

# India

FOR THE

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WEEK ENDING FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1901.

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## NOTES AND NEWS.

**T**HE Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated October 7:

Little or no rain has fallen except in Burma, Bengal, Madras, Bombay Decan, and situation gives cause for anxiety in Punjab, North-Western Provinces (West), Rajputana, Indore, Kathiawar, where rain is wanted in order to avert widespread failure unirrigated autumn crops, as well as enable spring sowings. For latter purpose one month remains within which a fall would be of immense benefit. Prices are rising in tracts above-mentioned, but not to alarming extent; falling Deccan. Prospects good in Madras, Bengal, Bombay Deccan; fair to good Central Provinces and the greater portion of North-Western Provinces. Number of famine relief recipients shows a decrease of 31,000 in Bombay, mainly, it is believed, in consequence of enforcement of stricter terms on works. Numbers in receipt of relief.—Bombay, 203,000; Bombay Native States, 31,000; Baroda, 29,000; Haidarabad, 4,000; Madras, nil; Central India States, 1,000; Mysore, 3,000—total, 361,000.

This is bad news, and may well be the forerunner of worse. We still await the re-opening of the Mansion House Fund.

Among the most recent signatories of the Indian Famine Union's Memorial, praying for enquiry into the causes of famine, are the Marquess of Winchester, Lord Aberdare, Lord Keane, General Sir Andrew Clarke, Colonel H. B. Hanna, Mr. Edward Bond, M.P., Mr. R. Cameron, M.P., Mr. Wingfield-Digby, M.P., Mr. Alfred Emmott, M.P., Mr. Samuel Evans, M.P., Sir Walter Foster, M.P., Sir W. Brampton Gurdon, M.P., Mr. A. H. Heath, M.P., Mr. J. D. Hope, M.P., Sir James Kitson, M.P., Colonel Hon. Heneage Legge, M.P., Mr. Chas. McArthur, M.P., Dr. T. J. Macnamara, M.P., Mr. J. Lloyd Morgan, M.P., Mr. Chas. Morley, M.P., Mr. J. J. O'Shea, M.P., Mr. Humphreys Owen, M.P., Mr. H. J. Reckitt, M.P., Mr. Edmund Robertson, K.C., M.P., Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P., Mr. C. E. Shaw, M.P., Mr. Courtenay Warner, M.P., the Dean of Gloucester, Rev. Dr. G. S. Barrett, Rev. Canon MacColl, Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, Rev. Chas. Voysey, Sir Aured Newton, Mr. Edgar Speyer (Messrs. Speyer Brothers), Mr. E. Lazarus (Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris), Dr. R. Spence Watson, Mr. Alex. Wedderburn, K.C., Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh Bonner, and the Chairman of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce.

On Wednesday next, at the Polytechnic Parliament, Regent Street, Mr. J. Stanley will move, and Mr. F. Thomas will second, a motion: "That in the opinion of this House, the intense poverty and privation experienced by the Indian people, and the hundreds of thousands of premature deaths, are the outcome of a bad system of government and the reckless expenditure of revenue for purposes of no benefit to either the country of India or the people of England."

Next Wednesday Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji will give an address on India to the Brixton Literary and Discussion Society. To-night (Friday) Mr. Ramesh Dutt, C.I.E., is speaking at Liverpool on "Indian Famines: their causes and how to prevent them." The chair will be taken by Sir Edward Russell.

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The Eleventh Bombay Provincial Conference, which was held at the Framji Cowasji Institute on September 14-15, dealt with a long series of resolutions, all of immediate interest, and some of pressing importance. The resolution on the Land Revenue Act expressed profound regret that a measure of such wide-reaching consequence "should have been passed with extreme precipitation through the Local Legislative Council in spite of earnest and emphatic protests from all parts of the Presidency," and in spite of "the fact that the reason given at the first reading of the Bill for haste had ceased to exist"; and it embodied a strong opinion that such legislation should have been based on "a careful preliminary enquiry into the condition of the agricultural population of the Presidency." Looking forward, the resolution proceeded in these terms:—

That the Conference is clearly of opinion that the Bill, so far from bringing any relief or rendering any assistance to agriculturists, is likely to do them great injury by making the collection of land revenue even more stringent than it is at present, by hastening the expropriation of those who are heavily indebted to sowkars; and that the only party likely to benefit by the Bill is the Government, whose revenue will now be collected with increased rigour, who, in those cases which will come under the new law, will acquire absolute ownership for a year's assessment or so of lands worth several times the assessment, and who will in course of time be enabled to claim for the State absolute ownership of land.

It further urged that the Government had made out no case whatever for taking away from survey settlement lands "the perpetuity tenure which under the Land Revenue Code of 1879 is an inseparable incident of such lands"; and it regarded "with grave concern the wide discretionary powers which the Bill confers upon the Executive Government in the matter of determining the character of the tenure, the period of leases, and the amount of assessment in the case of lands which will come under the new law." The next resolution approved cordially of the protest of the Native members of the Legislative Council by withdrawal.

A resolution on the subject of the Famine noted "with satisfaction" that Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission "has endorsed the objections urged by leading exponents of public opinion in the Presidency against the famine policy of the Bombay Government in the matter of suspensions and remissions of land revenue, and the concentration of famine labour on large relief works," and endorsed the Commission's scheme for providing relief for aboriginal tribes in time of famine. Another resolution, dealing with the urgency of further financial decentralisation, urged that the responsibility of the Financial Administration of the different provinces should be left "principally to the Local Governments, the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed portion of its revenues, levied in accordance with some definite equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance except in the cases contemplated in Lord Ripon's Resolution on the subject." The object, of course, is "to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty and that advantage arising from the normal expansion of the revenues which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and in the satisfactory administration of the different provinces."

Another resolution reviews the District Municipal Act. The Conference recognised that it is free from many of the objectionable provisions of the Bill of 1899, and especially that "the administrative sections are a great improvement over the old law." But it "records its regret (1) that the new Act does not make express statutory provision for extending the scope of the elective franchise, at least in the case of City municipalities, (2) that it introduces for the

first time considerations of class and creed in the distribution of seats thrown open to election, and (3) that it adds to the list of the obligatory duties of municipal bodies when the resources of these bodies were inadequate for the efficient discharge of their obligatory duties even under the old law." A special protest is made against saddling the municipalities with the costs of famine and of plague. Four resolutions are devoted to much needed reforms in the administration of Sind.

The President, Mr. Tahilram Kemchand, C.I.E., delivered a very comprehensive and able address, dealing most fully with the various questions of current interest from the point of view of Sind. He did not like the Municipal Act, but he congratulated the Conference that it was not "a very retrograde measure." On the reservation of the power to nominate one half of the members of a municipality, which was justified in 1884 on the ground of the need of the representation of influential minorities, Mr. Kemchand said:—

Whatever the views may be as to the best method of securing the representation of minorities—whether the best method is to follow the system that prevails in Bombay, or to allow communities as such to return their own members—there can be no manner of doubt that this representation of minorities should not be in substitution of election by ratepayers, and the Act should have made it quite clear that the minimum half guaranteed by the Act was not to be treached upon by any executive action.

Especially in the case of City municipalities. With regard to the operation of the Land Act in Sind, Mr. Kemchand is not hopeful. He gives his reasons at length, and this is his summary conclusion:—

Thus the abundance of land, scarcity of labour, expenses involved in cultivation and risks attendant, which are so great that one failure of crops would necessitate resort to borrowing—all these point to the conclusion that no measure calculated to frighten capital will do, and that restriction on transfer can hardly be a suitable remedy for Sind, and that any unnecessary and unreasonable difficulties in the way of the sowkar will, far from benefiting the zemindar, recoil on him and retard cultivation.

The Land Revenue Act, then, "has as little justification in the circumstances of Sind as in the circumstances of agricultural life in the Presidency proper." Mr. Kemchand defends the Sind Zemindar and rayat from the charge of extravagance, but the charge seems to bear a charmed life. He attributes "the morass of debt" into which the rayat has been "hopelessly plunged" to "the rack-renting revenue system," which ground him down, and to "the policy of illiberal and exacting suspension and remission of revenue," which further harassed and molested him. How to get him out of it, then?

The problem can only be solved when the State moderates its demand for assessments, and discourages those "scientific refinements in the work of assessment" which, as Lord Salisbury has observed in his Minute of 26th April, 1875, "are a natural exercise of the intellect in highly cultivated officers, but which weary the rayat, distribute the burden of the State with needless inequality, and impose a costly machinery on the State." It is in this statesmanlike solution alone that freedom from debt can be safely secured to the peasant in future. All other action, legislative and executive, is foredoomed to failure.

These are but one or two of the many points in Mr. Kemchand's statesmanlike address.

The blockade of the Mahsuds has now lasted for over nine months, and they are reported to be in great straits. The original period fixed for the blockade was eighteen months. Yet there are already rumours, according to the "Pioneer," that a punitive expedition is to be substituted. This would no doubt please the supporters of the old frontier policy, but there are many reasons against it. First, it is the next six months that will be most trying to the blockaded Mahsuds. Secondly, in their present condition they would welcome an expedition, for some of them could then pose as friendlies and sell provisions to the troops. Above everything our contemporary calls upon the Government to avoid sending out small bodies of men which might be cut off, and thus necessitate still further punitive expeditions. But it is probable that in the present position of both Indian and English finance there is every desire on the part of those in authority to keep the frontier quiet.

The "Pioneer" in a note on Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's book on the "Poverty of India" blames him for taking as his "stock line of argument" a comparison between the

wealth of England and of India. Those who have read Mr. Naoroji's book, which the "Pioneer" does not pretend to have done, know that such a comparison is only one among a multitude of arguments which the author brings forward to show the evil economic state of his country. It is, however, curious that another Anglo-Indian newspaper, the "Englishman," does exactly what Mr. Naoroji is incorrectly accused of. After mentioning three factors to account for the inefficiency of our administration in India it names a fourth—the "final and fundamental one"—the relative poverty of the Indian people; and it proves this poverty by a comparison of wages, the average of the unskilled worker in India being eight rupees a month compared with 60 in England. The Indian labourer can live on eight rupees only by living according to the standard of his own country. Lack of funds is an insuperable difficulty to the raising of this standard. "That Rs.8 a month cannot pay for the same order, administration and sanitation as Rs.60 is self-evident, and the question arises whether we are not trying to make it do so." In other words, our system of government is too expensive for the country.

The "Pioneer," however, does not confine itself to negative criticism. It suggests that, instead of comparing the economic situation of India with that of England, one should make a comparison with Russia. This is an excellent suggestion which has already been forestalled in the pages of this journal. For instance, in the lecture given by Mr. S. H. Swinny at Petersfield, and reported in our issue of November 16 last, there was a comparison between the economic position of India and that of the two European countries which suffered most from famine in the nineteenth century, and it was shown that while Russia was impoverished from the great proportion of her people depending on agriculture and the cost of administration and consequent heaviness of taxation in relation to the resources of the country, Ireland, in addition to the first of these burdens, was subject to a terrible drain of wealth without economic return. Now all these three evils, two of which afflict Ireland and two Russia, are found combined in India, which suffers from (1) a want of manufactures and employment outside of agriculture; (2) costly administration and heavy taxation; and (3) a great economic drain, the tribute paid to England.

There are three fallacies concerning India and the Indians which are being constantly repeated—especially by those who profess great knowledge of the country. One is that the Native States are much inferior in order and prosperity to the parts of India directly under British rule. Another is the unfitness of Indians for the higher administrative and executive functions. And the third is their peculiar incompetence in all matters connected with the development of industry. They may do very well as subtle theorists or as eloquent orators, but they are quite incompetent for industrial and economic improvements. To all those who still believe in these stale fallacies, we could recommend a study of the career of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. Under his excellent rule Mysore advanced both in good government and prosperity. The revenue so rose during his administration that in place of a liability of 30 lakhs, there were by 1895 net assets of over 176 lakhs in its favour.

But it was in the direct encouragement of industry that he was particularly noted. The gold-mining industry under his fostering care became a great source of revenue to the State. The greatest of all his schemes, however, was that "for harnessing the Sivasamudra Falls and making them subserv the use of man"—a scheme which already promises a great success. But he was not so much occupied with these plans of material improvement as to neglect the work of education, and especially of female education. In every way he deserved the encomium of the "Times of India" which refers to him as both a remarkable man and a statesman. Assuredly he was a man of whom all Indians may well be proud.

There has been of late a tendency on the part of the Indian Government to summon conferences to consider important subjects. The success of the railway conference has suggested to the "Pioneer" the advisability of assembling

ling one to consider the state of the Police. Meantime, the "Times of India" reports some remarks of Mr. R. Brereton, I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police in the West Provinces, which may be taken as a defence of that much abused body. He points out that the defects of the Police are in part indigenous, in part due to the action of Government, as in the smallness of the pay. But this hardly puts the matter fairly. All countries are more or less dissatisfied with their police. The peculiar danger in India is the union of old and bad traditional methods with a power such as the police never wielded before. The British Government is immensely strong for executing its will. The weakness of former Governments in some measure counteracted the evil ways of their police.

Mr. J. N. Tata is the man of "Men of Industry" in the August issue of the "Indian Import and Export Trades Journal." The main enterprises of his active career, many of them merely enumerated, suffice to fill several columns. The outstanding labours of Mr. Tata are connected with the expansion of the mill industry, in which he has not merely increased the number of spindles at work, but also led the way to the production of woven goods as fine as Manchester's. The writer tells of Mr. Tata's experiments with long-staple cotton, and of his victorious contest in the war of freights waged between himself and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (the premier Japanese Steamship Company) on the one hand and the combined forces of the P. and O., the Austrian Lloyd's, and the Rubattino Company on the other. He also gives due prominence to Mr. Tata's great patriotic project of a Research University. Besides:—

Contracts in connexion with the Abyssinian War, which put the Tata family firmly on its feet once more [after the financial crisis of the middle sixties]. . . . The reclamation of Back Bay, in which he had Messrs. Cameron and Ryan as partners: the venture was a decided success. . . . Mr. Gordhudas Gokuldas Tejpal is now promoting the formation of an Indian Steamship Company, of which Mr. Tata has accepted the chairmanship. . . . He is largely interested in building operations in Bombay. . . . He has been chiefly instrumental in introducing the silk industry, after the Japanese method, in Mysore. He has already acquired licenses from the Government of the Central Provinces for working the iron mines of Lohara and Pulpugaon. He is interested in a scheme for converting water-power into electric power at Lanouli and elsewhere. . . . The great hotel which is nearing completion on the Reclamation, near Apollo Bunder. . . . Experiments relating to artesian wells at Naasari [his birthplace].

Such are leading episodes in "a remarkably strenuous life."

"The special quality which has conduced the most to Mr. Tata's success in life," says the writer, "has been the patience of his preliminary investigations. No time is too precious, no cost too great, in his eyes, to be spent in investigating thoroughly and from all possible points of view the conditions necessary to make a project successful." Add his native perspicacity, tenacity, and industry. Though Mr. Tata has no time to be a politician, he has shown that he entertains statesmanlike views on questions that touch industry and commerce and Imperial relations. For example, he remarked to a "Daily News" correspondent in 1896:—

This question [of the excise duty] is rapidly displaying itself as a mere outcome of that miserable and absolutely false spirit of Imperialism which is only another name for selfishness, and which will eventually be the ruin, not only of India, but of the whole British Empire. Twenty or thirty years ago your Government was not infected by this wretched spirit as it is now. . . . Your Imperialism has regard only for the Englishman; the real and true spirit of Imperialism regards the Native equally with the home-born Britisher.

Mr. Tata has the charge against both "Conservative and Radical Governments alike," and his words are still more markedly true to-day than they were five years ago; witness the consistency of the present Government and Mr. Asquith's latest speech. We might also recall Mr. Tata's views on the Currency question, which appeared in *INDIA*, December, 1893 (Vol. iv, p. 362). The writer also does well to mention that "Mr. Tata has the faculty, far too rare in India"—and as rare elsewhere, too, as great men are rare—"of choosing good men as his assistants, and the art of retaining them in his service by good treatment."

Faith in himself, faith in the future of his country, and faith in education as the best and only means of ensuring that future, constitute the crowning conviction of Mr. Tata's career, for which all friends of India will earnestly invoke the gifts of length of days and abounding happiness and prosperity.

The "Observer" a few days ago (writes a correspondent) had a short leading article and a correspondent's communication, each of peculiar interest in their bearing on the haute politique of our Indian Empire. The correspondent's note, under the headline "The Cost of Administering an Indian Province," stated that Lord Curzon had "formed a decision on the long-pending and much discussed question of Berar," which province, as we are reminded, was "assigned us" by the Nizam "fifty [? forty] years ago for certain specific purposes"—under circumstances, one may add, of peculiar political harshness. Much is said by the writer as to the statesmanlike quality manifested in Lord Curzon's treatment of, and, as we are assured, final decision regarding this historical political difficulty. But no definite explanation is given of its terms or of the principle on which this tardy concession or restitution proceeds. For instance, one misses that saving term of political equity "rendition." But subject to reserve in that regard, everyone who realises our true imperial obligations will rejoice to know that Lord Curzon has signalled his reign by a great act of political justice, thereby redressing the wrong done under the malign counsels of Lord Dalhousie.

The "Observer's" own article, headed "The Federation of India," takes a much wider sweep, making only incidental reference to the kingdom of Hyderabad, somehow by way of connecting the subject of its expenditure with that of the Berar's surpluses. The article is so far useful in that it comprises mention of the chief statistics of area, population, and finance of the six hundred and fifty principalities and chieftainships that make up "India of the Rajahs"—to adopt M. Rousset's phrase intended as a collective term for native-ruled India, though this necessarily includes the premier State, that of H.H. the Nizam, also the few Nawabs that are left. The "Observer" remarks "these States have been classed [by whom?] under fifteen heads." But the classification does not seem clear either on a political or an ethnographic basis. The phrase, "The Federation of India" suggests large ideas of Imperialism, but when one is told that the "preliminary step" towards that ideal is "the establishment of councils of the nature of county councils," it feels like being dropped into the bathos of parochialism.

It should be generally known that most, if not all Indian States, including many of small dimensions, though of ancient lineage, have councils in some form with both executive and administrative functions over which the Prince or his Dewan presides. Federation of these would be a difficult if not an incongruous policy. But at the time of the grand Delhi pageant of 1877, under the poetic auspices of Lord Lytton, an institution of the Federal order was duly inaugurated, with its proper titles and insignia. This was described as the "Counsellors of the Empire," the constitution and functions of which were duly promulgated in the "Gazette of India" at the time. All this has been set out and explained in the columns of *INDIA* so long since as 1893 and by various subsequent allusions has been kept alive. It would be eminently suitable for an ancient journal, with imperial traditions such as the "Observer" may claim, to address itself to the task of reviving and giving effective life to this project by which the rulers of the Indian kingdoms and principalities would be called into the exercise of new and wider responsibilities. At what date and under what circumstances does Lord Curzon propose to summon to his aid these "Counsellors of the Empire"?

Remittances on India for 45 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs.6,24,75,000 were received at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds. and 1s. 4d. The following amounts in bills were allotted, viz., Rs.35,52,000 on Calcutta, Rs.3,57,000 on Bombay, and Rs.5,91,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3.066d. Tenders at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds will receive about 7 per cent. Last week remittances for Rs.40,55,334 were sold for £269,840, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs.9,78,43,987, producing £6,496,138. Next week the amount to be offered will be increased to 50 lakhs.

## THE DEATH OF THE AMIR.

THE death of the Amir of Afghanistan, though apparently somewhat sudden, need not have caused any surprise. It was only an exceptional vigour of physique that carried him through his severe illness a few years back, and it was well known—at any rate by such as had an interest in knowing the fact—that any day might witness a vacancy in the Afghan throne. The Continental critics, who do not waste their love on Great Britain, may see, or fancy they see, a choice variety of troubles in store for us in consequence of the unfortunate, if inevitable, event; but there can be no doubt that the British policy is cut and dried, in any event. The Amir himself, with deliberation and prevision, had long fostered his plans for the quiet transmission and secure maintenance of his throne. His eldest son, Habibullah Khan, whom he had by his acts designated as his successor, has been proclaimed Amir without a whisper of dissent. There does not seem to be any cloud of menace on the horizon, nor, on the whole, any reason to expect one.

It is scarcely a year since we outlined the career and character of Abdur Rahman in noticing his Autobiography, published last autumn (INDIA, vol. xiv, p. 269). In his time of adversity, he bore a high and resolute spirit. When fortune at last smiled, he proved himself a powerful ruler and a sagacious statesman. So broken and crushed was the country in 1880, when the British Government recognised him as Amir, that only a most capable and determined man could have fitted and welded the pieces together. Lord Hartington, in a despatch of May, 1880, described the results of two campaigns. "All that has yet been accomplished," he said, from our point of view, "has been the disintegration of a State which it was desired to see strong, friendly, and independent, the assumption of fresh and unwelcome liabilities in regard to one of its provinces [Kandahar], and a condition of anarchy throughout the remainder of the country." And, from the Amir's point of view, each of these points involved a multitude of the most trying difficulties. Yet his strong hand gradually evolved order out of the chaos; and the only serious internal trouble that menaced arose from the attempt of Ishak Khan in 1888. Admittedly, his methods were not a little rough and ready, and he himself offered some defence, not altogether irrelevant, against the opinion of "prejudiced and ignorant people" who judged him "harsh." As Sir John Kaye said, "we cannot rein wild horses with silken bonds."

Having ensured peace, Abdur Rahman resolved to build up prosperity. It was not enough, "after fifteen years of fighting," to have "put an end to numberless robbers, thieves, false prophets, and trumpety kings"; he would raise the arts of industry on the ruins of militarism. Not that he would neglect such military preparations as he might conceive necessary to support his throne and to maintain Afghan independence; for he established great works to provide himself with war material of every description. But withal he encouraged industry in every form; and in his Autobiography he set out a proud narrative of progress in the industrial arts—in tannery, blacksmith's work, boot-making, soap-making, tailoring, printing, electrical engineering, and so forth. Not only did he occupy the minds of his people with something other than fighting, but he discerned, clearly enough so far, how both he and they were to gain by the novel practice. Speaking of the leather industry, for example, he pointed out this: "the money which was being sent annually abroad for the purchase of boots, leather-belt, harness, and other articles, now remains in the country, which is a distinct advantage." Every aspect of industry interested him, and he was always turning over in his mind fresh ideas and experiments. He made no secret of his liking for British instructors. For one thing, he believed they knew best how to teach what he wanted his people to learn. For another thing, he had a wise political motive: "to bring my people and the English in contact with each other, so that the old hatred that existed between these two nations should be removed from their minds, as our Governments were friendly with each other and the interests of both Governments were identical." There is no question whatever that the Amir exerted himself to govern well; nor is there any doubt that he has done an immense deal to beat his warriors' spears into pruning-hooks. Not within histori-

cal times has the social condition of the country undergone so beneficent transformation as during his reign.

Nor did the Amir make any mystery of his foreign policy. Afghanistan he likened to "a goat between the two lions," or to a grain of wheat between the two millstones. What was his chief concern? Of course, the independence of his country. Obviously, then, he must make friends with the less rapacious of the lions. He put the situation quite plainly:—

The policy of Afghanistan towards her two strong neighbours should be friendly towards the one which is least aggressive and hostile to the Power wishing to pass through her country or interfere with her independence. Afghanistan must not, however, by her actions provoke either of her neighbours, neither must she allow either of them to enter her country under any pretence whatever, no matter what treaties or promises they make.

Having chosen his line of policy—the only rational line open to him—the Amir adhered to it steadily. No doubt, he now and again wanted more than he could reasonably get, or even hope to get, from the British Government, and he did not scruple to complain of British inconstancy and vacillation—"fits and changes" of policy. He even avowed that he had "more causes of complaint against England than against Russia." The "mania of a Forward policy" disturbed him—a policy that he has described in scathing terms—a policy whose official instruments "have caused misunderstandings between Great Britain and Afghanistan on several occasions, and have annexed, or tried to annex, certain Afghan tribes, calling them neutral or independent of Afghan rule." The Durand agreement and the consequent delimitation of boundaries was intensely repugnant to him. Yet he saw clearly where his right course lay, and took care not to allow his annoyance to deflect him from it. We do not forget the charges of complicity in the recent frontier outbreaks, but we have seen already that in no single case was any trustworthy evidence advanced by his accusers or traducers. If such accusers were to take their stand at the Amir's point of view, what would they say of our frontier expeditions, and of our energy in pushing roads and railways up to the Afghan boundary?

Altogether, Abdur Rahman was a strangely remarkable man and potentate. Perhaps the most penetrating and instructive analysis of his mind and character, in brief compass, is that given by the "Manchester Guardian" (October 8):—

An earnest patriot, conscious of his country's faults and weaknesses; capable of almost incredible cruelty, yet full of the highest and most philosophic conceptions of the kingly office; a man of action and intensely practical genius, yet with a strain of mysticism and romance in his nature; superstitious, and yet a determined foe of priestly rule; deeply interested in modern science and mechanical progress, anxious to use these weapons for the advancement of his country, and yet never forgetting for a moment that they were all double-edged tools, which must be employed with caution by a young country surrounded by powerful and ambitious neighbours, Abdur Rahman was a born ruler of men, one of the great men of action who can exalt the gifts of mother-wit and rich common-sense into positive genius.

The new Amir, Habibullah, impressed Lord Curzon (when Mr. Curzon, on his Central Asia travels) as a man of "extremely good abilities." We are not aware of any dissent from this judgment, at any rate on the part of those entitled by knowledge to an opinion. He has been carefully and judiciously trained by his astute father. He has governed provinces; he has acted as his father's representative at Kabul itself. The people have become familiarised with the idea of his succession. There does not appear to be any rival that would stand any chance in a contest for the crown. Muhammad Umar, the son of the Queen-Mother, need hardly be considered now Gholam Haidar Khan is in his grave. Ayub Khan is a prisoner at Rawal Pindi, and it may be presumed that the Indian Government will take care that he shall not have any opportunity of disturbing the quiet of Habibullah. Ishak Khan, who tried conclusions with Abdur Rahman himself, and who has been for a dozen years a refugee in Russian territory, is the only visible source of mischief. He might, indeed, be used as a Russian catspaw. But it is not so clear that the Russian Government wants in any way to interfere. The closer the Russians have viewed the Afghan territory the less attractive it appears to have become to them. If any sudden activity of Russian troops be developed in the neighbourhood of Afghanistan, we may safely rely upon it that there is no intention to menace that country, but only the usual move-

...Asia in Central A  
 it no more truly affirmed that here is one  
 compensations of the deplorable South African  
 that we are in no trim to meet the Russians on the banks  
 of the Oxus? If Russia attempts to lay hands on Afghan-  
 istan—which she certainly will not—then so much the  
 worse for Russia. If civil war break out in Afghanistan—  
 which is by no means likely—our obvious course is to look  
 on at a distance: the winner will necessarily in the end  
 gravitate to the position of Abdur Rahman.

“ K I M . ” \*

A CRITIC in last week's "Academy" hit upon the true  
 word for Mr. Kipling's latest book when he called it  
 "the cinematograph of a nation." A new word for a  
 new thing. The word cinematograph is only some five  
 years old. The scientific invention which reproduces for  
 us the life and movement of a crowd is not newer than the  
 literary art which can convey a similar impression by  
 words. There has been something like it before—one  
 thinks of the scenes in Carlyle's "French Revolution," for  
 instance—but never before has there been precisely this  
 thing—this animated jostling crowd, laughing, talking, eat-  
 ing, swearing, praying before our eyes, each member of  
 the crowd distinct in feature and accent from the rest. The  
 influence of photography is as patent in our literature as in  
 our art; for surely it must be photography that has inspired  
 this love of minute, complex, and accurate detail to which  
 such a volume as "Kim" bears witness. One wonders  
 what future generations will be able to make of such a  
 book. Will they have the key to its perpetual allusiveness?  
 Will they comprehend its shorthand methods of  
 speech, gather the drift of its unfinished conversations? Or  
 will their commentators go hopelessly astray and make its  
 obscurities still more obscure by a hundred ingeniously er-  
 roneous interpretations? At least, if it is able to construe  
 the text, posterity will have in its possession a marvellous  
 record of life in India at the present day.

There is Kim, first of all, the gamin of genius, the  
 Friend of All the World—son of Kimball O'Hara, a young  
 colour-sergeant of an Irish regiment and an English wife—  
 a white, but "of the poorest of the whites," left an orphan  
 in infancy, and brought up by a dark woman in the bazaar  
 at Lahore. His dying father's prediction that "a red bull  
 on a green field" (the flag of his regiment) would in some  
 way bring him to safety and honour has sunk into the boy's  
 brain as a sort of mystical prophecy, and he carries his  
 father's marriage lines about with him as a talisman of  
 which he does not comprehend the meaning. The "red  
 bull on a green field" is encountered by a wonderful ac-  
 cident, and Kim is claimed by the regimental chaplains  
 and, after a friendly contest between the Catholic and  
 Protestant, won by the former and sent to St. Xavier's  
 school at Lucknow. Here he acquires himself with some  
 distinction, though the untamed Oriental element in him,  
 the product of his early environment, breaks out now and  
 again, leads him into some breaches of discipline, and  
 sends him out to seek the company of two faithful friends  
 of his former life. After leaving school he finds a suitable  
 career for his versatile talents in the Secret Service of the  
 British Government, and makes a brilliant beginning by  
 frustrating the machinations of two Russian emissaries.

Kim's chief friend and, next to Kim, the most important  
 personage of the book is an aged Lama from Thibet,  
 whom Kim first encounters at the entrance to the Lahore  
 Museum, and to whom he offers his services as "chela."  
 It was a happy idea to bring this venerable figure, who  
 might have accompanied I-Tsing on his Indian travels in  
 the seventh century of the Christian era, into contrast  
 with Kim, a typical product of the last quarter of the nine-  
 teenth century. Very pretty is Kim's devotion to the patri-  
 arch, and still prettier is the patriarch's devotion to Kim.  
 Each is a mystery to the other, but that is no obstacle to  
 affection. Mr. Kipling, with all his emphatic insistence  
 on "The Things that Are, it too apt to identify realities

...ous, the external, the material. It is indeed  
 grasp of the solid and tangible fact that makes so  
 of his popularity with men of the world. So much  
 more valuable is his testimony, unintentional or in-  
 tended, in the character of the Lama to the amazing power  
 of spirituality. Guileless as a babe, the old Lama moves  
 through a world that, as Mr. Kipling paints it, is crowded  
 with liars and cheats and cut-throats, and everywhere he  
 meets with protection, hospitality and reverence. It was  
 hardly in Mr. Kipling that we expected to find so good a  
 sermon on the text—"God hath chosen the foolish things  
 of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things  
 of the world to confound the things which are mighty; yea,  
 and things which are not to bring to nought THINGS THAT  
 ARE."

After all, photographic realism, even in the hands of  
 such a master as Mr. Kipling, cannot show us everything.  
 It can show us some things that we should probably be all  
 the better for not seeing. But Mr. Kipling will not let us  
 follow the example of his Lama and be blind to them. He  
 is determined that we shall see everything that can be  
 seen—and smell everything that can be smelt. This is no  
 peculiarity of Mr. Kipling. It is the fashion of the hour  
 in English novels. The last generation tried to cure con-  
 sumptives by shutting them up from the air; this tries to  
 cure them by inuring them to draughts. Our novelists are  
 doubtless trying to apply the same principle to morals,  
 but they are not going the right way about it. Let us have  
 air by all means, but let the air be pure. No doctor has  
 yet attempted to cure typhoid by sending his patients to  
 inhale the atmosphere of the sewers. There are regrettable  
 whiffs of this atmosphere in "Kim." Let us be thankful  
 the more for the Lama.

Mahbub Ali is Kim's second friend—ostensibly dealer  
 in horses, really a secret agent of the British Government.  
 Kim, whilst still a small boy, divines that there is more in  
 Mahbub's messages than meets the eye, and Kim's cleverness  
 and trustiness awaken the admiration of Mahbub. As  
 for Mahbub himself, he is portrayed for us, not only in Mr.  
 Rudyard Kipling's narrative but in one of the most brilliant  
 of the clever illustrations with which Mr. Lockwood Kipling  
 has embellished his son's text. These have apparently  
 been first executed in gesso, and then reproduced with the  
 aid of photography. Kim finds yet a third good friend in  
 Creighton Sahib, whose life-work is upon the Indian Sur-  
 vey, but "deep in whose heart also lay the ambition to  
 write P.R.S. after his name."

At times his soul yearned for the crowded rooms in easy  
 London, where silver-haired, bald-headed gentlemen who know  
 nothing of the Army move among spectroscopic experiments,  
 the lesser plants of the frozen tundras, electric flight-measuring  
 machines, and apparatus for slicing into fractional millimetres  
 the left eye of the female mosquito.

A more burlesque figure, but moved at heart by a very  
 similar passion, is Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, who boasts  
 that he has "contributed rejected notes to the 'Asiatic  
 Quarterly Review'" on ethnological subjects. Of the num-  
 erous episodic characters the most charming is the old  
 soldier, who has fought in nineteen pitched battles, in six-  
 and-forty skirmishes of horse, and in small affairs without  
 number.

Mr. Kipling has never done better literary work than  
 the descriptive passages in this book. The picture of the  
 Grand Trunk Road, "bearing without crowding India's  
 traffic for fifteen hundred miles, such a river of life as no-  
 where else exists in the world," is especially impressive.  
 For it is needless to say that Mr. Kipling's description is  
 not of the road merely: he individualizes for us every pas-  
 senger that crosses his stage. Hardly less notable is the  
 passage about the northern mountains—the mountains that  
 inspire awe even in the breast of Kim, and draw from him  
 the exclamation, "Surely the Gods live here. This is no  
 place for men!" These descriptive pieces show a signal  
 advance upon the similar attempts to be found in the let-  
 ters of travel re-published under the title of "From Sea to  
 Sea." Yet those letters had the advantage of being written  
 among the scenes they described; for the pictures in "Kim"  
 the writer must have trusted to an unfailling memory. On  
 the whole, if "Kim" has its author's limitations—his lack  
 of the great novelist's constructive power, and, what is  
 more serious, his unrepentant Philistinism—it is to be  
 ranked among his greatest works, and the judicious ad-  
 mirer will prefer it to a wilderness of Stalkys.

\* "Kim." By Rudyard Kipling. (London: Macmillan and  
 Co., Limited.)

## OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

Journalism of a certain type has done its utmost to represent the death of the Amir of Afghanistan as a catastrophe for England. "Will Russia advance on India?" was the alarming query propounded by one of several sensational posters with which London was placarded last Tuesday. Needless to say, it was only in the self-styled organs of patriotism that those evidences of panic were conspicuous. Sane observers acknowledged the gravity of an event which might conceivably disturb the delicate equipoise of Eastern politics, but for that very reason they abstained from calling the world to witness that the Achilles tendon of the British Empire was exposed to assault. Some entertaining reading was forthcoming in the various comments on the political aspect of the situation. According to the "Times," the death of Abdur Rahman was not inopportune, occurring as it did during the regime of so capable a Viceroy as Lord Curzon. On the other hand the mouthpiece of extreme Imperialism declared the event to be particularly inopportune, occurring as it did during the long drawn-out agony of the South African embroilment. In the midst of those entirely selfish speculations one sought in vain for an adequate tribute to the memory of a great ruler.

One result of the Amir's death will be to put an effectual stop to all idea of withdrawing Native troops from India for the purpose of guarding Lord Kitchener's lines of communication in South Africa. Some scheme of the kind was undoubtedly under Ministerial consideration not long ago, and would probably have been carried out but for Mr. Balfour's inconvenient pledge in the House of Commons to abstain from the employment of Indian troops. Meanwhile, the garrisons of India are depleted to an extraordinary extent, and public opinion has at length been aroused to the anomaly of the situation. Public opinion, however, almost invites the condemnation that Mr. Bumble passed on the law. In season and out of season, the friends of India have exclaimed against the injustice of compelling that country to pay for an army which it has become the custom to employ in all parts of the globe. The protest has been ignored, but now that the danger of the practice is realised not a voice is raised in its defence. Moral: Never appeal to reason, but pray assiduously for a panic.

To-day is an historic anniversary. Two years ago the war which has so often been concluded—the war that was practically over at the time of the last general election, that was technically at an end last March, that degenerated into a mere disturbance last August, that ceased to be a war and became merely a sort of warfare last week, the war that has been described now as a guerilla war, now as a war of brigandage, and again as a kind of riot maintained by marauding bands—this strange, persistent, hydra-headed war entered two years ago to-day on its ruinous career. How many millions of money it has cost the British Exchequer is only known to British Ministers, and probably not to all of them. It has reduced the British army by 72,000 soldiers, and is responsible for the loss of nearly 18,000 British lives. Although practically over in September, 1900, it was still shedding lives in September, 1901, at as high a rate as ever. The retrospect is one of red ruin and the breaking-up of laws, yet dreary though it be, one would almost rather look back than face the dismal inevitabilities of the future. Happily for Mr. Chamberlain, he, at least, can lay his hand on his heart and say that we were duly warned that such a war would be a long war, a costly war, a bitter war, and a war that would leave its mark on generations yet to come. If only the prophet had hearkened to the prophecy!

Alarmed by the prolongation of the war, the Unionist Press, which did so much to provoke it, is now turning on the Government with bitter reproaches for not bringing it to an end. Some fine writers have been comparing Lord Salisbury and his colleagues to deities in an Epicurean heaven whose only care is to keep their cups replenished with nectar. They have also, of course, been represented as lotos-eaters, as careless Olympians, and as imperious Brahmins. The British working-man doubtless regards them as a set of incompetent and lazy blockheads. Mr. Arnold White, who seldom describes a spade as an agricultural implement, asserts that the Prime Minister is suffering from mental incapacity and urges that it is the plain

the King would be expected to do. "The King would be expected to do," says Mr. White cheerfully; whereupon one is tempted to doubt whether it is Lord Salisbury or another who is mentally incapable.

Other physicians prescribe other remedies. The "Spectator," which has not yet begun to publish comic cartoons, appeals to Lord Roberts to return to South Africa and resume his unfinished task. Mr. Winston Churchill warns Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain that they are the destined scapegoats of the nation's fury. The "Statist" thinks that a city meeting would be a good poultice, or at all events an effective counter-irritant. Mr. Gibson Bowles declaims vaguely against "the Souls, the Cecils, the Sycophants, and the Socialists," and the "Times," captivated by the alliteration, declares that he has hit the nail on the head; while, to crown all, Mr. H. C. Richards, scolding Mr. Bowles for his disloyalty, strives at the same time to rally his party by raising the battle-cry, "First let us finish the war, and then let us finish the War Office." Curiously enough, those various victims of hysteria are agreed on one point. They are unanimous in pronouncing that the war would have been over long ago but for the hysterical shrieking of the pro-Boer Press.

Lord Kitchener seems to be emulating Lord Roberts in his desire to commemorate anniversaries of notable events. His proclamation of military law throughout the whole of Cape Colony, with the exception of the colonial capital, was issued on the second anniversary of the Boer ultimatum. The step had long been foreseen. That it was not taken sooner appears to have been due to the resistance of the Cape Ministry. Sir W. Hely Hutchinson is credited with having thrown the weight of his influence into the military scale, while Lord Milner, on the other hand, is said to have acted as mediator between the opposing parties. Doubtless, it was due to his intervention that Cape Town was exempted from the military decree. The incident is a sinister commentary on the optimism of our own Ministers: Considering the record of Lord Salisbury's administration, it is almost superfluous to note that this grave step was taken without the previous sanction of the Cabinet.

An autumn session will probably be the outcome of these events. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is true, has denied that the Government are contemplating a further appeal to Parliament for war funds, but neither he nor any other Minister can say that the period of contemplation may not begin to-morrow or the next day. Many Conservatives, with the interests of the country at heart, are of opinion that Parliament ought to sit continuously during the progress of a costly and dangerous war, if only to act as a tonic to the energies of the Government. Ministers are always at their worst when relieved from the supervision of the House of Commons. They have shown themselves poor creatures at the best of times, but when Parliament is in Session they at least come into contact with public opinion. Some of their supporters are talking of memorialising Lord Salisbury to convene a special Session without delay.

## NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

## THE ELEVENTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

## THE ATTACK ON MR. COTTON.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, September 21.

Last week there was the Eleventh Provincial Conference sitting in our midst, with Mr. Tahliram Khemchund, C.I.E., of Karachi, as President. The meeting lasted two days, and was well attended throughout. Almost all the representatives of the three great communities of Bombay were to be seen on the dais, while the number of delegates was over two hundred. It is superfluous for me to introduce your readers to Mr. Tahliram, who is so well known, and who has done yeoman service in his native town in connexion with the Municipality there. In proposing him to the Chair, the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta told a story which will bear repetition here. During the violent epidemic of

plague in Karachi in 1897, Mr. Tahilram and his colleagues in the Corporation did admirable work and successfully combated the pestilence. For this good work our grateful Government obligingly asked them to withdraw from their plague-work and hand it to the Plague Commissioner. Out of self-respect they all sent in their resignations as members of the Municipality. The Government was so heartily ashamed of the step it had taken that they were asked to withdraw their resignations and continue the work conjointly with Sir C. Wingate, who luckily happened to be of a most conciliatory temper, and of quite a different disposition from the stern and unbending author of the Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill.

As to the President's address, you will see what a plain unvarnished statement of facts it is, and how well put. The facts are so indisputable that they immediately carry conviction home. Mr. Tahilram expatiates on the system of land revenue settlements in Sind, points out some of its minor defects which require removal, and brings forth unimpeachable testimony as to the thrift of the rayat. Thus he adds one nail more to that precious coffin of official manufacture regarding the rayat's extravagance. In India, however, fallacies die hard. The more they are exposed to the public gaze, the greater is the vehemence with which some officials repeat them. But vehemence is no verification; and what is radically fallacious cannot be converted into truth, be the sophistry what it may.

Mr. Tahilram also quoted some pertinent extracts from the report of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission on the rigidity of the land revenue collection and niggardly policy in the matter of suspensions and remissions. He held that it was the rack-renting character of the State demand, as observed by the Deccan Riots Commission, which was at the root of agricultural indebtedness. But the Government has not confidence and courage to face this monster and grapple it. It seeks palliatives when a radical cure is essential. The address also refers to the many defects still to be found in the new District Municipalities Act, and considers most burdensome the bludgeon clauses touching famine and plague expenditure. There is a universal cry against the inequitable character of these sections, which impose on impoverished Mofussil Municipalities the duty of meeting plague and famine expenditure which should be borne by the Imperial authorities. Sind was not forgotten by the President. They are not satisfied there with their "Sudder Court." The Sindies want to make it a Division of the High Court of Bombay, subject to appeal in the usual way. They are also dissatisfied with the way in which Sindies are appointed to judicial and executive posts. It seems no Sindie can hold a post carrying a higher salary than Rs.400 per month.

The most important resolutions were, of course, on Land Revenue, the District Municipal Act, and the Famine Commission Report—all these were ably treated by expert speakers.

A duel is going on in the columns of the "Times of India" on the Land Revenue Bill, between the editor and Mr. Mehta. The latter, by sheer force of logic and facts, proved how the former's defence of the Government measure is founded on ignorance and misconception. Mr. Mehta has even made plainer than he did in the Council the fact that it was Government that was misleading the public here and at home by misrepresenting the leaders of the agitation. They must all look small now. The agitation has been tested in the crucible, and found to be pure gold. The dross is with the Government and its apologists. But the latter will never acknowledge that they are beaten. To do so is to lose prestige and suffer humiliation.

The Assam planters are very angry with the Chief Commissioner. They fell foul of that masterful entity the other day in a public meeting of their own fraternity, where resolutions were passed, the substance of which is that they are right, and the Commissioner, who is fighting for the ill-paid and ill-treated coolie, wrong. The Commissioner is accused of vindictiveness, exaggeration, and what not. The planters have attitudinised as superlative swans. It is the old old story—the black slave and the white taskmaster bent on making a fortune with ill-requited labour. It is to be hoped the planters will be taught a stern lesson. There is no Commissioner more just, humane, and impartial than Mr. Cotton. His experience is the experience of a disinterested official, and should carry against the interested cry of the planters.

## CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, October 3.—Lord Kitchener gave some further details of Delarey's attack on Colonel Kekewich's camp, in which he said the enemy must have lost heavily. A special correspondent at General Lyttonell's headquarters at Dundee said that the Boer attack on Fort Itala was a far bigger engagement than was at first supposed. The Boer casualties were now estimated at over 400; Natal rebels who were with the enemy admitted 350. The Boers informed our men who were taken prisoners that they expected to find the Itala garrison only 100 strong, and that they had intended, after capturing the place, to move on Melmoth. There seemed to be no doubt that the Boers had projected a combined invasion of Natal from the east and west. The main body of the enemy was still in the neighbourhood of the Zululand frontier, south of Berthasdorp.

The second race between Shamrock and Columbia was sailed off Sandy Hook over the same triangular course as the abortive race of Tuesday. Shamrock gained a considerable advantage at starting, and kept ahead for more than two-thirds of the distance, but was overhauled and passed by her rival during the last "leg," and Columbia eventually won by about a quarter of a mile.

FRIDAY, October 4.—Speaking at Dumfries, Sir Robert Reid asked if nothing could be done to facilitate an early and honourable settlement of the war. We must, he said, make up our minds clearly what conditions we intended to insist upon. In the forefront there was the question of annexation. He had formerly thought it unwise to annex the territories, but the question now was whether that policy, having been once proclaimed, could be reversed. He was of the opinion he expressed a year ago, that we could not restore their independence to the Boers. It was said that if that was so we could not have peace, because the Boers said they would not accept anything short of independence, and that this caused a deadlock. He did not think that necessarily followed. In the terms which Lord Kitchener offered to General Botha last February we might find a way out of this difficulty. The Government should say to the Boers that if they surrendered we would give them an amnesty for all legitimate acts of war, pecuniary assistance to restore the country which had been devastated, and an Advisory Assembly for the purpose of advising the Administration, and that as soon as possible we would place the Boers in the position of Australia and Canada.

Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking at Saddleworth, said that the Government, after holding steadfastly to the task of beating the Boer arms out of our territory and taking the Boer capital towns, had not shown the same persistence and energy in the work of putting down the guerilla warfare which broke out after the capture of Bloemfontein and Pretoria. Week after week they had expected the end of the war, month after month they had waited bootlessly for something to turn up, till now we were verging already upon the third year of waste and sorrow. Mr. Churchill spoke of the need for a thorough reorganisation of the remount and intelligence departments, and in conclusion called upon the Government and the men of the nation to infuse into the prosecution of the war such vigour and vitality as should overcome the extraordinary difficulties and dangers with which we were now confronted.

The third race for the America Cup was sailed off Sandy Hook over a course fifteen miles to leeward and return. There was a good wind for the first half of the race, but it became lighter afterwards. The struggle, however, was a magnificent one. The Shamrock crossed the winning line first, but the victory remained with the Columbia on the time allowance. As the American yacht had now won three races the Cup remained at New York.

SATURDAY, October 5.—It was reported from Melbourne that Sir W. J. Lyne, Commonwealth Minister for Home Affairs, had resolved to eliminate the clauses objected to in the Inter-State Commission Bill referring to ocean-going shipping.

MONDAY, October 7.—The angry denunciations of the Government, which had for some days lent an interest to the Ministerialist Press, came to a climax this morning. The "Times" printed a bitter letter from Mr. Gibson Bowles and, in a leading article upon it, wrote:—"What has produced an unpleasant impression upon the ordinary British citizen—the man who, in a great many cases, has sent his son to the front, and who, in almost every case, has paid heavy war taxes without wincing—is the apparent indifference of the most conspicuous among the Ministerialist politicians to the prolongation of the war. The majority of Cabinet Ministers are apparently still taking their holidays. The most prominent members of the Government have been almost silent since the end of the Session. Those who have spoken, now and then, have talked in a detached way about most things

except the greatest subject of national concern. They have affirmed, no doubt with sufficient emphasis, whenever they have spoken, the determination of the country to carry through the struggle until the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa has been established beyond dispute. But statements of this kind, expressed in general terms, as in the Lord Chancellor's speech at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield last week, are inadequate and unsatisfactory. The value of Lord Halsbury's pledge to prosecute the war, steadily and swiftly, to its ending was seriously impaired by his ingenuous enquiry whether or not, after all, any war at all was in existence. That there is a war, which we have to grapple with, and that we must brace ourselves to grapple with it at once are the elementary facts of the situation. The attitude of the Ministry is perplexing and disheartening. We see no signs of serious grappling with the problem which, both from a political and a financial point of view, is of the gravest importance."

MONDAY, October 7.—It was reported that the Amir Abdur Rahman, whose health had for some time been declining, died early on Thursday last, after a few days' illness. We deal elsewhere with his career and the political issues raised by his death.

TUESDAY, October 8.—Lord Roberts visited Liverpool and presented war medals to 600 Volunteers of the city and district who had served in South Africa. Lord Roberts, addressing the recipients, said some of them might be under the impression that everything was not being done which might be done to end the war in a rapid and satisfactory manner. But that was not the case. Every effort was being made by those in charge in South Africa and by those who were responsible to the nation to bring about this much-desired result. Lord Kitchener, in whom they all had implicit confidence, had never made a single demand for men, for horses, or for stores, that had not been immediately complied with, and that would continue to be done so long as the war continued. There was no cause for anxiety, but the guerilla war now being carried on was not an easy one to deal with.

No further direct news was received from Kabul, but according to Native reports the death of the Amir and the assumption of power by Habibullah Khan were officially announced to-day at Jalalabad and Dakka, and the announcement was received quietly.

WEDNESDAY, October 9.—Martial law was proclaimed in several additional districts of Cape Colony, including Cape Town and its vicinity.

The Simla correspondent of the "Times" telegraphed that news had reached Peshawar that Habibullah had been formally proclaimed Amir. His brothers and all the leading nobles had accepted him without reserve. It was known that all the Afghan officials in the country between Kabul and the Kaibar Pass had loyally obeyed the orders of Habibullah, while there was no sign of unrest among the great tribal clans.—Professor Vambary, in an article in the "Pester Lloyd," discussed the death of the late Amir, which he considers will be a severe loss for Great Britain, and may lead to the beginning of a struggle in Asia which has been preparing for a century.

THURSDAY, October 10.—The "Times," in its first leading article, wrote:—"Despite the gloomy hints of some of our good friends at Berlin, we do not feel oppressed by apprehensions of any formidable outside intrigues against the new Amir. We rather share the view of the more intelligent French journals, like the 'Temps' and the 'Debats,' which have better opportunities for learning the intentions of our great Asiatic neighbour than the German Press. A pretender from beyond the frontiers may be tempted to try his fortune, but, if he eludes the vigilance of his hosts and penetrates into Afghanistan, he is likely to meet with an exceedingly hot reception. The late Amir has declared that he could at any moment put into the field 100,000 fighting men, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statement. Such a force in a country which is one vast natural fortress would be a match for a powerful army of European troops, and far more than a match for any army which an adventurer could raise. We have no grounds for supposing that he would meet with European support. As the 'Debats' observed yesterday, we have had several arrangements with Russia in this part of the world, and so far she has observed them with fidelity. Why should we doubt her good faith now before we have cause?"

## THE DEATH OF AMIR ABDUR RAHMAN.

PASSAGES FROM THE BRITISH PRESS.

### THE "TIMES."

In the remarkable autobiography he published in English last year, Abdur Rahman declared that he had so arranged matters during his life that all the members of his family and the Afghan people "acknowledged the supremacy of his eldest son." That

son is the Sirdar Habibullah Khan. He is a young man of some twenty-eight years of age to whose popularity, charm of manner, and "extremely good abilities" Lord Curzon has borne testimony. Those abilities have been carefully developed by his father. With a sagacity rare indeed among Oriental potentates, Abdur Rahman has been gradually initiating his son into the business of government for several years past. He has held high commands, including the command of Kabul itself during a two years' absence of his father in the field. He has filled judicial and executive offices, and has even had a share in the management of the treasury. But Abdur Rahman was not blind to the risks which might follow his death. In the book referred to he points to the pretenders under Russian protection, and especially to Mohammed Ishak, as "the only source of real danger." The Russians, he says, "quite contrary to the English, want to see Afghanistan divided into pieces and very weak, if not entirely cleared out of their way to India. And, therefore, while it is to the advantage of the English, on the one hand, to keep the rival claimants to the throne under control, it is to the advantage of the Russians to let them loose and fight it out." The remedy, he tells his son, is to follow his advice and policy very keenly and strictly. As Russia has more than once declared that she looks upon Afghanistan as completely outside her sphere, we trust that the suspicions of the late Amir are wholly unfounded. Our duty at least is plain. We have guaranteed Afghanistan our support in the event of aggression, and the best way to remove any temptation to aggression or to intrigue is to affirm our support from countenance to the legitimate heir to the throne of the Amir, the nominee of his father and the favourite of the nation.

### THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

The Amir's foreign policy was the natural policy of Afghanistan; if circumstances should force pretenders to abandon it, we may be quite sure that whoever manages to set himself in power will revert to it. Remembering this, we shall have no difficulty in deciding what our policy must be in the event of civil war. The Amir's own nominee is his son Habibullah, who has already succeeded to the throne at Kabul. A rival claimant may be Habibullah Umar, the son of the Queen-mother, who has, however, lost a powerful supporter by the death of Gholam Hyder; a third claimant is Ishak Khan, a refugee in Russian territory, who has more than once given the late Amir some trouble; and there is a fourth possible claimant in Ayub Khan, who is a prisoner in our hands at Rawal Pindi. What, then, ought our policy to be in the event of civil war between these rival claimants? We shall remember the Amir's maxim that the Power which interferes most and makes herself most dangerous to Afghanistan is the natural enemy. We ought to lose no time in recognising the new ruler Habibullah, but if his claims are disputed we must leave the rival factions to fight out the question of supremacy amongst themselves. The strongest man will win, and his policy will be to favour the Power which is above any suspicion of a design on Afghan independence. Thanks to the South African war, we are not likely to be in a position to interfere in any conflict that there may be. But it is clearly to be understood that this inaction, forced upon us though it be by circumstances, is the policy dictated by our interests. If Russia chooses to burn her fingers in these quarrels, so much the worse for her.

### THE "STANDARD."

With regard to the Afghan Succession, Sirdar Habibullah Khan has been his father's right-hand man for some time past; and, to all appearances, he was accepted during his father's lifetime as the legitimate heir to the throne. Even if the late Amir's widow should urge the claims of her son Mohammed Amur Khan, her efforts would be futile, unless supported by the Indian Government. John Lawrence might have put an end to the fight for the Crown which ensued on the death of Dost Mohammed, but he declined to interfere. Lord Curzon, we may feel sure, will interfere, if necessary, and to some purpose. As for the external danger, some people seem to forget that the Russian Government is bound by more or less explicit agreements to respect the integrity of Afghanistan. The validity of the compact of 1873, by which the country was declared to lie beyond the sphere of Russian influence, has since been frequently admitted. The boundaries which Russia promised to respect have been accurately determined. It is now impossible for Russia to violate this frontier, unless and until she was prepared to run the risk of war with Great Britain all over the world. Notwithstanding the curious delusions of the St. Petersburg papers, which cherish a belief that the time has at length come for a further advance, we cannot suspect the Czar's Government of harbouring such designs. Were Afghanistan in a state of confusion; were a weak Viceroy in office; if vacillating counsels prevailed in London, and the destinies of the Empire were at the mercy of Ministers with a predilection for surrender and a capacity for wavering, the prospect might give some cause for alarm. But no such conjunction of unfortunate circumstances has occurred, and we, therefore, await the immediate future with confidence, fully relying on the prudent energy of Lord Curzon, and on the firmness of the Imperial Government.

### THE "MORNING LEADER."

What is almost certain is that if the ashes of the "forward" policy can be rekindled into a flame in India, in spite of the cold water poured upon such enterprises by commitments elsewhere, a pretext for nobody knows what suicidal intervention will without much difficulty be found in the dynastic quarrels that have been regarded as inevitable. Habibullah Khan—not a person of marked strength—has three brothers to reckon with, and at least one formidable cousin in the person of Ishak Khan, sometime Governor of Afghan Turkestan. We cannot conjecture what Russia will do—still less what she will be said to be doing. If Rus-



Curzon desires to intervene he will not lack a pretext. But all history bids him be cautious. "As to holding Afghanistan," said Sir Charles Napier, "it would be folly equaling that of the attempt to conquer it." Abdur Rahman, in the interesting autobiography which he published a year ago, no doubt presented himself in too amiable a light. But his account of Afghan policy was accurate and sane enough.—

In fine the policy of Afghanistan towards her two strong neighbours should be friendly towards the one which is least aggressive and hostile to the power wishing to pass through her country or interfere with her independence.

Our strength at this interesting juncture is to sit still.

#### THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH."

It is, indeed, impossible to think of Afghanistan without our thoughts turning instantly to Russia, for the match and the gunpowder are always close together where the Muscovite and the Afghan face to face, and not all the pacific inclinations of the Czar, and the efforts of the Friends of Peace may be able to keep Central Asia from a blaze if the Russian colonels and the Afghan conspirators think the time has come for a conflagration. As regards the Government of Russia, it has solemnly recognised all Afghanistan as being inside the sphere of British supremacy. To violate its frontier or meddle with its politics, so long as the country acknowledges the Emperor of India as its guardian, would be, therefore, in the language of diplomacy, a most "unfriendly act." But, as regards the British side of the business, everything seems to depend upon maintaining our present attitude as a Power sedulous to preserve the independence and integrity of Afghanistan, and resolute in determination to prevent any violation of its border. The friendship of Afghans is a hard thing to acquire, and not particularly useful or valuable when acquired. But in a political and military sense it is a good deal better than their hatred, and that last would be quite certainly assured to any who menaced the separate existence of so turbulent, so warlike, and so heterogeneous a people. Our frontier posts have been strengthened, and a proper show made of military readiness, so that we hope by these efforts have not been wasted, and that the personal influence of the late Amir has by this date counted for enough to make the Afghans accustomed and averse to us and considering us their friends." The great aim of our diplomacy ought to be, if possible, to encourage this idea rather than to check it; and to that end Kabul had better be left to decide clearly and plainly upon its own future before the diplomacy of Simla commits itself too absolutely.

#### THE "MORNING POST."

The telegram from Simla states that Habibullah Khan made the request for prayer in the mosques for his sick father and the public announcement of the Amir's death. We may assume, therefore, that Habibullah has succeeded as Amir, and it is to be hoped that he inherits, not only his father's title but his father's personal authority and force of character. There has long been a natural apprehension, based on the unfortunate traditions of Oriental Courts, from which that of Kabul has in the past been by no means free, that the death of Abdur Rahman might be the signal for a disputed succession, and perhaps for a civil war. The question is what, in that case, should be Great Britain's policy. There is the further possibility that, with or without the pretext of disturbances in Afghanistan, the moment might be regarded as opportune by a Russian general, with or without instructions, to move troops across the delimited border line. As regards the succession, the simplest and most natural solution would be for Great Britain to treat the new Amir as the heir to his father's engagements. The difficulty on the subject of the recognition of a succession during Abdur Rahman's life was that a British recognition, to be of any practical value, must have implied a pledge of support against possible rival candidates, and in that way might have committed the British Government to interference in a civil war. This kind of engagement it was desirable to avoid. The promises of support against foreign aggression made to Abdur Rahman might, perhaps, be construed as personal to himself. But though that construction would be formally correct, it would not truly represent the purpose and spirit of the pledge, which were not sought by Abdur Rahman, but were rather imposed upon him by the British Government. The purpose was to fix once for all a boundary in Central Asia between Great Britain and Russia.

#### THE "DAILY NEWS."

The Afghan people never have had a more outspoken, unflattering critic than Abdur Rahman. He says hard things about them in his autobiography. And he said very hard things about them—in his native way—in letters which, soon after his accession, he wrote to the Viceroy of India, and which—at least, some of which—were published at the time by the Indian Government. It must be acknowledged that Abdur Rahman has, on the whole, proved himself loyal to his engagements with the Indian Government. He knew very well, of course, that England had chosen him not for his own sake, but more for her own—for the sake of peace on his borders. He applied his Indian subsidy faithfully and most effectually to the purpose for which England granted it—that is, to the improvement of his military forces and to the strengthening of his government, to the degree of efficiency requisite for preserving his dominions from foreign intervention. The new Amir's army is well disciplined. Kabul has arsenals of its own. It has become an entirely new city since 1880. We know that Abdur Rahman's preferences were for England much more than for Russia. He said quite frankly in his book that he knew Russia too well to trust her implicitly. He also knew that in the maintenance of a strong, internal government lay Kabul's only chance of independence. As Lord Lytton, in his characteristic brag and histrionism reminded him, the Amir was

but an earthenware pipkin floating on the stream between two iron pots, namely, England and Russia. The recent Anglo-Indian campaign on the frontier alarmed him and all Afghans. Finally, it is clear that the British Government cannot at this juncture afford to diminish its Indian forces, or employ them in foreign adventures.

#### THE "DAILY CHRONICLE."

Abdur Rahman Khan, the late Amir of Afghanistan, has been reported dead more frequently than any contemporary ruler, so that it requires the most conclusive evidence before we take the truth of any such report for granted. But on the present occasion the news has been transmitted direct from the Afghan Government at Kabul to the Indian Government at Simla, and there seems no room for doubt that the ablest and bloodiest ruler that Afghanistan has ever had has left his crown to be scrambled for by his sons and his kingdom as a bone of contention between England and Russia. This is at once the worst and the best moment that Abdur Rahman could have chosen for dying. The worst aspect of the case need not be enlarged upon here. It is obvious to the naked eye how our unfortunate complications in South Africa hamper us in dealing with what has been the most important problem in high politics in Asia for the last quarter of a century. But every cloud has its silver lining, and the brighter aspect of the question is furnished by the personality of the present Viceroy. At the time that Lord Curzon went to India, it was matter of speculation whether the gravest crisis that Indian politics can afford would arise during his term of office. The crisis has arisen, and we may rest assured that Lord Curzon has prepared himself to cope with it. Whatever may be his faults he has the courage of his convictions and the confidence of the Cabinet at home, so that his convictions are likely to be at once firm and unshakable. He is in addition personally acquainted with the people and country of Afghanistan, and with its late and present ruler, whoever the latter may be. In these circumstances the best thing that the English public can do is to afford its firm support to whatever line of policy the Indian Government considers necessary. If Abdur Rahman is succeeded now by a strong and capable ruler, and Afghanistan is preserved intact as a buffer State, the Russian advance upon our Indian border is stayed for another generation.

#### THE DISMISSAL OF MR. PENNELL.

##### HIS REPLY TO HIS OFFICIAL ACCUSERS.

(Continued from page 167.)

In that letter it was formally intimated that the High Court were unwilling to go on with the charge. I submit that on the receipt of that letter it was incumbent in the Local Government either to reinstate me or if they had or thought they had anything further against me to tell me what it was: to let me know what I was accused of and to hear what I had to say for myself. And Sir John Woodburn cannot say that he did not know my address or that he was unaware how anxious I was to meet any charges brought against me, for on the 20th April (six days after the High Court formally withdrew from the prosecution) I submitted to his Government my second memorial, the main purport of which was that no charges had been framed against me and that I had not been given a hearing. Instead however of doing what the plainest dictates of justice required, the Local Government after taking various proceedings against me behind my back on the 6th May proceeded still behind my back to recommend my dismissal on a number of vague and general charges which had no connexion whatever with the matter for which alone I had been suspended and which alone had been brought to my notice.

I may point out that no explanation of the failure to acquaint me with these charges or to give me an opportunity of defending myself has been even attempted on the part of the Bengal Government or of the Government of India, and that as I have already submitted this latter Government seems to have entertained the wish that his Lordship would follow their example by condemning me unheard.

The charge of unwillingness to make over the record of the murder case, although the High Court which brought that charge declines to proceed with it, has not been in terms abandoned. The Bengal Government, in their letter forwarding my second memorial, have not gone into the merits of that charge, but have preferred to shunt themselves behind the authority of the High Court. "The Lieutenant-Governor considers," it says, "that it was not open to him to question the recommendation made by the High Court, or to refuse to act upon it." In their letter recommending my dismissal (para. 22) the Bengal Government attempt to defend their action in suspending me for not making over this record by saying that if they had not suspended me for that they would have suspended me for something else. I submit that it is no excuse for wrongfully arresting a man on a charge of theft to say afterwards that if you had not done that you would have arrested him on a charge of bigamy, and that such an argument does not tend to prove the justice of the original charge, but rather the reverse. The Government of India, however, in their para. 12 reiterate the charge which the High Court has dropped and which the Government of Bengal has not thought it possible to sustain. It is necessary therefore that I should deal at length with that charge, especially as its weakness and the unwillingness of the authorities to admit that the charge is and was unfounded, and to redress the wrong they did in summarily suspending me upon it, are, I submit, the key to the



in this case has enabled me to represent these matters in such a manner that the High Court cannot avoid, even if it wished, taking judicial notice of them. . . . As for Sir John Woodburn's treatment of me, I confront the High Court with this dilemma—either I am not telling the truth, in which case I am not fit to try the King's subjects for their lives, or I am telling the truth, in which case Sir John Woodburn is not fit to be employed in the King's Service."

It was very necessary that I should lay the case before the High Court, otherwise they would not be confronted with this dilemma. And the course on which I was taking them was one on which there was no running out. I knew well enough that the High Court would not thank me for bringing these matters to their notice; they would much rather have had the option of ignoring them.

But my design was so to bring these facts to their notice that everyone in India taking the slightest interest in public matters would be aware that they knew of them, and would be aware also if they shirked the responsibility of facing them—as in point of fact they have shirked it.

Under these circumstances I fail to comprehend why anyone should accuse me of unwillingness to make over the record—it being essentially necessary from my point of view that the record should be made over. Still, that is the charge! And it is the only charge on which I was suspended, or which I have heard anything of till the 29th June!

No doubt the Government in India repeat the vague accusation of "contempt" contained in the Registrar's letter. But they also do not indicate in what the contempt consisted; and it seems more than doubtful whether this contempt is anything else than the non-delivery of the record. If it is intended to suggest that I was impolite to Mr. Sheepshanks, all I can say is that I should very much regret it if I had been, but that I have met Mr. Sheepshanks privately several times since, and from his manner he does not appear to have any personal grievance against me.

So much for the arguments of the Government of India as to the merits of the charge on which I was suspended—a charge which the High Court does not wish to go on with and which the Bengal Government make attempt to support, but which the Indian Government are unwilling to withdraw. But the Government of India not only attempt to support that charge, on its own merits, but show their own opinion as to the probable success of that attempt by adopting the contention of the Government of Bengal that the Executive Authorities were not concerned with the merits of the charge, but were bound to adopt the recommendation of the High Court without question. "The Government of Bengal," says the Bengal Secretary's letter forwarding my memorial, "formulated no charges against Mr. Pennell, because the High Court's letter recommending his suspension contained the grounds on which the recommendation was made, and rendered it unnecessary for this Government to do anything more than take the formal action of applying certain Sections of the law. . . . It is not the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor to enter on any discussion with Mr. Pennell as to the grounds of the recommendation contained in the High Court's letter No. 600, dated the 4th March, 1901." Similarly, the Government of India remark, "In our opinion it was unnecessary that any charges should be framed, or that any explanation should be demanded, from Mr. Pennell, before the order for his suspension was passed." In other words, the High Court had only to recommend my suspension and the Local Government were bound to suspend me.

It is, I submit, a sufficient answer to this contention to point out that the Local Government in suspending me purported to act under certain Acts; and that these Acts place the power of suspending me not with the High Court, but with the Local Government. Further, these Acts give the High Court the power of suspending certain subordinate Judicial Officers. It is clear, therefore, that the Legislature has drawn a distinction between these Subordinate Judicial Officers and District Judges, whom the Local Government alone can suspend; but this distinction would be a distinction without a difference if the Local Government were bound in every case to carry out the High Court's recommendation without question. If the Legislature had intended that the High Court should decide whether a District Judge should be suspended, they would have vested the High Court and not the Local Government with the power of suspending him.

The defence which the Local Government have set up, and which the Government of India have adopted, seeks to transfer the responsibility for my suspension from their own shoulders to those of the High Court. And this defence, for the reason even, wholly fails. It is the Local Government, not the High Court, which has suspended me. As I pointed out to the Government of India as early as the 18th March (Letter No. 2, Suspension, printed as an enclosure to Bengal Government's Letter No. 124 A.D., dated 19.5.01). "The recommendation of the Chief Justice, or of certain Judges, is obviously in itself an insufficient reason for suspending me; whose duty it would be recommended them to take that step, the responsibility for my suspension rests with the Local Government, and with them alone."

I would point out also that the responsibility of the Bengal Government and of the Indian Government, which declined to interfere with its orders, extends much further than merely suspending me without enquiry on the recommendation of the High Court (which might possibly be justifiable in some cases of extreme urgency). Their case is that they were bound not merely to suspend me on the recommendation of a third party, but to keep me under suspension for an indefinite period, and without listening to any thing I might have to say for myself. And on their own showing they did so keep me under suspension from the 4th March till the 23rd April—the Government of India declining to interfere with the orders passed by the Government of

Bengal, and the Government of Bengal withholding the memorial in which I endeavoured to complain of those orders to his Lordship.

And if, as I submit there can be no doubt, it was the duty of the Local Government to form an opinion for themselves as to whether I should be suspended and kept under suspension—if the decision and the responsibility were theirs—then I would further submit that there was a very special reason why they should have acted with the most extreme caution and circumspection. That reason was the strong personal interest which Sir John Woodburn had in the case, for non-delivery of the record of which I was suspended. As I had pointed out in my judgment, he or I had to go—and it is natural to suppose that the Lieutenant-Governor would prefer that it should be I who went, and not he. At all events he should, I submit, have appreciated the fact that the outside world were hardly likely to consider him an ideal tribunal, and that it was desirable that he should avoid not only all unfairness but all appearance of unfairness towards me. I submit that on his own showing he has acted on the statement of a third party made behind my back, and has refused me any opportunity of refuting that statement.

I may add that Sir John Woodburn must, from a very early stage, if not from the first, have been aware of facts which rendered the charge of unwillingness to make over the record a very improbable one—which should at all events have suggested to his mind that there was a possibility of a misunderstanding, and that it was fair to give me a chance of clearing it up. From the correspondence annexed to your letter it appears that the two Governments are in the habit of reading the newspapers. With the exception of the "Englishman," which in these matters is more or less under Government control, there is hardly a newspaper in Calcutta, English or Native, which did not comment on my suspension—and there were very few which had a word to say in support of it.

The "Indian Mirror," which is edited by an eminent barrister, (who shortly after presided over the Bengal Provincial Congress), urged that my suspension was not only wrong on the merits, but illegal, and that I had good cause of action against the Local Government. As early as the 10th March, 1901, the "Englishman," the organ of the Hon. S. N. Banerjee (who has been nominated by the Bengal Legislative Council for a seat on the Imperial Council), in an article dealing exclusively with the merits of the case, pointed out how grossly improbable, "prima facie," the charge of withholding the records was.

"Was Mr. Pennell," it said, "guilty of gross misconduct in withholding the records of the Noakhali murder case? Apparently Mr. Pennell came all the way to Calcutta from Noakhali, accompanied by his Sheristadar and his Sessions Clerk, with the express purpose of handing over in person the records of the murder case to the High Court. Mr. Pennell rightly or wrongly believed that the Executive were doing their utmost to burke all enquiry into Mr. Reilly's case, and in order successfully so to burke it, the Executive would necessarily try to secure an acquittal in the murder case out of which has arisen the case against Mr. Reilly. Whether Mr. Pennell's belief was well-founded or not, whether Mr. Pennell's belief was right or wrong, are questions with which we are not at present concerned. It is sufficient for our present purpose to find that such a belief did exist in Mr. Pennell's mind; and Mr. Pennell thought, whether rightly or wrongly it does not matter, that the Exhibits in the murder case were documents with which it was in the interest of the Executive to tamper in order successfully to spoil the murder case. It was, we think, on account of these beliefs that Mr. Pennell thought it necessary to take special care to see that the records reached the High Court safely, and that on their way to the High Court the Executive had no opportunities of getting at them. And it was with this object in view that instead of transmitting the records through the usual channels, Mr. Pennell thought it necessary to bring them in person to the High Court. The whole object of his visit to Calcutta, therefore, was to make over the records to the High Court. It is unaccountable, therefore, that Mr. Pennell should without any cogent reason decline to make over the records to the High Court as he is said to have done. Besides, from a perusal of the judgment in the murder case (in respect of the merits of which, for obvious reasons, we reserve our comments for the present), it is clear that Mr. Pennell has raised a number of issues on which he wants the decision of the High Court. It is clear, therefore, that he would be most anxious to see the records safe in the possession of the High Court; and that we consider to be another and a stronger reason for his not declining to make over the records to the custody of that Court. And yet the distinct allegation against Mr. Pennell is that he declined to comply with the High Court's order to make over the records of the murder case!"

These are Native newspapers. But the "Statesman," the most largely circulated English newspaper in India, had a leading article about the end of March condemning my suspension. The "Indian Daily News," in publishing a press communication on the 6th inst. as to the cause of my suspension, said that this was the "official version," and added later that it was not very clear how I came to be suspended: while "Capital," the leading financial paper in India, in an article which the London "Times" has thought worthy of notice, remarked (in its issue of 4th April):—

We have the spectacle of the Judges of that Court (the High Court) requesting the Government of Bengal to suspend Mr. Pennell for refusing to deliver up the records of the case, when it was as clear as noonday to the meanest understanding that Mr. Pennell was only too anxious to do so, to some properly authorised officer.

(To be continued.)

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