrived to secure a parting blessing for his discarded bantling through the medium of the amiable Lord Elgin's farewell speech. But apart from the notion of patching up his gold-borrowing and rupee-melting scheme of currency quackery, there is nothing that Sir James Westland can be wanted for at the India Office. He is a good accountant and a skilful calculator; but so are many others (some Indians included) who have borne the heat and burden of the day in the Financial Department, and who would do the routine work at much less cost to India than one who has so long been accustomed to the amenities and emoluments of Simla,"

THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS.

THE meeting of the Indian National Congress at Madras in the last three days of December has both disappointed the hopes of detractors and pleasantly fulfilled the anticipations of friends. With Mr. A. M. Bose in the presidential chair, supported by such tried men as Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Sankaran Nair, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. Kalicharan Banerjea, Mr. Wacha, Mr. Mehta, Mr. Sayani, Mr. Ananda Charlu, as well as by such vigorous Englishmen as Mr. W. A. Chambers, Mr. John Adam, and the Rev. Fletcher Williams, the discussions were certain to be maintained at the high level acts accordand by former meetings. It the high level set as a standard by former meetings. It would be idle to blink the notorious fact that rumours were in diligent circulation through India for some time casting grave doubts upon the probability that the Fourteenth Congress would ever meet at all. Such rumours are no new thing. They are set in motion by men who know, and, knowing and misunderstanding, fear the National Congress-men who know also and do not misunderstand the popular effect of such reports. There are other malign influences in active operation. The Amrita Bazar Patrika writes (Dec. 8):

There is no doubt of it that if a good many Indians, especially belonging to the landed classes, have seceded from the Congress, it is solely due to the hostile attitude of the officials, and not because they have no heart in the thing. We know that many Zemindars in Bengal would have gladly gone to attend the Madras Congress if this official hostility did not sit on their breasts like a nightmare.

This too is an old story. In spite of the favourable opinion of Viceroys and Secretaries of State your small official will always ride in the top of his commission. But though this sort of contemptible persecution is always with us, "we must confess," says the Amrita Bazar Patrika, "no one in India expected a bitter hostility like the one which now stands in the way of our national growth." But for the willingness of Indians to look on the best side of the English and to hope against hope in their essential justice, the expectation would have more nearly coincided with the event. This "bitter hostility" is simply a particular manifestation of the ugly principle of repression that is now so deplorably in the ascendant. It is most satisfactory to observe that the Congress has had the sound judgment to go on its victorious way, calmly ignoring the petty spite which injures most those who cherish it and give it expression. The Congress is so firmly established now that the winds of slander and intimidation will only serve to strengthen the grip of its roots and make them strike deeper and deeper. An attendance of 600 delegates and 4,000 visitors on the first day does not indicate a diminution of interest.

The President's address went straight to the points of largest practical importance at the present moment, and dealt with them on the indisputable facts. The recent reactionary and repressive policy of the Government of India constituted one stock of grievance with numerous and heavy branches. Foremost of these Mr. Bose placed the unintelligible detention of the brothers Natu. These gentlemen were suddenly deported; their property was attached in part illegally, and in whole oppressively to innocent co-sharers; they were kept in seclusion so strict that even their legal advisers were not permitted access to them; and eventually they were released in a fashion, but are still kept within bounds and under close police supervision. Yet they have never been brought to trial. No man to this day knows why they have been subjected to such strange treatment. The Secretary of State has twice attempted to explain, and both explanations have been refuted, while one of them at least—the decline of the midwife's business—is probably the most ridiculous ground of arrest that ever was put forward by any respectable person in responsible authority. No wonder if, as the resolution says, "the continued detention of the Sirdars Natu without trial is creating great dissatisfaction among the people of India and diminishing popular confidence in British justice, which is regarded as the solid rock of the permanence of British rule in India." How can people believe in the justice of men who rummage out an obsolete Regulation of more than seventy years back, never applicable to such a case as this, utterly unsuited to the present condition of the country, and enabling the Government to spirit away prominent citizens without a country that would otherwise make immense progress in bringing them to trial in ordinary course? The whole trade and industries." We have unweariedly urged the

procedure is a gross outrage, wholly indefensible before any tribunal-except the autocratic tribunal of an irresponsible bureaucracy.

The sedition laws form another branch of the same The easy definition of sedition closes the mouths of speakers and fetters the pens of journalists. We have no sort of tenderness—neither has the Congress-for the inflammatory diatribes of heady writers in the press or for orators who carry more sail than ballast. But it is matter of common knowledge that such indiscreet persons form but an insignificant number, equally insignificant in importance. They occasion much amusement and little or no mischief; at any rate they might very comfortably be ignored, or at worst they could easily be laid by the heels on the former law. But it is not at real sedition that the Government meant to strike; for, there being no real sedition, that would have been beating the air. What the Government means to strike at is criticism of Government measures and administration. These laws constitute a menace to honest and outspoken criticism, which may not be very palatable, but yet would operate healthily upon the legislative and administrative policy. Only the Government does not want to know what the people think and feel; it demands unquestioning and silent obedience and will hear only the candied words of obsequiousness and flattery. The resolution in favour of the repeal of these preposterous and iniquitous laws justly condemns them as "calculated to alienate rather than attract popular affection." The Press Committees, which have been illegally-or at any rate extra-legally-tacked on to the machinery of the sedition laws, naturally were subjected to severe criticism and condemnation. Apparently the institution is still confined to Bombay, but it impends menacingly over the rest of the Provinces. It is applied to the Vernacular Press only, and thus operates as a further means of assuring the silence of obnoxious, however legitimate, criticism. One would have thought that these officious committees would have dissolved in ridicule before this time. But officials will stand even the most cutting ridicule rather than face a candid criticism of their public conduct. Probably the Vernacular Press of Bombay will have to wear its fetters as easily as it may till the advent of a truly Liberal administration in England.

We have recently dealt with the Calcutta Municipality Bill, recognising with Mr. Bose that it involves and heralds the subversion of local self-government in India. When a municipal Bill is passed into law, as the Congress resolution truly says this Bill is to be passed into law, "in face of universal opposition among the ratepayers," it carries with it its irredeemable condemnation. A strenuous effort will, we take it, be made so soon as Parliament meets to get this measure withdrawn. No doubt Mr. Bose was right in connecting "the great dissatisfaction and unrest in India" in some considerable measure with the wild-cat forward policy beyond the frontier, "which plunged the finances of the Government into inextricable embarrassment, arrested all progress of domestic reform, and retarded the ordinary public works by starving the provincial governments." Lord Curzon, whom the Congress warmly welcomed by resolution communicated by telegraph, may, we hope, be relied on to consult his own reputation in this matter of trans-frontier adventure, and therefore the interests of the country. He knows perfectly well how sick of the business everybody is who has participated in the recent campaigns or has followed them intelligently. He is also well aware of their serious bearing upon the state of the finances. There is perhaps more danger in his views of the right solution of the financial imbroglio, which will have their weight though he is not a member of the Committee of enquiry. The Congress did well to condemn "the so-called reform of the Indian currency by the introduction of a gold standard and currency, which are certain to prove even more calamitous than the closing of the mints." The past record of the Committee on Currency does not encourage us to hope that it will attach much value to the opinion of the Congress, however able or representa-tive its members, on the question of the currency of their country. The Congress is none the less in the right. It is right also in pointing out that "the real fountain of Indian financial disturbances is the Home Charges, which annually drain the national wealth and impoverish

importance, not merely to the Indians, but to our own traders, of a revival of prosperity in India—a fact so obvious that it might well be considered superfluous to mention it. The first relief ought to come, as the Congress resolution declares, from England's undertaking an equitable share of these overgrown Home Charges. This is a demand that has received a considerable amount even of official support, or at least recognition. Lord Curzon will find a large claim upon his attention in another resolution on the condition of the masses. On that resolution there is room for honest difference of opinion as to methods; but there is no room for dispute as to the urgency of reform by one method or another. Mr. Bose's appeal "to English sympathy and to the English sense of justice" ought to come home to the many audiences he addressed in this country last year, if not to a wider circle. His declaration that "the educated classes in India are most loyal and foremost in efforts to secure the permanence of British rule" is perfectly true; the difficulty is to get it believed and acted on. That "the Congress, as representing both the educated classes and the masses, is a true friend of Government and a faithful interpreter of popular wants and wishes" is a proposition beyond all rational question. Let the Congress go straight forward with its accustomed prudence, regardless of detraction, and in the long run it will save India in spite of the machinations of a perverted officialism.

THE TWO VICEROYS.

THE departure of the old Viceroy and the coming of the new-the change of rulers from which so much is always hoped—has this year given rise to even more interest than usual, and this not only because each succeeding five years emphasize the importance and the difficulty of the problems before the Indian Government, but still more because of the great difference between the two men. This time at all events it cannot be said, "To Amurath an Amurath succeeds." The Indian people have now had for five years a Governor-General whose term of office and official measures are in curious contrast with his professions and with the predictions called forth by his advent. A man of excellent intentions and kindly feelings, it has been his misfortune to find himself placed in one of the most stormy and difficult periods which the British Empire in India has ever experienced. Though not wanting in wide and generous sympathies it has been his fault—a fault inevitably springing from his whole character—to take his orders from the far stronger Anglo-Indian officials, both civil and military, by whom he has been surrounded. The result has been that this amiable and inoffensive personage, with a strong desire to do his duty and a taste for mild platitudes, will be remembered in India for a series of attacks on the freedom of the people. It was his lot to rule amid war, pestilence, and famine; and he will be known for a policy of aggression injurious to the material interests of the country, and for a policy of re-pression fertile in sowing distrust between Government and governed; and above all he will go down to posterity as the Viceroy during whose term of office reaction spread throughout the land, leading to arbitrary imprisonment and panic prosecutions, to an organised attack on the selfgovernment of the great cities, and to a serious infringement of the liberty of the Press. He may solace himself in his retirement by the thought that he has left the relation between Indians and English more embittered than ever and has to the utmost of his moderate abilities increased that separation between the races which almost everyone professes to deplore.

Lord Curzon, who now reigns in his stead, is in many ways the very reverse of his predecessor. He has played a far advantag greater part in the politics of his native land; and he has a strength and self-confidence which should at least save him from sinking into the mere tool of an official clique. Wilfulness rather than weakness will be the origin of the faults of his rule, if faults there are to be. He has long been notorious for the extravagance of his views on prontier extension. It remains to be seen whother the greatness of his charge will exert a moderating effect, whether he will bow to the practically unanimous opinion of the country—of Indians and Anglo-Indians alike—and grapple, not with imaginary enemies in the Afghan

mountains, but with the real evils of the Indian people, the evils that make dearth into famine, and condem millions to a life of semi-starvation and misery. It remains to be seen whether he will unite or still further separate ruler and ruled; whether he will leave India even less contented than he found it. The sentiments he has already expressed have been excellent; but what more excellent than the sentiments that have continually flowed from the lips of Lord Elgin? India is watching the new Viceroy with hope but not without anxiety. He is too keen a judge of human nature not to see how real and hearty is the feeling that lies beneath the addresses of which he has already been the recipient; but he must also have seen that under all these expressions of goodwill there lurked a fear—the fear that all men must feel concerning a new force on which such momentous issues hang.

The parting words of Lord Elgin are in character with all that he has said and done in the five years during which he is supposed to have governed India. Fresh from that tour in Burma which was carried out in spite of the universal protest of India, and which must have seemed to the Burmans, as the Anglo-Indian Pioneer puts it, "rather the scurry of a globe-trotter than the progress of a Viceroy," he takes his leave of Calcutta with those benevolent platitudes that have so often belied the conduct of his Government. Thus in his reply to the address of the

Zemindars, he says:—
You do me no more than justice in saying that I desire to respect
the traditions and customs of your country. Such respect is, I think,
the foundation on which British rule in India must rest, as well as
the natural impulse of any man who feels that the natives of India are
indeed his fellow-subjects, and share with him in the common
heritage of the great Empire of which we are proud and which it is
our ambition to conserve.

And yet if it be asked whether his rule has been especially marked by a readiness to treat the Indians as his fellowsubjects or whether the events of the last five years have been such as to make the Indian people prize the more their privileges as subjects of the British Empire, what answer can he give? It is perhaps no fault of Lord Elgin that the period of his Viceroyalty has been notorious for a series of attacks on the freedom of their Indian fellowsubjects by the peoples of other parts of the Empire. It is his misfortune that Australia, Rhodesia and Natal have been doing their best to show the Indians how worthless are these supposed privileges, and how empty is the title of fellow-subject of the great Empress. But he cannot complain if the Indians ask whether all the acts of his own Government have shown as lively a sense of this relationship as he would have us believe; and whether under his rule the Indians have been uniformly treated as fellowsubjects in a great and free empire. The outgoing Viceroy had no easy task in answering the address of the Calcutta Municipality, for the last year of his official life has seen a determined attack on such municipal liberties as India possesses. If we did not know Lord Elgin and how easily the kindly word springs to his lips, it might be thought that he intended a covert stroke at the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He spoke of "the danger to municipal life in East and West" owing to the "disinclination of men of position and influence to share in municipal work"—a danger which could scarcely be avoided by excluding most of the elected commissioners from all real authority in Calcutta and trying to attract Europeans by a payment of Rs. 32 per sitting. Possibly Lord Elgin will suggest this expedient for attracting men of position and influence to the municipalities of Great Britain when he returns. But how by giving a great majority of the inhabitants only a small minority of representatives, "Calcutta," as he says later, will become "in the best sense of the term a self-governing city," it is difficult to understand.

Lord Curzon's first speeches in India had at least this

Lord Curzon's first speeches in India had at least this advantage—that they were inspired by hope. One remark indeed seemed in doubtful taste. The new Viceroy reminded his hearers that "our purse-strings have as you know been unloosed in your behalf." But how stands the case? India in the midst of a famine of unprecedented extent found herself plunged against the wishes of her people into a war beyond the frontier; yet the British treasury was closed to her cry of distress. Even a small contribution was refused. Instead of the five millions to which she had so good a claim, less than a million was grateful the crumbs that fell from the rich man's

table; but should the feeling of an English Viceroy be congratulation that it was so much or shame that it was so little? To plunge India into a policy of adventure, to make India pay the bill in a time of famine, and then to take credit because a fraction of the loss was made good by the generosity of private citizens, is neither generous nor just. But except for this his speeches were full of promise, and in fact read like a series of pledges that he would deal with India in the way Indians have so long wished. He declared his work to be "to hold the scales even," though he perhaps hardly recognised what a change in the relations of the two races this would mean. He told the members of the Bombay Municipality :-

In this great city the patience of your people, the voluntary co-operation of your leading citizens, and the natural vitality of your resources have greatly assisted in the work of recuperation.

We have not always heard this language about Bombay, but if Lord Curzon really wishes the co-operation of the leading citizens throughout India it will be necessary to return to the old policy of the greatest men among his predecessors—the policy of trust in the people, for with distrust co-operation soon becomes impossible. But what will be most noted in India were two remarks in his answer to the address of the Chamber of Commerce, for they implied that in spite of his antecedents he had no wish to embark on new adventures beyond the frontier. "A sensational administration is not the best prospect that any coming Viceroy can desire;" and again, he declared that the Viceroy owed "the fullest devotion of which he may be capable to the domestic interests and to the material and moral developments of the vast population committed to his charge." If he only acts up to these If he only acts up to these sentiments India will feel that the generous trust and confidence with which he has been received have been fully

"Call no man happy till he is dead," said the sage of old, and none who have seen how many rulers of India began their reign amid hope and goodwill to end it in bitterness and vain regrets will be inclined to prophesy smooth things to the new Viceroy. But even though the outburst of welcome with which Lord Curzon has been received is partly due to his contrast with Lord Elgin, to a preference for strength even if combined with an un-popular policy to good intentions brought to nought by weakness, even though this be so, the new Viceroy must see how immensely this wealth of feeling strengthens his position for good work, and unless he be altogether callous it can hardly fail to increase the earnestness of his efforts to carry out his own promise and strive in every sense "to hold the scales even." If he does so he will, unlike his predecessor, go down to posterity as a just, a sympathetic and therefore a successful governor of India.

THE HOMICIDES AT GARSHANKAR.

By E. H. PICKERSGILL, M.P.

THE tragical events which occurred at Garshankar, a town in the Punjab, on April 28 last, furnish a vivid and significant illustration of the new methods of government in India. The history of the case, supported by extracts from official documents, has already been related in the columns of India by Mr. Gupta, the editor of the Lahore Tribune. It will suffice for my purpose to recall the principal facts in bare outline. The plague having broken out in Garshankar, an order was issued that the population should evacuate the town. A proclamation to this effect was posted on April 27, requiring the inhabitants to comply with the order the next morning, or by evening at latest. One can easily realise the excitement which this order would create: especially in view of the fact (which I ask my readers particularly to note) that no adequate provision had been made outside the town for the shelter of the population. On the morning of April 28 a body of police 250 strong went to Garshankar for the purpose - according to the official report-of "giving effect to the order by such force or show of force as might be necessary;" and while they were proceeding through the town one party of the police were assailed with brickbats and clods of earth. The police, who were armed with carbines, fired upon the people, killing nine and wounding forty-eight persons. A fortnight later about fifty of the townsmen were put upon their trial, of whom many were

convicted. The convictions were under section 188 of the Penal Code for "disobedience to an order duly promulgated by a public servant," or under sections 143 and 147 for "unlawful assembly" and "rioting" respectively. These convictions were appealed to the Chief Court of the Punjab, and we now learn that the convictions under section 188 have been set aside, while the convictions under the other sections have been upheld. This result is curious and inevitably suggests comment. It is not maintained that the decisions of the Chief Court are mutually inconsistent; but at the same time the quashing of the conviction for "disobedience" is highly significant. The specific reasons why these convictions have been set aside are not stated, but some inferences may legitimately be drawn. It is very improbable that the decision proceeded on the ground that the fact of disobedience had not been sufficiently proved. I may fairly presume that the convictions were quashed because in the judgment of the Chief Court the order to evacuate the town of Garshankar was not such, or had not been so duly promulgated, that disobedience thereto constituted a criminal offence under section 188 of the Penal Code, or was criminal at all, although such dis-obedience may possibly have been unlawful. This conclusion does not of course justify the townsmen in assailing the police; but it is a very relevant consideration in any broad and statesmanlike review of all the transactions of which the collision with the police formed part. Moreover, the fact that the magistrate went wrong in convicting the persons charged under section 188 may suggest doubt as to the justice of the other convictions at the same time for which he was responsible. The magistrate him-self in his judgment referred to "the energy and tact required to make the witnesses depose to the real facts of the case." The circumstances of the trials were certainly peculiar. The court was held inside a police cordon; no witnesses were called for the defendants and no lawyer appeared on their behalf. According to Mr. Gupta's statement a pleader went from Hoshiarpur to defend the accused persons, but he could not get access to the magistrate. Let it be granted however that the people were wrong; it does not follow that the police were right. Their justification in firing on the crowd must stand or fall by the common law. For so far as I am aware there is nothing either in the Penal Code or in the Code of Criminal Procedure which differentiates in substance the law of India from the law of England in this respect. The ques-India from the law of England in this respect. The question then is this: Was what the police did necessary and no more than necessary either in self-defence or to and no more than necessary either in sent-uciente or to quell the riot? Now in the first place the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab himself admits that "the firing of the police on the crowd took place without the orders of the officers in charge and in spite of the attempts made by them to stop it." It appears from the official report of Mr. Leslie-Jones, a magistrate who accompanied the police, that the firing took place at five distinct times from five different places, and in one instance by a party of police held in reserve who were out of the range of the missiles altogether. Yet the Lieut.-Governor suggests-to do him justice, somewhat hesitatingly-that "the crisis was such as probably to justify the use of firearms by the police." But this conclusion does not at all square either with the magistrate's report or with the Lieut.-Governor's own letter. Mr. Leslie-Jones says that he exerted himself to the utmost to stop the firing, and actually struck one or two of the policemen who disregarded his admonitions. He also states that Major Inglis, Mr. Turnbull, and Mr. Hadow tried to stop the firing. Nay, more, the Lieut-Governor himself warmly praises the officers for their exertions towards this end. Now this commendation is grotesquely inconsistent with his attempt to justify the men who fired. For if the firing by the police was necessary either to protect themselves or to quell the riot, then the efforts of the officers and magistrates to prevent the firing was not only cruel and unnatural, and a grave dereliction of duty, but actually constituted a high misdemeanour at common law.

It has been stated in explanation of the conduct of the police that they were "all Pathans, undisciplined and very excitable." If this were so what are we to think of the humanity or common sense of the authorities who entrusted such men with fire-arms on so delicate and difficult a mission? The plain fact is that the whole affair was grossly mismanaged from the moment of the retirement of Lieut.-Colonel Massy. Garshankar furnishes yet another illustration of what occurred again and again in the course of the recent plague operations in India—namely, that all went well so long as the control was in the hands of sympathetic and popular officers, and that mischief began only when these were superseded by persons of a very different temper. There are no people in the world with whom tact and sympathy united with firmness go further or pay better than among the races of British India.

It may be significant and instructive to recall what was done in England in circumstances somewhat similar to the incident at Garshankar. In 1893 there was a riot at the Featherstone Colliery in Yorkshire, and the military who were called in fired on the crowd and killed two men. The Home Secretary of the day appointed a Committee with Lord Bowen as its chairman to hold a public enquiry into the circumstances. No one could complain that the terms of reference were not comprehensive and thorough. The Committee were directed

to enquire into the origin and character of the disturbances at Featherstone; the reasons that existed for anticipating disorder; the precautions adopted or which might have been adopted to prevent the same; the measures taken to suppress it; and the circumstances attending the deaths of the two men.

At this enquiry everyone had his say, and every scrap of evidence that could be brought to bear on the matter and throw light on it was placed before the Committee. It may of course be said that India is not England, and that a form of enquiry which is proper in this country would not "work" in India. Perhaps the objection is well founded. In that case the course suggested by Mr. Gupta should have been taken, i.e., the police should have been put upon their trial for voluntarily causing death and hurt in excess of the right of self-defence. It is clear that such a proceeding is contemplated by the Penal Code; otherwise there would be no meaning in exception 3 to section 300, which runs as follows:—

Culpable homicide is not murder if the offender, being a public servant, exceeds the powers given to him by law and causes death by doing an act which he in good faith believes to be lawful and necessary for the due discharge of his duty as such public servant, and without ill-will towards the person whose death is caused.

I may point out further that this is a matter in which the Government of India has a very special responsibility. In England it is open to any person who suffers hurt under such circumstances as happened at Garshankar to institute a prosecution against the police. But it is not so in India. The Code of Criminal Procedure enacts that "No prosecution against any magistrate, military officer, police officer, soldier, or volunteer, for any act purporting to be done under Chapter IX. [i.e., relating to the quelling of riots, etc.], shall be instituted in any criminal court except with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council."

Lastly, I notice that the Chief Court of the Punjab has not only confirmed the convictions for riot, but it has left the sentences as originally imposed. It is not for me to question the decision of the Court. But it is obvious that a Government is bound to take account of matters which a Court of Justice may consider to be outside its province. Having regard to all the circumstances of this most unhappy case I do not hesitate to say that the remainder of these sentences ought to be remitted. It is not yet too late for the Indian Government (stimulated perhaps by a strong hint from home) to do what humanity and policy alike demand.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, December 29.—Lord Elgin received and acknowledged in Calcutta the usual farewell addresses.—The Indian National Congress was opened at Madras, Mr. A. M. Bose of Calcutta presided.—The evidence given by Dr. Lawrie against inoculation with Haffkine's serum before the Plague Commission at Hyderabad attracted considerable attention.

A telegram from Calcutta said news had been received there from Mombasa that a party of 36 men of the 27th Bombay Infantry were attacked by rebels on the 10th of October while marching to Masindi, that 13 were killed and nine wounded, and Lieutenant Hannyngton, the commanding officer, received two severe wounds. The enemy, who lost 100 men, but captured some rifles and baggage, were eventually repulsed, and were afterwards defeated in an attack on a position at Kisiliza, 14 miles distant.

The Hon. Walter Rothschild, the Unionist candidate for the Aylesbury division, issued his address. At a meeting of the Liberal executive it was decided not to contest the seat.

The American Government was said to be annoyed at the action of the Spaniards in abandoning Hoilo to the insurgents. Instructions and full powers had been sent to General Otis to maintain American authority over all the Philippines, by force if necessary, and to dislodge the insurgents from Hoilo. Major-General Lawton was being despatched to the Philippines as second in command to General Otis, who had at his disposal 20,000 soldiers, besides the fleet.—A new Filipino Cabinet had been constituted, headed by Señor Mabini. All the members were said to be pledged to the independence of the Philippines, and to refusal to hand over the Spanish prisoners.

FRIDAY, December 30.—Lord Curzon of Kedleston landed at Bombay early this morning, and was received with demonstra-tions of welcome. In response to an address from the municipal corporation, he referred to the interest he had long felt in the peoples and problems of India—an interest resting on some peoples and problems of mina—an interest resting on some small personal acquaintance, for this was the fifth occasion on which he had landed at Bombay. It was with pride that he had found himself included in the number—the 15th, but he hoped, not the last—of Governors-General of India during the present reign. He believed the loyalty to the person and Throne of the Queen-Empress referred to in the address to be as widespread as it was profound and sincere. It was a bond which more than any other held together in harmonious union the diverse races and creeds of India. He was well aware that the verdict to be passed on his administration would depend, not upon glittering promises or fair prophecies now, but upon actual performance later. Lord Curzon proceeded to refer to the troubles of pestilence and famine which had visited India during the last few years, and expressed the belief that the corner had at last been turned and that an era of reviving prosperity was beginning. The party then proceeded to Government House, where Lord Curzon received a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce, who presented an address urging the importance of the establishment of a sound monetary system. He made a cordial reply, expressing his strong sense of the value of the help which such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce could give to the Government in the shaping of its policy, but pointing out that he could not, within a few hours of his landing, make any definite pronouncement on the abstruse questions referred to in the address. In the evening there was a State banquet at Government House.

SATURDAY, December 31.—Sir C. Dilke, speaking at Gloucester, said there was no inconsistency, but rather the contrary, between the holding of Radical opinions and a recognition of the need of the country to maintain an overwhelming supremacy of the British fleet. Radicals were agreed that this country would be better for a foreign policy perfectly straightforward and above board. With regard to the Liberal leadership, he argued that they must elect to the position the best man they could get, subject to the consideration that he must be a Liberal chosen by Liberals.

SUNDAY, January 1.—New Year's receptions were held in the capitals abroad. In Paris the Papal Nuncio spoke on behalf of the Ambassadors, expressing a hope for the maintenance of peace. President Faure, in reply, observed that the maintenance of peace had always been one of the chief objects of France, and in the course of the year which had just expired the sincerity of their efforts and the value of their support in that cause could not be called in question. The interests of France, like its aspirations, he said, were intimately allied with the triumph of right, concord, and progress.

The list of New Year honours was issued. Lord Cromer was created a Viscount. and Pearages were conferred upon. Sir.

The list of New Year honours was issued. Lord Cromer was created a Viscount, and Peerages were conferred upon Sir Philip Currie, Sir J. R. Bailey, Sir Henry Hawkins, and Mr. Robert Gurdon. Four Members of Parliament were added to the Privy Council, and Baronetics were conferred upon Sir Henry Thompson, Mr. W. H. Hornby, M.P., Mr. F. T. Barry, M.P., and Mr. John Murray Scott. Several new Knights were created, and a number of promotions in the various Orders were announced, Sir Charles Scott, Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and Sir Herbert Chermside, Military Commander in Crete, receiving the distinction of G.C.M.G.

MONDAY, January 2.—A farewell dinner was given to Lord Elgin by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Responding to the toast of his health, the retiring Viceroy defended at some length the procedure adopted by the Indian Government in regard to the consideration of the question of currency reform, and expressed his conviction that, with a stable exchange and the confidence accompanying it, the time would soon come when British capital would be attracted to India, to the mutual advantages of both countries. Lord Elgin laid emphasis on the inexpediency of making any material increase to the burdens laid on the people. He denied that the Government was not giving proper attention to irrigation, and defended their policy in reference to railways, which (he asserted) had enabled the country, in the famine of 1896-97, to rely on her stocks of grain in a manner never before practicable. From the past career of his successor, and from his deep interest in India and its people, he drew the happiest auguries of Lord Curzon's career in India, bespoke for him the confidence and loyalty of all, and closed by citing, as expressive of the spirit in which India should be served, the simple epitaph on the tombstone of

Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow-"He tried to do his

Reports received at Manila described the situation at Iloilo as extremely critical. There was a considerable insurgent force in the town, and an army of 17,000 was said to be awaiting orders to advance from Negros Island. General Miller, the American commander, had demanded the surrender of the place. The insurgents insisted on delay till they could communicate with

Mr. T. T. Bucknill, Q.C., M.P., was appointed a Judge of the High Court in the room of Sir Henry Hawkins, resigned.

TUESDAY, January 3.—Sir William Harcourt addressed to his election-agent in West Monmouthshire a letter explaining why he thought it expedient to postpone the address h intended to make to his constituents during this month. why he thought it expedient to postpone the address he had intended to make to his constituents during this month. The responsibility for expounding the objects and aims of the Liberal party, he said, would shortly pass into the hands of another, the choice of whom would be determined before the meeting of Parliament; and he felt that a declaration on his part at this juncture might possibly embarrass the action of the future leader of the party in laying before the country that statement of principles and policy in the present and for the future in home and foreign affairs which it would become his duty to set forth. Sir William therefore asked leave of his constituents to postpone, he hoped only for a short period, what he had to say upon the new condition of things.

Lord and Lady Curzon arrived in Calcutta and had an enthusiastic reception. Crowds of Europeans and Natives lined the streets, and cheered as the cartier passed from the railway station to Government House, where Lord and Lady Curzon were received by the Viceroy, the members of the Executive Council, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, around whom were grouped many Native chiefs and

around whom were grouped many Native chiefs and

notabilities.

It was stated that a steamer which left Karachi on December 15 with 1,000 coolies for Uganda reported seven deaths from plague when she arrived off Mombasa on December 27. Sir A. H. Hardinge, the British Agent in Zanziber, ordered that no communication should be allowed with the shore, and ultimately gave peremptory directions that the steamer should return to Karachi. The Foreign Office in London was appealed to, but Sir A. H. Hardinge's orders were upheld. This action elicited strong protests from the Indian Government as contrary to the Venice Convention; but the latest reports from Zanzibar indicated that the steamer would have to return to Karachi, although no case of plague had occurred on board since December 25.

WEDNESDAY, January 4.—The Committee of the Cobden Club issued a Memorandum to the members with regard to future policy. They suggested that, without in any way neglecting the work it had hitherto pursued, the Club should so extend its operations as to include within its scope a vigilant club with the control of the found of the

observation of the foreign policy of the country.

The Attorney-General, speaking at Cranleigh, said, although he had had many differences with Sir William Harcourt in Parliament, he wished to say that that statesman was always Parliament, he wished to say this content actuated by a desire to uphold the dignity and maintain the efficiency of the House of Commons and to guard that which he helicyed to be in the best interests of the country. If there he believed to be in the best interests of the country. If there had been anything in the nature of underhanded dealing or disloyalty to Sir William Harcourt on the part of those who disloyalty to Sir William Harcourt on the part of those who served with him, he thought it was a poor return for the way in which he had fought their battles in Opposition.

Sir William Harcourt received a letter, signed by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, on behalf of the United Kingdom Alliance, dwelling

upon his services to the cause of local option and expressing a hope that the friends of that project might benefit by his counsels and follow his lead in the fight, "which cannot be staved off much longer," against the bitter thraldom of the

liquor traffic.

liquor traffic.

Lord Ashbourne, at Chester, spoke of the Irish Local Government Bill as a wise and generous measure on democratic lines, and said he hoped that the new boards would be composed of members elected without regard to their religion or polities.

The American Senate received the Peace Treaty from the President and referred it to the Foreign Relations Committee. It will probably not be discussed by the Senate until next week. Lord Cromer, who arrived at Khartum to-day, was expected to-morrow to lay the foundation-stone of the Gordon Memorial College.

The Town Council of Dunfermline has decided to entertain

The Town Council of Duniermine has accided to entertain Lord Elgin to a cake and wine banquet on his return, about the end of January, to Broombill, in Fife, the ancestral home of the Bruce family.

An appreciation of Gladstone, from the pen of Mr. W. E. H. Leeky, should be interesting. A cheaper edition of Mr. Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty" will be published next week by "Massra Longman. There is a new introduction of sixty pages. Messrs. Longman. There is a new introduction of sixty pages, and two features of interest. Mr. Lecky examines how far the general principles laid down in his book have been confirmed or disproved by the experiences of the three last years. Secondly, he writes in detail of the work and character of Gladstone.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

FOURTEENTH SESSION.

ENTHUSIASTIC GATHERING AT MADRAS.

[BY CABLE, FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

Madras, December 30.

The Fourteenth Indian National Congress met at Madras on December 29. Over 600 delegates and 4,000 visitors attended. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

The Hon. Subba Rao, Member of the Madras Legislative Council, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and referred to the beneficent forces that culminated in the Congress organisation, which interpreted to the rulers the wants and wishes of the people. He deplored the attacks made upon the Congress, which constitutionally aimed at securing the full privileges of British citizenship for the Indian people as promised in statutes and in the gracious proclamation of her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, barrister-at-law, of Calcutta, was elected President. In his inaugural address he deplored the recent reactionary and repressive policy of the Government of India, referring especially to the continued detention of the Natus without trial, the obnoxious Sedition and Press laws, and worse still the Press Committees of officials for gagging the Vernacular Press in Bombay; while the Calcutta Municipal Bill subverted the first principle of local self-government. Mr. Bose next referred to the mischievous forward frontier policy which was condemned by the whole country, which plunged the finances of the Government into inextricable embarrassment, arrested all progress of domestic reform, and retarded the usual public works by starving the Provincial Governments. English public opinion was still ignorant of these matters which had contributed to the great dissatisfaction and unrest in India. He appealed to English sympathy and to the English sense of justice to reverse the present reactionary policy and substitute for it a policy of confidence in the people, of retrenchment, of domestic reform and of peace, in order to restore contentment and satisfaction among the people. It was the educated classes in India who were most loyal and foremost in efforts to secure the permanence of British rule. The Congress, as representing both the educated classes and the masses, was a true friend of Government and a faithful interpreter of popular wants and wishes. After sympathetic references to the deaths of Mr. Gladstone, the Mahárájá of Darbhanga, and Sirdar Dayal Singh, Mr. Bose expressed the earnest hope that much-needed and urgent administrative reforms and a policy of trust and sympathy would characterise the rule of Lord Curzon, and restore contentment and happiness among the Indian people .- By Indo-European Telegraph.

Madras, December 31.

The proceedings of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian National Congress were resumed on Friday and concluded on Saturday. Enthusiastic interest was evinced throughout. The first business was to give a cordial welcome to Lord Curzon, who landed at Bombay on Friday. A prompt and gracious reply came stating that his Lordship accepted the cordial message of the Congress. This welcome reply was received with great enthusiasm by the

delegates, and three hearty cheers were given in honour of his Lordship.

The principal resolutions which have been passed refer to the following subjects:—

- (1.) The continued detention of the Sirdars Natu without trial, which is creating great dissatisfaction among the people of India and diminishing popular confidence in British justice which is regarded as the solid rock of the permanence of British rule in India.
- (2.) The Sedition and Press laws, the iniquitous and obnoxious nature of which is condemned as calculated to alienate rather than attract popular affection, unless these Acts are repealed.
- (3.) The insane policy of military expeditions year after year beyond the statutory boundaries of British India, involving greater and greater financial burdens which are now growing intolerable. The resolution of the Congress states that this policy should be reversed, and that the old policy of Lord Lawrence is the wisest and safest for the true conservation and peace of the country.
- (4.) The present reactionary policy with reference to local self-government, as exemplified by the Calcutta Municipal Bill, which is about to be passed into law in face of universal opposition among the ratepayers.
- (5.) The obnoxious "Press Committees," which are secretly appointed, illegal in their nature, and which threaten to crush all honest and legitimate criticism of official acts and measures.
- (6.) The Congress condemned the so-called "reform" of the Indian currency by the introduction of a gold standard and currency, which are certain to prove even more calamitous than the closing of the Mints. The resolution states that there is nothing wrong with the Indian currency, and that the real fountain of Indian financial disturbances is the Home Charges which annually drain the national wealth and impoverish a country that would otherwise make immense progress in trade and industries. The resolution further declares that real relief can be obtained only by carrying out the principle of England's bearing an equitable share of the Home Charges. It was resolved that the text of this resolution should be telegraphed to the Chairman of the Indian Currency Committee.
- (7.) A resolution was passed with reference to the increasing impoverishment of the condition of the masses and claiming reasonable fixity of tenure for the cultivator with a view to national improvement.
- (8.) A resolution was passed recording the great loss sustained through the death of Mr. Gladstone. Further resolutions referred to the death of the Mahárájá of Darbhanga, Sirdar Dayal Singh and Dr. Bahadurji.

The proceedings of the Fourteenth Congress were then concluded and Lucknow was appointed as the place for the next Session in December, 1899.—By Indo-European Telegraph.

By way of contrast it may be interesting to reproduce here the following telegrams which are all the news about the Congress that Reuter's Agency has on this occasion thought fit to send to the British Press:—

Madas, Dec. 29.

The fourteenth Indian National Congress was opened here to-day with Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, of Calcutta, as president. Among the delegates present were Mr. Tilak and Professor Gokhale, the Poona agitators.

The Indian National Congress, at its sitting to-day, in the first place, passed a resolution of condolence at the death of Mr.

Gladstone, and next a resolution of welcome to Lord Curzon, the new

Vicercy.

Other resolutions were adopted protesting against the Sedition
Other, and the absence of permanent settlement or fixity of tenure in
the Madras Presidency and elsewhere.

Mannas. Dec. 31.

The Indian National Congress has carried resolutions condemning a forward frontier policy, the establishment of Press Committees, and the New Calcutta Municipal Bill, and others advocating the separation of judicial from executive functions, and increased employment of Natives in the Civil Medical Department, and urging that Great Britain should bear a share of the home charges. The Congress, which closes to-day, has been remarkable for the paucity of grievances set forth, and the general opinion prevails that the leaders failed to impress the andience with the sincerity or reasonableness of their indictiments of the Indian Government.

We have something to say in "Notes and News" about these precious messages.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE "TIMES,"

[BY CABLE, FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Madras, January 1.

With reference to the editorial remark of the *Times*, telegraphed here by Reuter, that the Presidential address delivered at the Congress was of a vague and colourless character, the President of the Congress, Mr. A. M. Bose, declares that his statements were specific and confined to definite issues for judgment on evidence adduced.—*By Indo-European Telegraph*.

[With reference to this telegram it may be noted that the words employed by the *Times* were as follows:—"It is not probable that the proceedings of the National Congress will be taken too seriously and the vague and colourless character of the President's address is perhaps an indication that the movement is weakening."]

THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL BILL.

ANOTHER MEETING OF PROTEST.

[BY CABLE, FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

CALCUTTA, December 31:

Another crowded, enthusiastic, and representative public meeting has been held here at Posta Rájá's House, Barabazar, to protest against the Calcutta Municipal Bill.

The Natore Mahárájá, the Sobhabazar Rájás, important rate payers and Marwaris, took part.

A resolution condemning the principle of the Bill and a Memorial regarding the assessment provisions were adopted.

Mr. R. Mitra, a distinguished barrister and large ratepayer, presided.—By Indo-European Telegraph.

The following letter to the editor, from Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, appeared in the Daily News of Friday last, December 30:—

"Slow but gradual" association of the people with their English rulers in carrying on the administration of their own country is the acknowledged basal principle of the Imperial policy of the great Liberal party in England. It has been strongly emphasised recently by Mr. Asquith in his Birmingham speech. But since some time past the present Government have been slowly reversing this great principle in the administration of India. The latest instance of this reversal is a Bill now before the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal relating to the Calcutta Municipality, which has evoked an opposition from the Indian residents of that metropolis never before seen in the history of that city. As one who has been connected with Indian journalism for the last twenty years, and who was also for a time an officer of the Calcutta Municipality, and who thus had ample opportunities of watching its working both from without and within, may I crave your indulgence to say a few words upon this important measure?

Indusgence to say a new words upon this important measure? For the last twenty-two years the municipal administration of Calcutta has been in a large measure in the hands of the representatives of the ratepayers. The sanitary condition of the city has wonderfully improved during this period, and all over Bengal, among the Indian population, the City of Palaces is fast gaining almost the reputation of a sanitarium. Of course a great deal yet remains to be done. There are still

many dreadful insanitary spots, especially in the back slums of the city. And unless a proper scheme for the housing of the poor is adapted and carried out, these plague spots will remain in Calcutta, as they did and still remain in London, in spite of the most vigilant municipal administration. As it is, however, when the plague broke out in Bombay in 1896 the panic naturally spread to Calcutta, and both the Government and the Municipality at once set themselves to work to remove these plague spots. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, deputed two sanitary officers of the Government to inspect and report upon the sanitary condition of the city. They were shown the most insanitary spots by the medical officers of the Corporation. The sanitary officers of the Government submitted their report to Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Defense location is defined in the control of the Corporation. Mackenzie. Before leaving his office, Sir Alexander drew up a Bill to amend the Municipal law of Calcutta, considerably curtailing the powers and privileges of the elected Commissioners, and vesting the whole management of the Corporation in the

and vesting the whole management of the Corporation in the official chairman and a committee of twelve, of whom four only will be elected by the representative of the ratepayers.

I recognise, sir, that the sanitation of Calcutta is a question of Imperial interest. The trade and commerce of half of India are dependent upon it. The English capitalists have an interest in it. And if the present Bill was likely to radically improve the sanitation of the city, I should have been its strongest supporter, and not opposed to it.

But the present measure if passed into law will really sound the death-knell of all sanitary progress in the city. For the sanitation of crowded urban areas is possible only with the co-operation of the people and not otherwise. The officers of the corporation can never force themselves into the sanctity and poration can never force themselves into the sanctity and seclusion of a Hindu or Mahometan Zenana without causing intense dissatisfaction and fatal riots. The experience of the last two years' plague operations in different parts of the country has proved this conclusively. And the very success of Sir John Woodburn's plague policy in Calcutta is entirely due to the fact that the whole business was left by him in the hands of those very elected Commissioners of the Calcutta Municipality whom the present Bill proposes to divest of all real capanty whom the present bill proposes to dives of all rear power in the management of the corporation. I was in Calcutta when the plague appeared there last April. I witnessed the panic of the people, and I was a witness of the exodus of vast numbers of the working population of the city. But as soon as Sir John made over the carrying out of the plague rules to the elected Commissioners of the town, who in their turn took the retensives into this confidence overwise ward turn took the ratepayers into their confidence, organised ward committees, and appointed sanitary visitors from amongst the people, the confidence of the masses was restored. The people people, the connected of the masses was restored. The people saw that the whole plague administration was left to their own leaders, and riots and disturbances ceased. In one ward, of which my friend the Honourable Surendranath Bancrjea is the senior Commissioner, not a single case of disturbance occurred, owing to the way in which he exerted his influence in this matter with the resident of the blacking Mg. in this matter with the residents of the locality. If plague was so easily stamped out in Calcutta it was purely due to the cooperation of the leaders of the people with the Government in the administration of the plague rules. But it is these leaders of the people-these elected representatives of the ratepayers-

of the people—these elected representatives of the ratepayers—whom this new Bill proposes to deprive of all executive powers.

There are defects in the present constitution of the Calcutta Municipality. All that I can say is that those defects will not be removed by the present Bill. If instead of seeking to revolutionise the municipal constitution the Government had devised means for merely strengthening the executive and the magistracy in a proper way, the new measure would have been hailed as a boon by every sensible man in India.

MR. F. HARRISON ON IMPERIAL EXPANSION.

At the Newton Hall, Fetter Lane, last Sunday afternoon, Mr. Frederic Harrison delivered his customary New Year address before the Positivist Society

Mr. Harrison said that the past year had witnessed changes in the relations of States and in the attitudes of Governments more important in their indirect effect than any which had occurred within a generation. For the first time since 1870 two great Christian nations of the West had been at serious war. In that war Spain had lost in a few months almost the whole of her ancient empire, and henceforth she must be counted as one her ancient empire, and henceforth she must be counted as one of the purely European Powers. By the same war the great American Republic had been forced to quit its fixed policy of trans-Atlantic isolation; it had begun to raise a formidable standing army; and it had suddenly found itself charged with vast transmarine dependencies. These new responsibilities had deeply affected the attitude of the United States both within and without, and with this charge had gone a very signal change of tone towards Europe and the mother country. The Prescale Republic after 28 years saw its freedom and even its French Republic after 28 years saw its freedom and even its existence imperilled by the great army on which its hopes had been placed; and in England and Germany there had passed away in extreme old age the two foremost politicans of their time, and with them the aims and ideas which they respectively represented had also passed away in new lines.

THE TSAR'S RESCRIPT.

In the midst of wars, seizures of territory, and increase of armaments, a voice had been lifted up among the nations denouncing this inhuman state of things and loudly proclaiming denouncing this inhuman state of things and loudly proclamming that civilisation must sink under these burdens unless they could be reduced in weight. This bitter cry of Kings had been uttered by the master of the largest civilised State, commanding the largest army and the greatest revenue. All these movements centred round that dominant note of our age—militarism, Imperial expansion, and national aggrandisement—which had long been deplored, but which was incapable of remedy without a moral and religious reformation. The appeal of the Tsar to the pretions of the West to meet in concress for the purpose of the nations of the West to meet in congress for the purpose of stemming the tide of advancing militarism was a great event in itself, and it had been made with a passionate persistence which had forced all Governments and statesmen to treat it with at least some show of sympathy. It was a great act with at least some show of sympathy. It was a great act which never could be quite undone, and which in any case must have indirect and far-reaching effects. He put aside as unworthy of serious attention the cynical suggestions that this portentous departure in modern history was only the daydream of a youthful enthusiast, or the trick of an astute diplomacy. The Tsar was in grim earnest and meant to attempt something on his own account, and his able ministers would do their best to prevent fiasco by finding something workable to lay before the Powers. The programme was not yet known, but the rumours in the air were not wholly impracticable. It was said rumours in the air were not wholly impracticable. It was said that Russia would voluntarily renounce a large scheme already decreed for new armaments and would propose an agreement between the Powers not to increase their military budgets for a limited period and not to resort to actual war before seeking mediation and advice. The first two propositions were undoubtedly capable of leading to practical results, and if they only damped the war fever which was invading the world like a widerication. an epidemic they would not be idle platitudes. But it would be nothing short of a miracle if the nations were suddenly to be nothing short of a miracle it the nations were studenly to give up the effect while nothing was done to remove the cause. No people really liked crushing taxation and dislocated commerce and industry; and least of all did the Sovereigns desire these things. But Sovereigns and peoples, and more often the latter, braved these perils and horrors and faced war and disaster because they would not cast out the seven devils of national vainglory and Imperial expansion and the passion of robbing and crowing over their neighbours. If the Tsar could teach the world how to cast out these demons he might do something real; but if not he would show once more how vain were the best intentions of rulers to cure the moral disease of men. There was one way in which such a congress might have a practical result, but that way seemed to be carefully excluded from the programme. It would be strictly barred, as condition of entering the congress, that any reference should be made to those questions of international jealousy and fear which compelled the nations to engage in the race of armaments and fleets and the scramble for possessions. Germany would bar Alsace-Lorraine; England would bar Cyprus and Egypt; the United States would bar Cuba and the Philippines; France would bar Madagascar, Tunis, and Siam; Russia would bar Korea and the Black Sea; and the Pope would not join unless he could raise the question of his temporal power. Thus unless he could raise the question of his temporal power. every source of envy, harred, and fear was to be left exactly as it was to-day. If the nations were really in earnest to exchange rivalry in arms for friendliness and peace, they would have to make systematic efforts to remove constant sources of quarrel. No doubt this would involve sacrifices of ambition and pride; but they would be amply repaid by a new sense of security and freedom from exhausting burdens.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

For example, would it not be common prudence for Great Britain—an Empire so vulnerable at so many points—to clear away some of the menacing outstanding quarrels? There was the ruler of Russia, which was supposed to be our greatest enemy, making a passionate appeal to us to bury the hatchet and inaugurate a new era of peace. It might be that Russia would suspend her vast operations in the Black Sea for the sake of a free hand in the Far East; and what interest had we to prevent Russia from obtaining a paramount influence in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Eastern Turkestan? Fear that Russia within measurable time would absorb the 400 millions Russia within measurable time would absorb the 400 millions of Chinamen and shut out British commerce from the ports and rivers of China was an idle bugbear. If British trade were shut out it would be by the stupidity and arrogance of the British trader giving way before more capable rivals. As to a Russian invasion of India, the best preparation against it was to raise the self-respect and well-being of our Hindu fellow-citizens, teaching them to defend their own country, and to look upon the English as their leaders in a higher civilisation. If before the end of the 20th century the 300 millions of India were not able and willing to defend their own country from invasion, nothing more damning could be said of our British occupation and rule.

EGYPT AND FRANCE.

Along with our antagonism to Russia went our antagonism to France, the source and centre of which was Egypt. He was quite aware of the great mt advantages which our occupation had conferred on Egypt; and our system of administration was perhaps the most honest and successful ever established by the invaders of a foreign country in military established by the invaders of a foreign country in mintary occupation. But the ablest administration did not teach the vanquished to love their conquerors. The policy of the occupation was a dangerous weakness to our Empire. We were making no way towards giving Egypt stability and independence, and until that was achieved our occupation would remain a wrong and a folly. In the face of a coalition of foreign Powers, the defence of Egypt would become the most formidable danger to which England could be exposed; and the occupation of Egypt was the one thing which made such a combination not very improbable. The open sore of Egypt once healed, the smaller points at issue between England and France would be within the resources of diplomacy. were but the torpedo-boats which supported the battleship of Egypt. The occupation of Egypt was a tribute to the national vanity in days of peace and prosperity; but against a for-midable combination it would be the source of disaster and humiliation. As to France, all true friends of that great and brilliant nation would say as little as possible just now, and would watch the issue of the present crisis with breathless fear would watch the issue of the present crisis with breathless fear lest that huge engine of war which she had created should plunge her again into military empire directed by adventurers and priests. How fatal had been her schemes of distant adventure! An enormous army without a stable dynasty or State to control it was the greatest danger to which a people could be exposed. France would but repeat the hard lesson which Spain had learnt if she were consumed with a desire to hold a foremost place in the world while she no longer possessed those conditions of stability and material development which alone could make it possible.

THE DOMINANT QUESTION OF OUR TIME.

Of internal politics and of home affairs he had nothing to say, because they had come to an end. Imperial expansion meant domestic stagnation. It swallowed up the energies of Liberalism and bartered progress for glory. Not for many years had the Liberal party been so helpless. It was now a disbanded rabble, without leader, discipline, or flag. No manufacture of programmes, nor of leaders, no caucuses or tactics, could put an effective party into the field again until it had made up its mind upon the dominant, all-absorbing question of our time-Imperial expansion. This was a question on which it was impossible to play fast and loose—to have a party one half Radical buff and the other half jingo scarlet. Before long the people would be asking, "What do we get out of Uganda and Wei-hai-wei?" There were signs that the true Uganda and Wet-har-wer? There were signs that the three representatives of the working classes were already sick of Imperial expansion; and there lay the nucleus of a real progressive revival. If they wished for an object lesson, they had it in the judgment of the Court of Appeal that picketing, even the fine judgment of the whole practice of strikes, as they had been carried on with success for more than a generation; it was the most damaging blow that tradeunionism had received; and if that judgment stood, there was unions in har received; and it may judgment shout, there was not the remotest prospect that the present Parliament would give any relief or in any way assist the trade unions by a further amending Act. All that the practical man asked for nowadays was glory. He was not calling for any little England, but for a great England, meaning by that all that concerned the real welfare, the honourable name, and the true progress of our fatherland. The true patriots were they whose desire was to ease those sufferings which weighed down the masses of the people at home. Before more square miles of tropical wilderness were added to our burden, we should see our way better to deal with that appalling problem of our Empire—the increasing population of India, hurrying to deeper destitution and famine. These problems would not be solved by bubblespeculators and empire-builders, or rather empire-gamblers. True patriotism protested against risking the peace of this country to bolster up self-advertising syndicates. Never was there a party cry more childish and impudent than this cry of "Little Englanders."

CONGRESS AND CONFERENCE.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE "TIMES."

It is worthy of notice that, just at this moment, the National Congress has assembled in Madras, and, as is the custom in Eastern countries, worship is diverted from the setting to the rising sun. There is no prominence given in the address of the chairman, Mr. Boss, to the work of Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty, but Lord Curzon is told just as his predecessor was told a few years ago, that the hopes of the natives of India are fixed upon him. It is not probable that the proceedings of the National Congress will be taken too seriously, and the vague and colourless character of the presidential address is perhaps an indication that the movement is weakening. It is unnecessary to deal with the censures passed—by implication rather than directly—on the war on the North-Western frontier.

In the opinion of the phrasemongers of the National Congress the true line of defence for India is to give the Indian people free representative institutions. It is contended that the leavening of the Viceregal and Provincial Councils, both legislative and executive, with an elective element would call into existence a national spirit which would repel all foreign aggression, and maintain the peace at home from end to end of India without stroke of sword or shot of gun. It is to be remembered that the men who would come to the front under such a system, so long as words and not deeds were required, would belong to the small class of educated Natives, who make very good officials when they know that they have to take orders from others. If they were alone responsible they would have to govern Musulmans proud of their former dominion, Rajouts bred in feudal and military traditions, the descendants of rough Mahratta adventurers, the Sikhs with their history of warlike struggle, the restless and jealous races of traditions, the descendants of rough Mainratia adventurers, the Signs with their history of warlike struggle, the restless and jealous races of the hill frontier, and the strange aboriginal populations which neither Brahminism nor Mahometanism have yet stamped out. The promoters of the National Congress movement apparently imagine that they can enjoy the benefits of the Pass Britamica, while dispensing with the services of those who have given to India, after centuries of revolution and anarchy, the priceless blessings of peace, order, and settled law. But, at the present moment, it is peculiarly inopportune to demand the extension of representative institutions and to protest, as Mr. Bose has protested at Madras, against any restraints upon the complete freedom of municipal institutions. The attack upon the Calcutta Municipal Bill is evidently directed against the powers reserved by the Supreme Government for the enforcement of sanitary precautions. The question of the plague had an important place in Lord Eigin's reply to the address of the Calcutta Municipality, in which, by the way, no reference appears to have been made to the grievance put forward by the chairman of the National Congress. It is a subject of the most intense and exciting interest to those who are responsible for the well-being of the people of India, and, as will be seen from our Indian news this morning, the subordinate controversies connected with it are being very hotly discussed. But whatever may be said of the value of Professor Haffkine's serum or of the prudence of employing protective inoculation on a large scale, it is quite certain that the swead of the enicemic in India has been larged due to the of employing protective inoculation on a large scale, it is quite certain that the spread of the epidemic in India has been largely due to the neglect both in town and country of the simplest and commonest

that the spread of the epidemic in India has been largely due to the neglect both in town and country of the simplest and commonest santiary precautions.

In the great cities, at all events, much may be done, and something is being done, to remedy this defect. The panic which followed the outbreak of the epidemic in Calcutta, fostered, in all probability, by presons acting with selfish objects, drove nearly one-third of the population away, and possibly carried the germs of contagion into the surrounding rural districts. The result, however, has been that certain elementary measures of sanitary reform have been carried out, which it is safe to say would have been absolutely impossible if the city had been governed without check or control by a native-elected municipality such as Mr. Bose and his Congress contemplate as an ideal system. The fugitives have now come back, and life in Calcutta has reverted to its normal state. But, as the retiring Viceroy said vesterday, it would be foolbardy to overlook the possibility of a return of the pestilence. To encounter the peril a determined and cool-headed grasp of the facts is needed, supported by an authority strong enough to master superstitious fears as well as ingrained apathy and fatalism. It is beyond sispute that the rhetoricians and logic-choppers of the Congress, if they were placed in uncontrolled power at Calcutta or elsewhere, notwithstanding their fluent command of all the vocabulary of modern civilisation, would, at such a crisis, be entirely incapable of confronting popular projudice and ignorance. We share Lord Eligin's desire that municipal institutions should be developed in India, but we are convinced, as we have not the least doubt he is convinced, that this is only safe and practicable while a guiding and restraining authority is reserved for the Executive Government. The demand of the Congress that the Native population shall be represented on the Executive Government. The demand of the Congress that the Native population shall be represented on t where the masses of the people have no conception of public life, are wedded to traditional ideas and courses, and would be in no way brought into relations with the Government by elective systems which must place power exclusively in the hands of an infinitesimally which must place power exclusively in the hands of an infinitesimally small minority of the population, quick-witted and ambitious, but endowed with none of the strong qualities of a governing race. It is fortunate for Iudia that the aspirations of the Congress remain an unsubstantial dream, and that the reality of power rests with those who look with a single eye to the advantage and the advancement of the Indian peoples, and who have learned to exercise authority, for the general good, without fear or favour. (December 30.)

THE "MORNING LEADER."

I wrote last week that in all probability the fourteenth session of the Indian National Congress would excite some examples of the good old style of abusive criticism in the British Press. The expectation has been amply fulfilled—by the Tunes and the Globe, for example. A more remarkable phenomeno., and one which seems to call for some explanation, is the extreme meagreness of the news about the Congress which has been permitted to filter into home newspapers. This is a new departure. Hitherto, for some years past, the lengthy telegrams about the Congress have formed one of the chief items of news in the dull week between Christmas and New Year's Day; and as I suppose it may be assumed that for one man who reads expressions of opinion, at least fifty read the foreign telegrams, most of the knowledge which the public here obtained about the Congress came in this way. This year the public has been informed chiefly, that Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale, "the Poona agitators," were among the delegates, and that "the leaders failed to impress the andlence with the sincerity or reasonableness of their indictments of were among the delegates, and that "the leaders tailed to impress the audience with the sincerity or reasonableness of their indictments of the Indian Government." Now, as nobody could by any conceivable possibility be more unlike agitators than Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Tilak, and as the delegates who attended the Congress must have been satisfied as to the sincerity and reasonableness of the Congress resolu-

tions before the Congress began, it seems plain that this account of the fourteenth session cannot be regarded as adequate.

Very different is the account given by another set of telegrams received in London, and published in some, though not all, of the newspapers. From these one learns that the fourteenth Congress has been a great success from the point of view of numbers, of enthusiasm, and of the importance of the subjects discussed. A Congress which, in spite of the plague, over 600 delegates and 4,000 visitors attend, is not lightly to be dismissed. From one account of the President's address the reader would infer that it was occupied mainly in welcoming Lord Curzon. From the other we gather that the reference to Lord Curzon was merely a courteous incident in an address peaked with facts, and surveying at once concisely and clearly the leading questions of current Indian politics and the subjects of the Congress resolutions. Mr. Bose made special reference to the continued detention of the Natus without trial, and to the new Sedition and Press Laws. But it is significant that he described as "worse worse." tinued detention of the Natus without trial, and to the new Sedition and Press Laws. But it is significant that be described as "worse still" the official Press Committees for gagging vernacular journals in the Bombay Presidency. The operation of these precious bodies, which I have already described in this column, is evidently creating much dissatisfaction in India. It would appear that the Congress devoted a special resolution to the subjects calling attention to the facts that these committees are secretly appointed, that they are illegal, and that they threaten to crush all honest criticism of official acts and measures. This is an eminently fair description of bodies which include the local magistrate and the police inspector, and which summon journalists to a vice vece examination on the contents of their journals.

and which summon journalists to a ries sees examination on the contents of their journals.

One of the earliest resolutions gave a cordial welcome to the new Viceroy. The resolution was telegraphed to Lord Curzon, and he at once sent a pleasant acknowledgement. It may be hoped that this early exchange of civilities angurs well for the relations between Lord Elgin's successor and the organisation of educated India. Lord Lansdowne, on a well-known occasion, described the Congress as the advanced Liberal party of India. Mr. Curzon, before he became a peer, used to point out how Lord Salisbury's Government suffered from the absence of an effective Opposition. How much sincerity there was in the lament I need not stop to sak. But Lord Curzon ought not to object to reasonable criticism in India. And that the Congress is reasonable in its criticism motody who is accurately informed about it has ever denied. In addition to the matters already mentioned the Congress condemns the "forward" frontier policy, the present attempts to overthrow local self-government in India, and the notion of "reforming" Indian currency by the introduction of a gold standard. The resolution upon this last ment in India, and the notion of "reforming linian currency by the introduction of a gold standard. The resolution upon this last subject was telegraphed to Sir Henry Fowler, the chairman of the Indian Currency Committee, and is specially notworthy. It states for the hundredth time that what causes financial embarrassment in India is not any defect in the currency system, but "the home charges which annually drain the national wealth and impoverish a charges which annually drain the national wealth and impoverish a country that would otherwise make immense progress in trade and industries." And the resolution goes on to declare that England should bear a fair share of these charges. The claim ought not to be lost upon Lord Welby's Commission with reference to that portion of its enquiry which has to do with the apportionment of charges between England and India. To get even a small fraction of Indian expenditure into the English Budget would be an enormous advantage

The resolution of the Congress referring to the present reactionary policy in the matter of local self-government is specially important in view of the progress of the official measure in Calcutta. During the view of the progress of the official measure in Calcutta. During the past few days two important meetings have been held in Calcutta—one under the presidency of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the other under the presidency of Mr. R. Mitra—to protest against this Bill which, under the pretext of sanitary reform, proposes to remove from the representatives of the ratepayers all real control over the affairs of the city. Nobody who reads the Calcutta papers can fail to see how vehement is the indignation aroused by this measure, but the wishes of Calcutte over the control of the con vehement is the indignation aroused by this measure, but the wishes of Calcutta are not, it seems, to be made known to the public at home. What, one is driven to ask, can be the object of those who withhold from the British public the state of Indian feeling, whether it be shown at the Indian National Congress or in the hostility to the Calcutta Municipal Bill? They denounce "agitators," but their acts are such as to produce agitation of the most dangerous kind. They drive discontent inwards, instead of permitting the reasonable remonstrances of India to find their way to just Englishmen at home and so obtain redress.—"N. T." (January 3.)

THE "BRADFORD OBSERVER."

The principle of British rule in India has always been our own interests primarily, and the interests of the Native population only in so far as they were involved in our own. Our justice is "inflexible" —witness the arbitrary imprisonment of the Natus; our honour is stainless — witness our broken pledges to the frontier tribes; our meroy is in proportion to our strength—witness the Tilak sentence; the Natives are treated as men of like composition to ourselves—witness the habitual attitude of the majority of Anglo-Indians towards. Natives, their contemptuous treatment of educated Indians, and the recent movements to reduce yet further their very limited share in the administration of their country. The later tendencies of our Indian rule have been, not towards, but away from, the ideals which Lord Curzon has formulated, and the success of his administration must turn upon the very doubtful extent to which he can break with the influences at present dominating our policy. The Indian National Congress, which has chanced to be sitting at the time of his arrival, has been prompt to recognise the more hopeful elements in Lord Curzon's utterances; Lord Curzon will, in turn, be well advised if he commences his Viceregal studies under Congress tuition. (December 31.) THE "(GDBE.") The principle of British rule in India has always been our own

THE "GLOBE."

The fourteenth Indian National Congress was opened at Madras yesterday. Among the delegates, says Reuter, were Mr. Tilak and Professor Gokhale, the Poons agitators. Thus Reuter in a seutence has taught us what to expect from this Congress. What a pity the

two Poona murderers con attend, too! One, however, has been hanged, and the police beaute that they have at last caught the other: so the Congress must do its best with seditionmongers. two Poona murderers com (December 30.)

THE "EVENING STANDARD."

There are few intelligent natives of India, whatever their race or creed, who would not admit that our government of that great Dependency is infinitely better than ever before existed, and that if it were suddenly withdrawn, the return to the condition of anarchy and Dependency is infinitely better than ever before existed, and that if it were suddenly withdrawn, the return to the condition of anarchy and bleodshed would commence at once, and proceed on the downward incline with ever increasing rapidity. To allow the Natives to share in their own government is now the avowed policy of this country, and so much to the taste both of Hindus and Mahometans, that we may expect increasing demands to make that share as large as possible. So many intelligent Natives are now resident in London that the initiative will probably be taken here, where such discussions excite far less friction than they would in India. A Conference was held yesterday at the Westminster Town Hall, under the presidency of Mr. D. Nacroji, to protest against what is considered the undue exclusion of Natives from the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. A resolution of protest was carried with unanimity. This is natural and unobjectionable; but, as long as Great Britain holds India by the right of conquest, the Imperial Government must control the Indian Army. The courage and skill of Native officers have been acknowledged, over and over again, by British Generals in India, and no finer example of those qualities was ever afforded than in the late campaign on the North-West frontier, but no one would regard it as desirable to increase the proportion of Native to British officers. There is no doubt whatever that the Native Army should be raised from the most warlike races, to the practical exclusion of the less hardy inhabitants of Southern India; the Native officers of the same race as the rank and file, stiffened by a somewhat larger proportion of British officers, will be as reliable in the future as they have been in the past. (December 29.)

LORD ELGIN'S FAREWELL.

SOME OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE "DAILY NEWS."

Lord Elgin, whose father, by a singular coincidence, was Governor-General before him, leaves India after five years of stress and trius such as no previous Vicerory has had to endure. The plague and the famine would each have tested the patience and the powers of any man. Lord Elgin had also to deal with a frontier war of unusual magnitude and severity. Whatever may be thought of his policy, it man. Lord Eight had also to deal with a routed was a magnitude and severity. Whatever may be thought of his policy, it must be acknowledged that he has stuck manfully to his post, and that he returns with the respectful gratitude of British residents in India. Even Native opinion, which has been irritated and excited by some of his administrative acts, recognises his industry and talent. Lord is a considerable than the provider tribes was more forcible than his administrative acts, recognises his industry and talent. . . . Lord Elgin's language about the frontier tribes was more forcible than prudent. It is true that he purported to be defending them. But he called them wayward, excitable, and ignorant. They acted, he said, without cause. No sane man acts without a cause, and the Afridis certainly did not. They were alarmed for their own safety. They thought they were going to be annexed. Of course they ought to have well-omed the prospect, and recognised the priceless blessings of British rule. But their perversity was suon that they fought desperately for freedom. As Lord Elgin has chosen to bring up this subject once more, it becomes necessary to reassert the plain facts. It was the annexation of Chitral, and the driving of a military road through the Swat Valley, which made the Afridis rise, and led to that disastrous campaign. The late Government most carefully considered the whole matter. They took the best military advice, and they came to the unanimous conclusion that when the garrison and they came to the unanimous conclusion that when the garrison of Chitrel was relieved, the place should be evacuated. The present Government had not been many hours in office, when in the gaiety of their hearts, they reversed this decision. They knew nothing about the subject. But they thought that a cry of "No scuttle" would be good for the elections, and India could take care of itself. Lord George Hamilton, who had been made Secretary of State to catch votes in Lancashire, because he had opposed the cotton duties, poured ridicule upon Sir Henry Fowler's prediction that there would be serious trouble. The inhabitants of the Swat Valley were, he said, thirsting for annexation, and the tribes on the North-West frontier desired nothing more than absorption by the Paramount Power. This pernicious nonsense prevailed, and many valuable lives were sacrificed to the basest arts of vulgar electioneering. The one excuss for the Government was the unfortunate desire of the Vicercy and the Council for annexation. Lord Elgin weakly yielded to military pressure, which a stronger man would have resisted. It may be hoped that the Africid war has been the death-blow of the forward policy. There is no one left in India to urge it with the influence of Lord Roberts, Sir Henry Brackenbury, and Sir George White. The new Vicercy, who defended it in the House of Commons, goes out under the shadow of its utter and dismal failure. For the Afridis were not really subdued. The Government magnified the smallest signs of submission, and wisely declined a renewal of hostilities in the spring. Lord Curzon intimated at Bombay that he looked for a peaceful Vicercyalty. He can have it by steadily ignoring the aggressive designs of soldiers on their promotion. The relief of the famine was conducted with the highest skill, and the charitable contributions from this country were the largest ever known. Lord Elgin testifies to the great and beneficial effect which this manifestation of British charity produced. Lord George Hamilton interposed and they came to the unanimous conclusion that when the garrison of Chitrsl was relieved, the place should be evacuated. The present to the great and benchmal effect which this mannessame of the charity produced. Lord George Hamilton interposed an unwise delay, forgetful of the Latin proverb that he who gives quickly gives twice. But in the long run the money came, and was judiciously administered by the finest service in the world. The plague presented still graver difficulties. The sanitary conditions of Bombay, where it broke out, were frightful, and at Poona there were serious

obstruction to the entrance of British troops into Native houses. Sir William Gatacre had avoided this danger by the employment of Native soldiers, who knew how to respect the feelings of their countrymen. In Poona, or near Poona, there was a double murder of the most terrible kind, the victims being British officers who had only done their date. done their duty. The murderers were brought to justice, and nobody pitied them. Unfortunately proceedings were taken against a Native journalist for articles which, though strongly expressed, ought a Native journalist for articles which, though strongly expressed, ought to have been welcomed by the Government as indications of Native discontent. But there are people who think that all is well when discontent has been driven below the surface, and that is a view which almost always finds favour with the official mind. The prosecution of Mr. Tilak did more harm than good, and Lord Elgin should have peremptorily stopped it. The Viceroy's responsibility, however, is limited, and must not be substituted for that of the Secretary of State. Lord George Hamilton tried to shift the charge of bad faith in annexing the Swat Valley, after a promise to respect the independence of the tribes from his own shoulders to Lord Elgin's. "Are you," he said to the leaders of the Opposition, "are you going to accuse your own Viceroy of fraud?" The answer was and is that he and his colleagues had assumed liability by reversing the decision of their predecessors. It was never suggested that Lord Elgin did anything which he could not justify to his own conscience. (January 3.)

THE "DAILY CHRONICLE."

Lord Elgin's valedictory speech in India became him well. He did not shirk the truth as he sees it, and if it is not all the truth as it has presented itself to critics, both at home and in India, nobody will has presented itself to critics, both at home and in India, nobody will deny that he tried, like Henry Lawrence—like Englishmen generally—to do his duty. The most important passage in his speech last night in Calcutta is to be found at the end of it. He evidently dreads a very forward frontier policy on the part of Lord Curzon. He deprecates it at the moment he asks for confidence in the new Viceroy. After five trying years in India he is very far from advocating strong measures with the border tribes, or any disturbance of the recent settlements. And though he looks for periods of occasional unrest on the border he hints that further meddlesomeness is not likely to be conducive to repose. The great thing really is to secure the confidence of the tribesmen by a strict observance of the bargains that have been made, and this will in a very brief time prove far more effective than punitive expeditions pushed on with a view to securing more advanced positions for more and yet more troops which already overburden the poor people of India. For India is a poor country, as Lord Elgin shows inferentially throughout his speech. securing more advanced positions for more and yet more troops which already overburden the poor people of India. For India is a poor country, as Lord Elgin shows inferentially throughout his speech. The country cannot bear the stress of more taxation, and is, indeed, already groaning under the weight put upon it. Steady internal progress, especially by development through railways and irrigation, is what is needed, not highly speculative schemes which the London money market will not finance, except on terms India cannot afford to pay. . . And Lord Elgin gives no support to those who would have India ruled from the Olympus of Simla. He defends, indeed, the annual migration to the Hill States which officials in the old days used to do well enough without, but he holds that while administration may be effectively excepted from Simla real legislative work must be done at Calcutta, where the best Native opinion is so much more effectively brought to bear. And the legislative work for India will be, must be, more conductive to the well-being of the people of India in proportion as their solid sense is represented in the Council of the Governor-General. Whether there will come a time when India will have a representative system we can namer say than our Lord Elgin; but he does not be the total control of the Governor-General. Whether there will come a time when India will have a representative system we can no more say than can Lord Elgin; but he does not shut the door in the face of such a method of government, and neither will any friend of India. It may be, and perhaps is, true that some of those who officially stand for Native opinion are in their acts less favourable to the development of popular representation than many Englishmen who have devoted the best part of their lives to their adopted country; but nothing that has yet happened in India has sufficed to found a substantial argument against the proposition that every people has an innate consciousness of what is best for its daily wants apart altogether from its conceptions of broad lines of high policy. (January 3.) policy. (January 3.)

THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

Lord Elgin's farewell speech at Calcutta is one that can hardly fail to arouse much sympathy and admiration for its author. In less unfortunate times than the last five years have been for India Lord Elgin-would have made an ideal Viceroy. But it was his misfortune to have his period of office cast amid troubles more serious than any Viceroy before him has had to encounter since the Mutiny. A stronger man would have left his mark for better or worse on these five years. Lord Elgin has not, and it is the chief and only reproach to his Viceroyalty that he has not made history and has often shown himself the victim rather than the master of his circumstances. The greater part of his speech was devoted to the question of Indian finance, but for the most part he avoided the controversial tone and, so far as possible, controversial topies. His remarks on the Indian Lord Elgin's farewell speech at Calcutta is one that can hardly fail finance, but for the most part he avoided the controversial tone and, so far as possible, controversial topics. His remarks on the Indian frontier tribes were hardly so felicitous as other passages in his speech. The frontier tribes, he declared, are "wayward, wild, ignorant, and excitable." That is true enough so far as it goes; but nothing could be more misleading if this characterisation is put nothing could be more misleading if this characterisation is put nothing as a complete explanation of the late war, since it seems to imply that they provoked a war because they liked it. But the doctrine of original sin in the hill tribes will not explain the frontier war. The original sin was ours, not theirs. The Durand Agreement, which fixed a boundary between the Indian and Afghan spheres of influence, was the beginning of it all. Did it mean that ment, which fixed a boundary between the Indian and Afghan spheres of influence, was the beginning of it all. Did it mean that the Indian military frontier was to be pushed forward to the frontier of Afghanistan, and that the intervening tribes were to be subdued; or was it an arrangement merely intended to prevent any possibility of dispute with Afghanistan? People in England hardly troubled to ask the question at the time, but the tribesmen made up their minds that what was intended was the destruction of their own independence. Then followed the disturbances in Chitral and Sir R. Low's

march through Swat to the relief of the garrison. It was during this march that the famous promise was given to respect the independence of the tribes. This was virtually an assurance that the Durand Agreement was not a design on their independence. The Liberal Government endorsed that interpretation and ordered the evacuation of Chitral. The Tory Government reversed that decision and built the road to Chitral. The tribes, not only on the Chitral road but all along the frontier, interpreted this to mean that the Durand Agreement meant scoper or later the destruction of their own independence. atong the frontier, interpreted this to mean that the Durand Agree-ment meant sconer or later the destruction of their own independence, and the late war followed. Was this mere "waywardness" or "ignorance" on their part? On the contrary, it argued a pretty shrewd appreciation of the real situation on the North-West frontier. The "waywardness" was ours, inasmuch as we oscillated between two interpretations of the Durand Agreement, told the tribes that it meant one thing and acted as though it means another. (January 4.)

THE " MORNING LEADER."

Lord Elgin's speeches on the termination of his Viceroyalty are sure of a sympathetic audience in this country, and they undoubtedly contain more than one passage of real importance. There is for example, the admission that taxation in India has reached the maximum, and there is the significant warning to his successor against a policy of military adventure. What the speeches fail to do it is severely to the state of Picinia, Vicentia and the control of the second of the se against a policy of military adventure. What the speeches fail to do is to remove the fact that Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty has been a great disappointment to Liberals worthy of the name. The excellence of his intentions, and the kindness of his disposition are, indeeed, beyond is to remove the fact that Lord Elgin's Viceroyalty has been a great disappointment to Liberals worthy of the name. The excellence of his intentions, and the kindness of his disposition are, indeced, beyond dispute. But these things do not complete the equipment of a Viceroy of India. On the contrary, if he is weak enough to become the mere instrument of other men—of the Secretary of State, for example, and of the dominant military clique in the Viceroy's Council—his personal kindliness and capacity for the expression of unexceptionable sentiments only make him the more sinister catapaw. Something like this, we fear, has been Lord Elgin's unenviable fate. The universal premise of the Tory journals which cannot sufficiently extol his compliance is that he has had to deal with a series of unexampled difficulties. That the times have been troublous is not to be denied. But let us beware of exaggreation. The famine, and the plague for which it prepared the way, could not have been prevented by Lord Elgin's Government. But the disastrous war beyond the North-West frontier was due to the occupation of Chitral which Lord Elgin ought to have avoided, and there was no good reason why the troubles attending the plague should have been permitted to excite a panic culminating in injuitous Press prosecutions and repressive legislation of the most odious kind. Lord Elgin has no doubt, done a vast amount of hard work, and has been sorely tried during the past five years. But the trans-frontier war, the prosecution of Mr. Tilak and other journalists, the enactment of the new law of sedition, the imprisonment of the Natus without trial, the creation of intimidating "Press committees," and the attack upon local salif-governing bodies—these are blots upon his administrative record to which no personal qualities, however admirable, can blind the people of India or the student of politics. But if Lord Elgin's Viceroyal has been, upon the whole, a failure, it affords, for that very reason, some lessons for the future. The primary le Colvin showed in his evidence before Lord Welby's Commission, been concentrated more and more upon foreign, or trans-frontier affairs. It ought to be made easy for the Viceroy to be interested in, and to promote, a policy of internal development. But when all this has been done, the best safeguard for the Indian taxpayer must still be the vigilance of Parliament; and this will not be what it ought to be until the English taxpayer pays a fair share of the charges incurred by England and India in common. (January 4.)

THE "TIMES."

Lord Elgin, during a period of extraordinary trial and difficulty, has shown a remarkable amount of what is popularly known as "grit." His discharge of the duties of his position has not been has shown a remarkable amount of what is popularly known as "grit." His discharge of the duties of his position has not been sensational and showy, but it has displayed capacities for rule, both when initiative was needed and when reserve was obligatory, that have been conspicuously wanting in the career of more brilliant personages. It has fallen to Lord Elgin's lot to grapple with the most complicated and embarrassing financial problem that the Government of India has ever had to contront; with alarming developments of foreign policy, directly involving our Eastern Empire; with difficult and anxious frontier wars; with outbreaks of local disorder on a threatening scale; with famine in its worst form; and with a revival of the half-forgothen horrors of the true Oriental plague. After passing through this ordeal Lord Elgin comes out, not only without loss of credit, but with a very decided enhancement of his reputation. He has established his claim to a place among the tried and trusted administrators of the Empire, and his pretensions will hardly be disputed by any of either the official or the unofficial members of the Anglo-Indian community. To ellicit the unbiassed voice of Native opinion is not so easy, but there is no reason to believe that the retiring Viceroy, though he has had on more than one occasion to place himself in opposition to the wishes or the prejudices of the Native races, has alienated the sympathies of the main body of the Indian population. . The problem of Indian administration, regarded on the financial side, is brought within narrow limits by the practical impossibility, on which Lord Elgin insists, of meeting a

sudden crisis by any material increase of the burdens laid upon the people. Owing to the simplicity and the immobility of life in India, which is not inconsistent with a large measure of lowly comfort and which is not inconsistent with a large integrated in party commands contentment, new taxes are not to be thought of. This restricts the development of railways and public works, and, while it furnishes an additional reason for the introduction of capital from Europe, it makes it less easy to hold out the inducements the British investor is accustomed to look for. The disturbances, ending in war, upon the North-Western frontier had little to do with the everyday life of India. In his brief and studiously moderate reference to these events Lord Elgin deprecated the rekindling of bygone controversies. nor shall we depart from this good example. But there is a note of warning in the retiring Viceroy's observations on the character of the frontier problem, of which his successor would do well to take note.

THE "STANDARD."

We have to go back almost to the Mutiny year to find a Viceroy who has been more heavily tried. But Lord Elgin has proved equal who has been more heavily tried. But Lord Elgin has proved equal to the emergencies of his position, and he has the satisfaction of leaving India still faced, it is true, with many perplexing problems, but more peaceful and more prosperous than he found it. The plague has been fought successfully, and the famine has given occasion for an expression of tangible sympathy, on the part of the people of these Islands, which Lord Elgin thinks will have its permanent result in an improvement of feeling throughout the great Dependency. The war on the frontier is over, though it would be idle to say—with a new rising in the Chakdara district in progress—that all our troubles in the mountain region of the North-West are past. Indeed, as the retiring Viceroy reminds us, we must not indulge in false hopes with regard to that question. The Indian frontier we have always with us; and we cannot expect that our past. Indeed, as the retiring Vicercy reminds us, we must not indulge in false bopes with regard to that question. The Indian frontier we have always with us; and we cannot expect that our relations with half-savage tribes of mountainers, ignorant, suspicious, and excitable, will be satisfactory at all times. It is a problem which few men have had to consider more intimately than the retiring Vicercy, and his words are worth noting, especially by those who think that soft speeches and conciliatory measures may provide us with a cheap substitute for the services of the soldier. "It do not," says Lord Elgin, "myself believe we can, by any means available, altogether pervent the occurrence of outbreaks, sudden, unforeseen, almost unaccountable. All that can be done is to make such arrangements as will minimise dangers." the ex-Vicercy is justified in his opinion that little but a stable rate of exchange is required to set India moving rapidly on the way of material progress. What it most needs is capital. The people are laborious, their labour is cheap, and the Government is efficient and enterprising; but capital must be attracted from abroad. India cannot afford to pay too high a price for this indispensable adjunct to future production; she cannot pledge her resources in advance, or lay upon a population already sufficiently burdened too many fresh obligations. But Lord Elgin sees no reason why, in the natural course of things, some of the spare capital, always seeking investment at a moderate return in Great Britain, should not naturally flow into our Eastern Empire. The potential resources of the Peninsula are enormous, the soil is fertile, the communications are being rapidly extended, and above all, industry can be carried on in perfect security under the protection of English law and English administration. In the meanwhile it is the Government which, for some time to come, is 'under the protection of English law and English administration. In the meanwhile it is the Government which, for some time to come, is likely to be the chief factor in the economic development of the country; and Lord Elgin characteristically suggests that the greatest improvement achieved during his term of office has been the institution of the annual Railway Conference. It is to be hoped that Lord Curzon will find time, amid his purely political pre-occupations to carry on the work of internal reconstruction, to which the late to carry on the work of internal reconstruction, to which the late Vicercy devoted himself with so much conscientiousness and success. (January 3.)

THE "ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE."

Michelet said that England had produced few great statesmen, and that this want is to her credit, because the vigour of her institutions enables her to dispense with the exceptional man of the stamp of Richelieu, Colbert, or Louvois. There is truth in this, as there usually is in his paradoxes, and it is with no intention of disrespect to Lord Elgin, and still less to the British Empire, that we quote the outgoing Viceroy as a case in point. When Lord Elgin went to India because another greatleman bad declined the post after accepting it, few knew anything about him, except that he was one of the small body of Glad-founin peers, that nothing elga was known, to his ing it, few knew anything about him, except that he was one of the small body of Glad-tonian peers, that nothing else was known to his discredit, and that his father had held the post of Viceroy with honour. Now, when Lord Elgin retires, it is with a well-deserved reputation for having administered a great Empire through troubled years with a success which all acknowledge. And this he has done by no dazZing display of original genius, but by loyalty to duty, by dint of that homespun good sense which is so excellent for wear, and dint of that homespun good sense which is so excellent for wear, and by the help of one of those institutions which the race shapes as naturally as bees make homespoonly—namely, the Civil Service of India, with its great tradition. The parting between Lord Elgin and his "subjects" at Calcutta, which, as became Englishmen, was after a complimentary dinner, was a fine scene, with no silly sentiment or aspouring about it, but on the contrary, a wholesome practical sense chiefly concerned with facts. Compare it to the Marchand dinner at Cairo, and you have a fair means of discovering "à quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons." (January 3.)

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

Lord Elgin went to India five years ago an unknown man. People were puzzled, and with some reason, to understand how it came to pass that a Government committed to an attitude of hostility to the hereditary principle should find a Viceroy of India in a peer whose sole claim seemed to consist in the fact that his father had been Viceroy before him. Experience, however, has abundantly justified the appointment, and Lord Elgin will be remembered as a Viceroy who did his duty thoroughly in the face of exceptional difficulties. Plague, famine, financial embarrasement, internal disaffection and disorder, ardnous frontier campaigns, and general developments of international policy calculated to cause grave anxiety for the safety of

our Indian Empire, such are the landmarks of his lustrum. The highest praise that can be bestowed upon the retiring Viceroy is to be found in the fact that the previously untried man returns from his charge with the reputation of an administrator well worthy to take rank among those who run the biggest show on earth—the British Empire. It is in "that eternal want of pence"—in spite of the forthcoming thumping surplus—that the supreme difficulty of Indian administration lies. Money is wanted badly; and yet we cannot invent new imposts for a population which reduced life to its simplest expression thousands of years ago. There are no bicycles or sparkling wines in use among the simple inhabitants of the mud villages amid the plains of corn. Hence the restriction of administrative enterprise in the matter of railways and other public works. Nevertheless, the plains of corn. Hence the restriction of administrative enterprise in the matter of railways and other public works. Nevertheless, there is safe and sound investment for British and other capital in India; and it would be only reasonable that the districts which are benefited by railway construction should indirectly contribute to the cost of what increases their own profits. Lord Eigin concluded his farewell speech with a veiled, but not obscure, reference to the attitude rarewest speech with a vessed, out not obscare, retreated to the statistical friends at home towards his frontier policy. On certain points he "would have liked to say something," but loyally abstained from fanning dormant flames of controversy. That is in harmony with the prudence which has characterised his career in India.

ET CAETERA.

Lord George Hamilton, M.P., left King's-cross on Tuesday evening on a visit to the Earl of Wharncliffe, at Wortley Hall, Sheffield.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling and family have made arrangements to leave London on the 25th inst. for America, and will travel from Liverpool by the "Majestic."

The Fowler Committee on Indian Finance will (says the London Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian) resume its meetings from the 10th inst., and after examining the remaining witnesses will proceed to work on its report, which, I hear. ing witnesses win proceed to what or June. All doubt is really at an end as to the finding of the Committee, which, I am assured on excellent authority, will almost certainly be unfavourable to bimetallism or the reopening of the mints and in favour of the effective introduction of the gold standard.

There will be (the same writer says) some important official changes at the India Office almost immediately. Major General Sir O. R. Newmarch is retiring from the head of the Military Department, and already there are several candidates in the field, of whom the favourite seems to be Sir Edwin Collen, military member of the Vicercy's Council. It is also understood that when Sir James Westland, the Finance Minister in India, comes home in March he will go to the Secretary of State's Council, but in what capacity is not yet

One of the many societies which Lady Curzon, as Viceroine of India, will be asked to support is (says the Daily Chronicle) the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian Art. In India, as in other Eastern countries, there is a tendency to supersede original Oriental designs by copies of incongruous Western patterns, and the work thus loses its charm of distinction and character. It is to combat this tendency that the Society was formed. Though it is a difficult matter to fight the spirit of commercial competition, the Society is design group, both by influencing the tage-bine in the Netico. is doing much, both by influencing the teaching in the Native art schools of India and by trying to encourage a taste for genuine Indian art work among European purchasers. Native Indian wares—inlaid silver and brass, carved ivory and sandal-wood, silks, embroidered muslins, some curious iron ware, inlaid with silver and jewellery—are imported by the Society, and samples of these are on view at the Misses Woollan's, 28, Brook Street. Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff is president of the Society, and among its vice-presidents are Lady Dufferin, Lord Roberts of Kandahar, Sir James Linton, Lord Napier, Val Prinsep, R.A., and many of the Native princes of India. Many well-known Anglo-Indians are members of the Council. Those who are interested in the objects of the Society may hear more about its work by writing to the secretary, Miss Du Maurier, 5, Abbey Gardens, N.W. is doing much, both by influencing the teaching in the Native

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

In consequence of the Christmas holidays political meetings have necessarily been suspended during the past few days.

On Monday next, January 9, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal will address a meeting at Ealing (Lord George Hamilton's constituency) upon "England's Responsibility for India."

On Wednesday, January 11, a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee will address a meeting at Torquay.

On January 16, 17, 18 and 19, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will address a further series of meetings in Lancashire.

The British Committee is purchasing a number of photographic slides for lantern lectures on Indian politics.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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2. Dacca	Dacca District	Babu Sarat Chandra Bose, Pleader, Rajar Deory, Dacca.
8. Maimansingh	Maimansingh District	Babu Anath Bendhu Guha, Sec., Maimansingh Association, Maimansingh.
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