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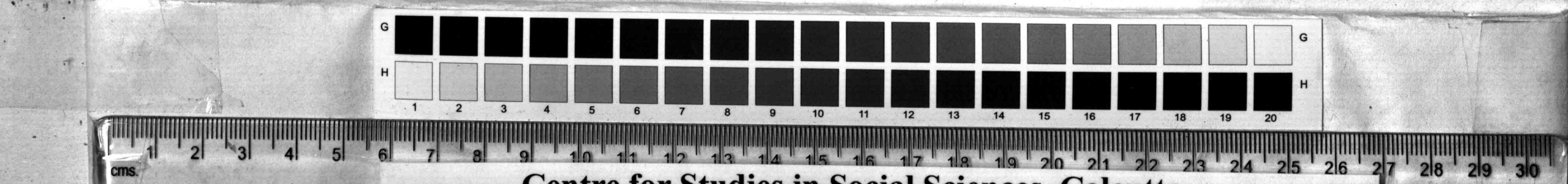
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Amrita Bazar Patrika.

CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 21, 1895.

THE SEDITION BILL PASSED.

This, as a matter of course; for, the Government has never shelved a Bill against which the public has entered protests. Things are managed in a curious way in this country. In other countries, the more the people disapprove of a measure, the more the Government yield to the popular voice, and either drop it or modify it, to the satisfaction of the general public. Here the more the people cry in distress, the greater is the determination of the Government to go against their wish. Of course, they may remain silent. But that does not serve them in the least. On the other hand, if they remain silent, not only is the measure passed, but their silence is construed into a consent! And it is said that India is even better governed than England itself!

We said yesterday that Sir A. Scoble disposed of the five hundred petitions against the Age of Consent Bill and two hundred arguments contained in it, in seven words, namely "we have read and considered the objections." Mr. Chalmers has performed the same feat by the use of fourteen words. For, this is how he meets the objections, raised against his Bill from all parts of the country:—

I freely admit that our proposals have met with a good deal of criticism. The arguments brought forward by the Calcutta Bar, the Defence Association, the Chamber of Commerce and others have thus been smashed into pieces by the Law Member.

Says he again: "From whom do the objections come? From the people. But the Government is responsible for the maintenance of the peace." Of course, if the objections had come from the Government, Mr. Chalmers would have listened to them with great attention. But he does not explain why should the Government object to its own measures. In all countries, the Government propose and the people oppose. In India also, this custom has always prevailed. But it seems, henceforth, in India, it is the Government which will propose and it is the people which will oppose. As for the people, well—they should exist only to pay taxes and shower benedictions upon Mr. Chalmers, and others like him, for the measures with which they were yesterday blessed.

Another great point of Mr. Chalmers is that, "most important criticisms have come from the presidency towns." This is really very bad. All criticisms of his measures should have come from the Sonthal Pergunnas and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Sir James Stephen is a great clog in the way of Mr. Chalmers, as it was he who not only introduced Section 124A but who laid down that incitement to force was a condition essential to constitute the offence of sedition. Mr. Chalmers disposes of the poor man, Sir James, we must confess, in a rather shabby way. For, he says in effect that Sir James Stephen's speeches in the Legislative Council were all nonsense. "Proceedings in the Legislature," he says, "cannot be resorted to to interpret an Act. It is the courts which must interpret." That is to say, the interpretation of Sir James Stephen is a mere trash when compared with that of Mr. Justice Strachey or Sir John Edge. Sir James Stephen is dead; but his sons, if he has any, we think, have a right to protest against this attempt to belittle their illustrious father.

Granted, however, that it is the courts which interpret the law. But have not the law of sedition been interpreted also in England by English Judges? Was not the law interpreted, even in India, by Mr. Justice Parsons of the Bombay High Court? Have they not all, in one voice, held that incitement to violence is an essential condition to constitute sedition? It, however, does not suit Mr. Chalmers to acknowledge these well-known facts.

Mr. Chalmers also triumphantly points out that, though Sir James Stephen declared in India that force was necessary to constitute the offence of sedition, he changed his mind afterwards as his Digest shows. But is it not a fact that Sir James never intend-

still less as a better exposition of what the law ought to be than the Indian Penal Code? Mr. Chalmers, however, forgot all about it, when reading his printed speech.

Mr. Chalmers told a grand truth to the Council. It is that the circumstances of India are different from the circumstances of England. For instance, Englishmen put on hats and coats, and the Indians wear *dhotees* and *chud-ders*. In this, we perfectly agree with the Law Member. We are also willing to concede that they have a marriage law which is quite distinct from that of the Hindus or the Mussalmans. But Mr. Chalmers will pardon us, if we cannot agree with him that, because they dress or marry in one way and we in another, therefore they would deserve two years' simple imprisonment for an offence for which transportation for life should be provided in India.

One of the arguments of Mr. Chalmers runs to the following effect: "Cow-killing riots took place in Western India; Lek-Ram was murdered at Lahore; the other day, a Brahmin gentleman and a native Doctor were murdered at Sinnar by a fanatical mob; and hence the necessity of his measures. Does he mean to say that no longer will a Lek Ram be murdered, no longer will cow-riots take place in India, and no longer will officers be maltreated by a fanatical mob, after the passing of his measures? The millennium is really at hand."

As regards clause 505, Mr. Chalmers remarks: "As it now stands, I think it need cause no apprehension to any speaker or journalist who acts in good faith." No, Mr. Chalmers, I, you, he, they, we, indeed, the whole world, may "think" that "it need cause no apprehension etc.; nevertheless, it will cause apprehension all the same."

OUR Patna correspondent informs us that Mr. Robinson, who, in company with others, stood charged with having committed a serious riot, attended with death, has been discharged by Mr. Beach-Croft, the Joint Magistrate. The particulars of the case were published in the *Patrika* at the time when the incident happened; but, to refresh the memory of the reader, we shall narrate them as briefly as possible. Some seven months ago, a "big riot" took place at Amulla, a village close to Mokamah, between Mr. Robinson and his men on one side, and Mr. Babbans, of the place, on the other, the dispute being about the possession of a plot of land, with fatal results. In due course, the rioters on both sides were sent up by the local police and cross-cases were instituted. The case in which Mr. Robinson was the complainant, and Mr. Babbans the accused, was tried by the then Sub-divisional Officer of Barh. After a protracted trial for many months, eight men were convicted, who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. On appeal, six of these eight men were let off by Mr. Knox-White, the Sessions Judge of Patna, who in his judgment condemned Mr. Robinson's conduct in this connection and characterized his evidence as thoroughly unreliable. Then came up for hearing the case against Mr. Robinson, with the result stated above. After the strictures passed by Mr. Knox-White upon the conduct of Mr. Robinson, the finding of Mr. Beach-Croft, we are told, has come upon the local public as a great surprise. Mr. Robinson admitted using guns, but his pleader argued that it was in self-defence. And this plea was, it seems, accepted by the court, and the accused was let off.

We wish His Excellency Lord Elgin and the Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers were present at the Town Hall meeting for the sight would perhaps have softened their hearts towards the people of this country. As the Chairman of the meeting, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, declared in his speech, it was not to oppose but to entreat the Government that they had assembled there. Indeed, any measure, however bad, that the Government think fit to pass will be obeyed by the people unmutiniously, so helpless they are. But because they are absolutely at the mercy of a powerful Government like the British, is it therefore proper that a measure, which has evoked such a universal feeling of alarm, should be thrust upon them? We are afraid, neither Lord Elgin nor Mr. Chalmers has yet realized the significance of the law which they are going to enact. We would implore them to read the second Note of the Calcutta Bar on the amended Bill, which is published in another column, and judge for themselves whether this Sedition Bill is or is not a terrible thing. And who are more competent to advise the Government on this subject than the distinguished lawyers who constitute the Calcutta Bar? Adieu to the liberty of the press, adieu to the freedom of speech, nay, adieu even to the right of petitioning Parliament if the Bill is passed into law! So say the members of the Calcutta Bar. We would once more beseech Lord Elgin not to take the odium of passing

no doubt of it that neither the people of India nor his own countrymen will bless him for it.

At the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, some very important questions were asked. The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare put the following questions about the Natu brothers:—

(a) Will Government be pleased to state the law or authority under which the moveable property of the Natu brothers was attached? (b) Has that property been now released from attachment?

(c) If so, will Government be pleased to state the grounds which led to such release? In reply His Excellency the Governor said:—

(a) Certain moveable property was inadvertently included in the attachment, of immovable property.

(b) Orders were given to release it from attachment as soon as the mistake was discovered.

(c) This is answered by what has been said in reply to (b).

So, it was through mistake, that some moveable property of the Natu brothers was attached, and this mistake was rectified as soon as it was discovered. In other words, the Government indirectly admits that it was in a state of excitement when the brothers were deported, and that therefore it failed to see what it now sees in its cooler moments. But the Government committed a yet greater mistake in deporting the Natu brothers on mere suspicion of their complicity in the Poona tragedy. When will the Government see this mistake and rectify it? The public never believed in the guilt of the Natu. If they had any doubt about it, it has been removed by the conviction of Damodar Chapekar. The film which blinded the eyes of the Government should now fall down.

The Hon'ble Mr. Daji Abaji Khare also asked:—

Is it a fact that the Cantonment Magistrate of Ahmednagar, assaulted the Editor of the *Sudarsan*, a local paper, on the 2nd of November last, at the editor's own house because of some comments which appeared in that paper regarding plague operations?

In reply, the Hon. Sir Charles Oliviant said:—

It is a fact that the District Magistrate of Ahmednagar under Section 203 of the Criminal Procedure Code, dismissed a complaint in which one Wasudeo Gangaram Dange, said to be the proprietor and editor of the *Sudarsan* newspaper, alleged that he had been assaulted by an officer who was the then Cantonment Magistrate of Ahmednagar.

As to any other fact which the question imports, Government are not in a position to express an opinion, but they understand that if the complainant was aggrieved by the District Magistrate's order of dismissal he had further legal remedies open to him.

Sir Charles Oliviant has the reputation of being a very clever officer. The reply sustains his reputation fully in that respect. The Bombay Secretariat is hardly the fit place for him. The portfolio of the Foreign Office should be made over to him. The native member of Council is no match for him. His worthy opponent is perhaps the Ameer of Afghanistan.

Just as we expected, the Hon'ble Joy Gobind Law voted against the Sedition Bill along with his other Indian colleagues, namely, the Hon'ble Maharaja of Durbhanga, the Hon'ble Mr. Charu, the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis, the Hon'ble Mr. Sayani and the Hon'ble Pundit Bishambar Nath. As for the Hon'ble Rai Suraj Kaul, he, poor man, is quite innocent of English; and while he sat like a dummy, Mr. Macpherson read out a speech in his name which was, of course, in support of the measure. What is, however, very disappointing, is that the Hon'ble Mr. Allan Arthur should go over to the side of the Government. How could he do it as the representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, which had condemned the Bill, is more than we can say. All the Indian representatives in the Council dealt with the subject before them in an excellent manner. Amongst the official members, the speech of the Viceroy, as befitted his exalted position, was the most dignified in tone. His Excellency said that in their calmer moments the public would come to see that the sedition measure was not such a bad thing as they had taken it to be. That is, no doubt, the Government view of the question. The people, however, regard the matter in another light. They believe that when Lord Elgin will go back to his native country and breathe again the fresh air of England, he will come to realize the mistake he had committed in this connection. It was expected that Sir Alexander Mackenzie would deliver as dignified a speech as the Viceroy. Nay, it was fondly hoped that he would defend the press and the educated natives of his Province who hold His Honour in great esteem, though they may not agree with him in many matters. But his utterances display a bitterness of feeling against them, which is simply staggering. Of course, we could understand if Sir James Westland or Mr. H. E. M. James or Sir Griffh Evans were to pour out their vial of invectives upon the people of this Province, for they cannot bear a Bengali Babu; but why should Sir Alexander imitate them in this respect? We must confess we are very much pained at this attitude of the Lieutenant-Governor.

The *Daily Chronicle* of the 24th January contains the following telegram from "native correspondents" dated "Madras"

A Joint public meeting of Hindus and Mahomedans was held here yesterday to protest against the sedition law amendments. Resolutions were carried praying that the offence should be made triable by a jury, half of whom should be countrymen of the accused, and condemning the provisions empowering postal authorities to open, detain, and destroy suspected newspapers and books.

The Indian Government's action against the Indian Press was condemned as retrograde, and opposed to British principles.

In reference to the above, the following editorial note is appended:—

We have made arrangements for the communication, from time to time from native sources, of items of news affecting the interests of the people of India. In view of the grave questions arising, in which the natives are interested, we have felt this step to be one of importance. We do not make ourselves responsible for all the statements of our correspondents, but we have taken precautions to ensure that they shall come from accredited sources' information.

The importance of the arrangement alluded to above, cannot be over-estimated. That India owes much of its misery to the fact of the ignorance of the British people about her affairs, goes without saying; and this want can be in a great measure remedied by representing the true condition of things here through the medium of the English press. We hope the *Chronicle* will appoint "native correspondents" in Calcutta, Bombay, and other important Indian cities, who can be absolutely trusted to furnish the paper with correct information. Be it noted here that the *Chronicle* has invariably supported the Indians during the crisis they are passing through.

"An Englishman" writes to the *Advocate of India*, complaining against the "indecent haste" with which the City Improvement Bill is being rushed through the Bombay Council. Says the correspondent:—

The Bill is published one Monday, is read a first time in a fortnight, and is then referred to a Select Committee to report in three weeks! The Bill itself is long, of doubtful necessity, to the last degree, of a continuous and financially speculative character, and, whether good or evil, will undoubtedly lay great burdens on the people of this city.

"An Englishman," we can presume, is a new comer to the country, who is quite innocent of the way in which laws are made here, or else he would not have expressed his surprise and indignation at the conduct of the Bombay authorities. Why, in the Supreme Council, performances have been made before which the Bombay feat sinks into insignificance. The Vernacular Press Act was passed at one sitting. When another equally important measure was before the Council, the Hon'ble Member in charge of it hurried through it and passed it into law without giving the public sufficient time for its consideration, because he had already engaged his passage and the steamer would not wait. The new Sedition Law has been passed practically in one sitting.

We print on another page the report of a murder case, from Cawnpur, which throws a good deal of light on the way in which the criminal administration of the country is carried on. In November last, a woman, named Rannia, of a village in that district was murdered. A police inquiry followed, and the result was that two men, Janki and Banda, were put on their trial on the charge of having committed the murder. At the Sessions Court, they were convicted and adjudged to be hanged. An appeal was preferred to the Allahabad High Court. The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Burkit, who heard the case, were satisfied that the prisoners had been convicted on false evidence and ordered their release. In their judgment, their Lordships severely commented on the conduct of the Police in the case, and took them severely to task. But if the conduct of the Police in this connection was to blame, we think that of the Sessions Judge is not the less blameworthy. It is no excuse on his part to be the dupe of the Police and send two men to the gallows on the strength of the evidence which their Lordships characterized as false.

The *Murshidabad Hitachi* reports an unfortunate case of grievous hurt to a native woman from a European's gun. The Revd. Mr. Sims of the local London Mission Society, shot down a dog in the compound of the Mission House. The shot, however, travelled long and wide, and at last struck the woman who was standing on the roadside at a distance of about four hundred cubits. The usual police inquiry is going on. The mishap was due to an accident. The *Hitachi* says that sometime ago this reverend gentleman whipped a respectable native boy of seven years, and had to make up the case against him with an apology.

REFERRING to the City of Bombay Improvement Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, the Corporation representative, said that some definite scheme ought to have been prepared for the improvement of the city before the Bill was introduced. Coming to the financial responsibility of the Corporation, he said a Select Committee would have to consider and draw a line at the financial responsibility of the Corporation. As the task of providing the funds for the trust, as now created, was thrown on the Corporation, that body ought to have a greater share in the administration.

We publish elsewhere an account of the entertainment given to Sir A. P. MacDonnell by the Indian notables and gentlemen of the

fulness of the movement cannot be over-estimated. It not only does good to the heart of the given and of the receiver of the honour, but it tends to make the basis of the British rule firmer. After Lord Ripon, this is, we believe, the first time that an Indian ruler has afforded the people, entrusted to his care, an opportunity of shewing to the world how a sympathetic and kind rule can evoke gushing loyalty in their hearts.

REFERRING to a remark by a member of the local Council, calling attention to the fact of great apprehension in Bombay owing to certain plague regulations, Lord Sandhurst is reported to have said: at the Council meeting of Tuesday:—

"Upon two or three occasions last year I called Native gentlemen together, and invited their assistance and their co-operation. I cannot say that I proceeded very far until I got together the Justices of the Peace of Bombay in the Town Hall. A very large number of these Justices of the Peace at my suggestion came forward to assist the plague authorities that day. Whether there are the same number of those gentlemen who worked in such a heroic manner last year, at work this year, I am unable to say; but still there is ample opportunity, I can assure you, for a great many more Native gentlemen to come forward to assist in such parties. I must ask all of you, gentlemen, who have influence, and have friends in various parts of the town, to make every effort to induce people to 'come forward' to explain measures to their fellow townspeople, and thus to do away with any alarm which might be caused. Government has done the very utmost they can, and their efforts will be continuous and more extensive than ever, but still we must ask for all assistance that can be given us by those who are intimate with and understand the habits of the people themselves. So I trust that this appeal which I am now making to those of you who have influence, will not be made in vain. At the same time you will believe me when I say that I and Government, my honourable colleagues on the Council, Sir James Campbell, and all the members of the Plague Committee, are as anxious as any other to allay any feeling of misapprehension that may possibly exist. It will be considered how far the present measures are successful, and how far it may be possible to alleviate the suffering which I am told exists."

There is no doubt of it that the Bombay Government are doing their best to cope with the plague, and that they are as much anxious as any other to allay any feeling of misapprehension that may possibly exist. But that is not the point at issue. The point is whether they should continue the segregation system, after it has been sufficiently tried at Poona and elsewhere and found wanting. Said his lordship: "It will be considered how far the present measures are successful." The people want that this point should be considered at once; for, the present measures, in spite of their benevolent nature, are causing untold sufferings to them. The popular feeling, as voiced by the *Indu Prokash*, is that they should be let alone and allowed to die in the bosom of their family, if so fitted.

Two new cotton ginning factories are being constructed in Burma, and will soon be in full working order. One is at Ywataung, opposite Thayetmyo, and the other at Myingyan, near the Police Training School. The estimated cost of each factory is about a lakh and a-half of rupees.

THE Basant Darbar at Srinagar was not held by the Maharaja personally who is at Jammu in these days, but under his orders by the Governor of Kashmir. A golden "graddi" was placed to indicate the Maharaja's place.

It has been decided not to move the Gorkha Regiments from Assam, at least for the present.

THE Committee on the Government Cattle Farm at Hissar, after an exhaustive enquiry of ten days, completed its work and left Hissar on the evening of the 13th instant.

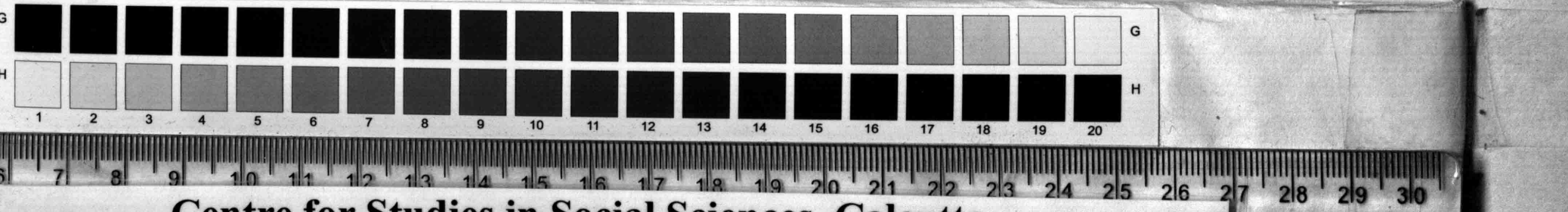
ACCORDING to a Lahore telegram to the *Indian Daily News* authentic news from Khyber states that the Zakka Khel Maliks Khawas Khan and Wali Mahomed Khan, who are near Daska, in the Afghan territory, have been in frequent communication with Kabul through their agents, and have received direct encouragement from the Amir himself in maintaining their attitude of defiance towards the Political Officer in the matter of terms imposed on their clan. It is also reported that they have received pecuniary assistance from the Amir.

PRIVATE Thomas Albert Douglas, of the 1st Battalion Cheshire Regiment, who, as the reader is aware, made a statement in a District Court-martial at Secunderabad, to the effect that he murdered a village postman in his Highness the Nizam's territory, also stated that he was concerned in the death of Mr. R. P. Franklin, an Engineering Contractor of Indore (Nizam's Territory), and owner of the village of Nujaram. It is a fact that Mr. Franklin, who was well known in Hyderabad, died in the District last year, but the Nizam's Government are making enquiries as to the truth or otherwise of Douglas's statement.

THE 23rd February has been fixed for the surrender of the Afridis.

CONTINUOUS rain had fallen in the Khyber in the past thirty-six hours. No. 1 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, moved from Jamrud to Ali Masjid, and No. 2 Kohat Mountain Battery from Ali Masjid to Jamrud. All is well and quiet.

THERE has been little of interest during the past few days from the frontier. Such reports as have come in are believed to indicate a desire for peace among certain of the Afridi clans, and it is thought possible that General Lockhart's plans for the next week or two may eventually dispel the necessity for a big campaign in the spring. No one will be sorry if this proves to be the case, for the cost of the frontier operations is gradually mounting up, and five crores cannot be very far above the actual bill at the present moment. As we have so often pointed out, however, the jirgas at Jamrud cannot be trusted, and even if they were acting in good faith, it is a question whether they have any influence over the septs they are supposed to represent. Moreover, the Zakka Khel, so far as



Calcutta and Mofussil.

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MONETARY.—Exchange on Thursday was quiet, the closing quotation for demand being Rs. 3 29-3/4.

VICEROY'S DEPARTURE.—The Viceroy will leave Calcutta on 20th March, arriving in Musorie on the 31st and thence marching to Simla.

DEPARTURE.—The Commander-in-Chief Lady White and family will leave Calcutta for England by P. and O. steamer *Massilia* on March 20.

OFFICIAL.—On Sir John Woodburn's arrival Mr. C. M. Rivaz, who has been officiating for him, will take short leave, and will pay a visit to Burmah.

UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.—The Convocation of the Calcutta University for conferring Degrees will be held in the Senate House, College Square, on Saturday, the 19th February, at 4 P. M.

THE B. I. STRIKE.—The strike among the British India Company's officers has terminated. A number of the men have already applied to the Company for re-employment, and their services have been engaged.

THE BOARD OF REVENUE.—The Hon. Mr. Toynebe, Member of the Board of Revenue, goes on leave on March 12th. He will be succeeded by Mr. W. B. Oldham, now Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING.—The last "Calcutta Gazette" publishes the regulations relating to electric lighting in Calcutta, for securing the safety of the public and ensuring a proper and sufficient supply of electrical energy.

THE HIGH COURT.—Mr. Justice Trevelyan goes in May, but no successor has been finally selected, and it is more than probable that, as he does not contemplate returning to this country, the appointment will be filled up from England.

LONDON UNIVERSITY MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS.—It has been notified that the University of London has on reconsideration decided to continue to hold its Matriculation Examination in India up to the close of the year 1898. Fees for admission to the examination to be held in Calcutta in June next, will be received in the office of the Director of Public Instruction at the Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, up to the 28th February, 1898.

ELECTRICAL PROGRESS.—In reviewing the year's electrical progress on the scientific side, the *Electrician* mentions "the discovery of Dr. Zeeman on the widening of the D lines in the spectrum under the influence of a strong magnetic field." It adds:—"Prof. J. C. Bose has also imparted additional strength to the electro-magnetic theory of light, by his discovery that certain crystals which polarise electric rays by unequal absorption in two directions exhibit unequal conductivities in the two directions."

SHOOTING A LEOPARD.—A correspondent writes from Baingachi, Kishorganj, in the district of Purneah:—"Babu Bepin Behary Banerjee, of Khagra Wards Estate in this District, has again this day shot a very big leopard in the jungles of Khagra. The beast was prowling about Khagra for about a week and ravaging our cattle. We express our hearty thanks to Bepin Babu who chooses big games as a pastime and who killed many a wild and ferocious beast during his sojourn in the country. The variegated beast measured about 10 feet in length."

SEA-BORNE TRADE OF CALCUTTA.—The expansion in value of the sea-borne trade of Calcutta in January was equivalent to nearly twenty-six per cent. Cotton goods largely contributed to this increase, twist with white and grey piece-goods all showing marked advances. Sugar was also received in considerable quantities, chiefly beet-root from Hamburg. Railway plant, salt and metals also increased largely during the month. There was a decline in machinery to the value of six lakhs, while liquors and kerosine oil both fell in value. The value of gold imports in January was nearly fourteen lakhs and of silver over nine lakhs. In the coasting trade the rice received fell from 733,808 to 114,002 cwt. At the same time receipts of mineral oil (including kerosine) from Burma more than doubled as compared with the previous year.

FIGHT BETWEEN A HEDGEHOG AND A SNAKE.—"Several years ago I was an interested spectator of a combat between a hedgehog and a huge black snake," said W. D. Ingraham, of Memphis. "I came upon the scene just as the hedgehog began the attack upon the snake, which was lying stretched out on the road asleep. The hog advanced cautiously upon the reptile, and seized its tail in its mouth, giving it a sharp bite. Then he quickly withdrew a few feet, and rolling himself into a compact, spiny ball, awaited developments. The snake upon being thus rudely awakened, turned in fury upon its antagonist, striking the hog again and again with its fangs. The wily hedgehog securely entrenched within its spiny armour, remained perfectly motionless all the while, allowing the snake to keep up the attack. At every stroke the jaws of the snake would be come filled with the spines, until, at last, exhausted and bleeding from dozens of wounds caused by the needle-like spines of the hog, the snake gave up the battle. This was evidently the hedgehog was waiting for, as he in-

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.—Sir George White was in a good deal of pain on Tuesday but this passed off towards evening. He had an excellent night, and on Wednesday morning his general health was good.

A CORRECTION.—In a Municipal Memorial published in our yesterday's issue, the names of Babu Suriprasad and Mouvi Syed Nadir Hyder were inadvertently included in the list of signatories.

OBITUARY.—We regret to learn that Babu Bhagwan Chunder Dutt, Mathematical teacher in the Patna Collegiate School, is dead. He was very popular and was much liked by his pupils, who mourn his premature death.

THE INDIAN SANGIT SAMAJ.—The usual weekly entertainment of the Sangit Samaj will be held on Sunday, the 20th February, at 7 P. M., and the programme will consist of recitations by several of the members. This will be followed by Mr. Lobo's concert at 9 P. M., which will play selections from music composed by the late Kumar Prônôde Kumar Tagore.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—We have received the following: (1) "Heerak Jubilee" and "Bhagirathi Stotra Mala," by Babu Sham Lal Mullick, of Jorasanka. The former is a loyal contribution to the Jubilee literature and the latter is a compilation of the hymns to the Goddess Ganges. (2) "The Annual Lawn Tennis Tournaments," published by the Calcutta North Club, containing the rules and regulations of the Club.

THE SMALL CAUSE COURT.—The largest number of suits in the Small Cause Court for 1897 were for sums up to Rs. 50, of which 11, 268 were instituted last year, against 10,565 in 1896 and 10,452 in the previous year. Of suits for sums above Rs. 1,000 there were 545 in 1897, compared with 484 and 458 respectively in the two preceding years. The net profit credited to Government from the working of the Court was a lakh and three-quarters, which is nearly a quarter of a lakh better than in 1896. The average duration of contested suits has diminished as the total value of suits instituted has increased. The former was 36.7 days in 1897, 39.5 days in 1896, and 42.8 days in 1895. The total value was Rs. 30,28,382, Rs. 27,82,622, and Rs. 26,73,241 in the same years. The figures relating to the duration of cases compare very favourably with those of 1897, when the average was 61.5 days, or of 1887, when it was 111.3 days. Twenty-six thousand two hundred and seven cases were disposed of in all last year in the Small Cause Court, of which 3,614 were contested. The total amount realized by the execution of decrees was Rs. 7,52,226, as compared with Rs. 6,74,437 in the previous year.

TELEGRAM TO "INDIA."—The following telegram was sent to "India," London, by the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee regarding Thursday's public meeting in the Town Hall:—"A great public meeting was held in the Town Hall to consider the Seditious Bill. It was the largest meeting ever known. It was opened by the Sheriff, the Hon'ble Allan Arthur, and was attended by nearly 4,000 people, packing the Town Hall to its utmost capacity, thousands returning for want of rooms. The meeting protested against the Seditious Bill, pointing out the singular unanimity with which all sections of the community, European, Indian and all public bodies, representing widely different interests, such as the Defence Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Calcutta Bar, disapproved the Bill. A memorial was adopted, praying that 'disaffection' be defined and that such words as 'hatred,' 'contempt,' 'enmity,' being vague be omitted. The meeting further protested against the Criminal Procedure Bill, as adding power of the Police, giving the Magistrates discretionary authority and curtailing the power of the High Court. Several distinguished English Barristers were present one taking part in the proceedings of the meeting."

CLEVER DETECTION.—So far back as in May, 1897, a serious dacoity took place in the house of Babu Ambika Charan Chatterjee, in village Navendrapur, some 6 or 7 miles to the east of Jessore Kotwali. It was the middle of summer and the heat was almost unbearable. Ambika Babu, therefore, opened the door of his sleeping apartment and lay himself down at the passage. The house was enclosed with brick walls with a door leading into it. At midnight a band of dacoits attacked the house. Some of the ruffians scaled the wall, and dropping within the enclosure threw open the door and the rest of the party then rushed in. They gagged the Brahmin and assaulted him so severely as to break four of his teeth. The robbers then decamped with ornaments and cash to the value of Rs. 2,000, leaving the owner bound hand and foot. The case was investigated into by the local Sub-Inspector of Police but with no appreciable result. At last it was taken in hand by Babu Mohin Chandra Das, Inspector of Police, Jessore Sudder Kotwali. He fortunately maintained his well-earned reputation as a detective officer and traced the culprits to their lurking place, recovering the stolen property. Of the accused six men were sentenced to ten years and one to 9 years' rigorous imprisonment. In investigating into the dacoity the Inspector lighted on another crime—a burglary in which the seventh accused had been concerned and in this case the man received a further punishment of one year's imprisonment. The conviction and sentence of these dacoits were upheld on appeal to the High Court. An idea of the desperate nature of these men, and the consequent difficulty which the officer must have had in arresting them, might be formed when we say that two of them escaped from jail by filing away bars of a window, passing along the cornice and lastly by scaling a wall 10 or 11 feet in height. Really Babu Mohin Chandra deserves great credit for this clever capture in which all the elements of a three-volume detective story are present. He is an ornament of Police department; and if there were many like him in the mofussil police serious crime would perhaps be less frequently heard of than now.

THE SEDITION BILL

MEETING OF THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL

The Seditious Bill was finally passed into law last night after a debate of eight hours. With the exception of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who has not yet fully recovered from the effects of his recent accident, all the Councillors, official and non-official were in their respective seats. Debates in the Viceroyal Council are generally monotonous; but last night's debate was enlivened by some of the speeches, notably of Mr. Ananda Charlu, Sir Griffith Evans, Sir James Westland and Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Sir Griffith Evans's speech opened with observations that there was rank sedition in the Native Press, and ended with a fling at his learned friends at the Bar who had ventured to remark that time had not yet come to "penalise the telling of truth in India." Sir James Westland, with his usual cleverness, tried to show up the insignificance of the various movements against the Bill, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie in his vigorous way added the proverbial last straw on the back of the Native Press, by declaring that it was seditious and required a good deal looking after. There were not less than thirty-two amendments, given notice of by the non-official members. Most of them were rejected, some were withdrawn, regard being had to the usual fate of the others, and only one, that of Sir Griffith Evans, was adopted. His Excellency the Viceroy closed the debate by a dignified speech, in which he expressed hope that after the heat and fury of the controversy was over, every one would admit the necessity of legislation on the subject and peace would again be restored.

Before the Seditious Bill was taken into consideration, the Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers took the opportunity of presenting the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code. In this Bill among other things, there was the provision to entrust Magistrates of the first class and the Presidency Magistrates, with powers to try cases arising out of obscene, seditious and defamatory matters. The Select Committee, Mr. Chalmers said, had made some alterations with regard to this provision. In the first place, instead of Magistrates of the first class, it was provided that such trials would be held before District Magistrates and Presidency Magistrates; and as there was a separate section for dealing with obscene publications, it was thought expedient not to have the word "obscene" in it; and a qualification was added to defamatory matters to the effect that only those which were directed against public servants would be taken cognizance of. The Post Office Bill of the Hon'ble Sir James Westland was also referred to a Select Committee, consisting of Mr. Chalmers, Babu Joy Gobinda Law, Mr. James, Mr. Ananda Charlu and the mover.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers then moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code in relation to extra-territorial offences be taken into consideration. His speech will be found elsewhere.

The Hon'ble Mr. Allan Arthur said he was prepared generally to support the measures. But with reference to the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers in regard to giving Magistrates and Presidency Magistrates power to try seditious cases under section 124A, he said:—"I feel bound to mention that there is a strong feeling against giving Magistrates such power under this section, (the punishment for which may be penal servitude for life, although presumably Magistrates will not be given the power to inflict such a punishment, in regard to the Bill before the Council, the views which have been put forward by some of the non-official bodies would, if adopted, have the same effect, it is believed, as the measures proposed by the Government, and in so far as they would, in the opinion of these bodies, have made the law clearer and, therefore, more difficult to evade and at the same time cause less friction, I regret the Government have not seen their way to adopt them."

With regard to "Explanations" 2 and 3, it will certainly be difficult for a speaker or writer to criticise the actions of Government without exciting to a certain amount of contempt, but the country has had a most direct assurance from Your Excellency that the Government have no desire or intention to interfere in any way with the liberty of the orator or the Press, which assurance ought to be perfectly satisfactory to the ordinary person who has none but loyal feelings. In so far, however, as the assurance is not placed in the Statute-book, it does not satisfy every one."

The Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis then spoke. His speech will be found elsewhere.

The Hon'ble Pundit Suraj Kaul, whose speech was read by the Secretary in the Legislative Department, said that he generally approved of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson, of the Madras Civil Service, approved of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Mr. LaTouche of the N. W. Provinces was also in favour of the Bill.

The Hon'ble Sir Griffith Evans supported the Bill. In doing so, he observed that for many years a portion of the Native Press, and particularly of the Vernacular Press, directed itself to pouring forth a continual stream of calumny and abuse of the British Government in India, and to teaching its readers that all their misfortunes, poverty and miseries arose from a foreign Government, which drew away their wealth and were callous to their miseries, and from whom they could expect neither justice nor sympathy. Referring to the remarks of the Calcutta Bar that "the time has not come to prohibit the telling of the truth in India," Sir Griffith observed that there was no denying the humour of this comment. He continued:

"But if the learned authors of it had met a man who had found out that by an accident there was something wrong with the grease for the sepoy's cartridges and who was going to take that information into the sepoy lines with the probable result of a mutiny in which my learned friends, their wives and their children would be slaughtered, I much fear they would have laid violent hands on that man in preference to dying in defence of the principle so neatly enunciated. In such cases—sicut republice suprema lex. The alarm created by these proposals, seems to spring from a very slender basis, so far as this Bill

liery of speech and writing which they could reasonably desire."

"If I thought that the Bill would make free discussion of measures and petitions for the redress of grievances penal, and leave it to the generosity or discretion of Government to prosecute or not, certainly should not vote for it. It is with very great regret that I find myself in this matter holding a view opposed to that of the Calcutta Bar of which I am a member, and which contains so many for those opinion I entertain the most sincere respect, notably, the learned Advocate-General. But when dealing with matters of political gravity, I have the responsibility on my own shoulders and cannot shift it. Had it been possible, I would have done so."

The Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu then spoke. His speech will be found elsewhere.

The Hon'ble Mr. James, Commissioner of Sind, in supporting the Bill, regretted that the District Magistrates had not been invested with the power of sanctioning prosecutions under section 124 A.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Stevens did not like to give a silent vote in the matter. In his opinion, the Bill, if passed into law, would not interfere with freedom of speech or writing, if it did not exceed the bounds of law. He was in favour of a free press, and his opinion on the subject was lately upheld by His Excellency the Viceroy, and he did not see how any honest speaker or writer was to be afraid of the present measures.

The Hon'ble Joy Gobinda Law, in a short speech, opposed the Bill.

The Hon'ble Pundit Bishwamher Nath strongly opposed it. He did not see any necessity for a repressive measure like the one before them. The country was not in a disturbed state, peace was reigning supreme and he did not see why a measure like this should be forced at the present moment.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sayani made a lengthy speech, opposing the Bill. He deplored that in a year of plague, famine, earthquake and other calamities through which India has lately suffered, Government should consider the proper time to enact repressive measures.

The Hon'ble Mr. Rivaz, the Hon'ble Mr. Trevor and the Hon'ble Sir E. Colleen supported the Bill with short speeches.

The Hon'ble Sir James Westland, in supporting the measure, said that they were told that the whole country opposed the Bill. He did not understand how that could be. He had carefully read the advertisement in the papers, calling a public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta. There was a large section of the European community living in Calcutta, but not a single European name was in the requisition to the Sheriff. Neither a single Mahomedan name. It was only a meeting of lawyers and editors. There were four speakers at the meeting, and two of them were editors and the rest lawyers. Then how could it be called a meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta? The Hon'ble members made similar remarks with regard to the Conference held at the British Indian Association Rooms. The Government did not know who formed the Conference. The usual form of drawing up a memorial, viz. "I am directed by the Committee" was amended upon. Sir James wanted to know the names on the Committee to see whether they were fit to be advisers of Government.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor next addressed the Council. He made strong remarks on the Native Press and its conductors, the educated Indians. He gave his emphatic support to the Bill.

The motion whether the Report was to be taken into consideration was then put to the vote and carried by 18 against 4. The minority consisted of Mr. Chitnavis, Mr. Ananda Charlu, Pundit Bishwamher Nath and Mr. Sayani.

The amendments were then taken into consideration. Mr. Ananda Charlu moved nine amendments, they were all lost. Mr. Chitnavis moved two—they were lost. Mr. Sayani gave notices of six amendments; and not a single of them was adopted. The Maharaja of Durbhanga gave notices of ten amendments. He did not move all withdrawing some, because, as he said, it was useless to do so unless the Government agreed to accept them. Sir Griffith Evans gave notice of one amendment and that was accepted by Government, which was as follows:

"That the following be added to section 153-A as proposed to be inserted in the Indian Penal Code by clause 5 of the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, namely:—"

"Explanation.—It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects."

His Excellency the President then addressed the Council. Elsewhere is published the full text of his speech.

The Bill as amended, was then passed.

MR. CHALMERS' SPEECH

In moving that this Report be taken into consideration, I desire to trouble the Council with a few remarks on the scope of the Bill, and to discuss some of the objections which have been urged against the measure.

In the first place, this Bill is approved by the Local Governments. We have, of course, been in communication with the Local Governments from the earliest inception of this legislation, and we are now proceeding with its authority. Now what does this mean? It means that the high officers who are responsible for the peace and good government of the provinces under their charge consider that these provisions are required. Those high officers are all men of wide experience, and they are intimately acquainted with the conditions and requirements of their respective provinces, and when we get a coincident body of opinion from them, that opinion is entitled to the utmost weight.

Now where do the main objections to the Bill come from? They come from people who are in the happy position of being able to criticise without having any responsibility for the result thrown upon them. If we adopted their suggestions, we should not shift the responsibility from our shoulders to theirs. It is the Government of the country, and the Government alone, which is responsible for maintaining its peace and tranquillity.

going to belittle the presidency towns. A citizen of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay will say that "he is a citizen of no mean city." If we were legislating only for the presidency towns, I should attach the greatest weight to these criticisms. But we are not. We are legislating for India as a whole; we are legislating for 266 millions of people in all stages of progress and civilization, and not merely for the two million or so of people in the presidency towns.

Now I want to mention some of the specific criticisms which have been made. In the first place, it is alleged that in the new section 124A we are altering and extending the existing law under the existing section, section 124A. This criticism is mainly based on some remarks made by Sir Fitzjames Stephen when introducing the Act of 1870. I agree that it might be inferred from some passages in his speech that he considered an appeal to force to be an element in seditious utterances. But it is a familiar rule of law that proceedings in the Legislature cannot be resorted to to interpret an Act. To discover what the law is, when its meaning is contested, you must look at the language of the Act itself, and if that language has been interpreted by the Courts, you must look to the interpretation of the Courts.

The Courts of Justice, and they alone, can put an authoritative interpretation on the meaning of an Act of the Legislature. If that test be applied, I feel sure that no one who candidly and carefully reads the consistent decisions of the Calcutta, Bombay and Allahabad High Courts can come to any other conclusion than this—namely, that in our new section we are keeping well within the existing law, though we are expressing that law in less ambiguous language. By dropping the term "ill-will" from the explanation of "disaffection," we may be somewhat restricting the existing law, but we are not extending it. In confirmation of what I have said, I will read an extract from the unanimous decision of the Allahabad High Court, which considers and sums up the previous cases. "Sir John Edge in delivering that judgment, observes:

"In our opinion any one who, by any of the means referred to in section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, excites or attempts to excite feelings of hatred, dislike, ill-will, enmity or hostility towards the Government established by law in British India, excites or attempts to excite, as the case may be, feelings of 'disaffection' as that term is used in section 124A, no matter how guardedly he may attempt to conceal his real object. It is obvious that feelings of hatred, dislike, ill-will, enmity or hostility towards the Government must be inconsistent and incompatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government and to support that lawful authority against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist it. The disapprobation of the measures of the Government may or may not in any particular case be the text upon which the speech is made, or the article or letter is written; but, if upon a fair and impartial consideration of what was spoken or written it is reasonably obvious that the intention of the speaker or writer was to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, then a Court or a jury should find that the speaker, or writer, or publisher, as the case might be, had committed the offence of attempting to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India. To paraphrase is dangerous; but it appears to us that the 'disaffection' of section 124A is 'disloyalty'; that is, the sense in which the word 'disaffection' has been generally used and understood during the century. We are further of opinion that the ordinary meaning of 'disaffection' in section 124A, striking regard to the evils at which section 124A, strikes, is not varied by the Explanation contained in the section."

The intention of a speaker, writer or publisher may be inferred from the particular speech, article or letter, or it may be proved from that speech, article or letter, considered in conjunction with what such speaker, writer or publisher has said, written or published on another or other occasions. Where it is ascertained that the intention of the speaker, writer or publisher was to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, it is immaterial whether or not the words spoken, written or published could have the effect of exciting such feelings of disaffection, and it is immaterial whether the words were true or were false, and, except on the question of punishment or in a case in which the speaker, writer or publisher is charged with having excited such feelings of disaffection, it is immaterial whether or not the words did in fact excite such feelings of disaffection.

Then it is urged that the proposed clause goes further than English law, and again some passages in Sir Fitzjames Stephen's speech are referred to. All I can say is this. In 1870 he thought that an appeal to force was a necessary constituent of sedition, he afterwards changed his mind. After he had served on the Criminal Code Commission, which was composed of some of the most distinguished Judges of modern times, he published his Digest of the English Criminal Law. Article 96 of that Digest he states the English law in the clear and precise terms which I read to Council on the 21st December. There is nothing in that article, and there is nothing in the almost identical article framed by the Criminal Code Commission to suggest that an appeal to violence is a necessary factor in the offence. I take it, that the offence is complete both in India and England, if it be proved that the offender has attempted to excite disaffection towards the Government. It is not necessary that he should himself appeal to force. What he does is to excite or attempt to excite feelings of discontent which make people ready for mischief, should the opportunity arise.

But after all, these arguments are more or less academic. No one in his senses would contend that because a given law is good and suitable in England, it is therefore good and suitable in India. Take, for instance, the English Marriage Laws which are the foundation of English society. They are based upon monogamy protected by the severest penalties. But no one would think of introducing them into India; any more than he would think of enacting by law that the people of India should wear top hats and trousers. If a rule of law exists in England we may fairly consider whether it is suitable to India, but the answer to the question must always depend on the conditions which prevail in India. How much

me, and it hurts no one else. If I smoke a cigar in the powder magazine of the Fort, I endanger the lives of many and do an act well deserving punishment. Language may be tolerated in England which it is unsafe to tolerate in India, because in India it is apt to be transformed into action instead of passing off as harmless gas. Look at the cow-killing riots in Western India, with the deplorable loss of life that followed; look at the murder of Lekh Ram at Lahore, at the Poona murders and at recent events in the Peshawar District. Just the other day a Brahmin gentleman and a native doctor were murdered at Sinner by a fanatical mob. That apparently was the reward for their self-devotion in attempting to grapple with the plague and save the lives of their fellow-countrymen. In legislating for India we must have regard to Indian conditions, and we must rely mainly on the advice of those who speak under the weight of responsibility, and have the peace and good government of India under their charge.

Now let me say a word or two about the changes introduced in the Select Committee. We have added a further explanation to clause 124A. The second explanation was intended to protect fair and honest criticism which has for its object the alteration of the policy pursued by the Government in any particular case. Some people were apprehensive that the express declaration of this principle might be held implicitly to negative the right of people to criticise Government action when that criticism could not lead to a reversal of such action; for instance, criticism on past expenditure, or criticism on an appointment which the critic may think objectionable. I think this apprehension was quite unfounded, but in order to allay it we have introduced the third explanation. We have also removed the offence of stirring up class hatred from the sedition clause, and have inserted it in the chapter relating to offences against the public tranquility. This offence, no doubt, only affects the State indirectly. It affects the State through the danger it causes to the public tranquility. It is less akin to treason than a seditious attack upon the Government by law established, and therefore we have provided a much smaller punishment. But in India the offence is a very dangerous one. When class or sectarian animosity is directed against any section of Her Majesty's subjects, the members of that section are in peril. Any accidental event may cause an explosion, and it is difficult to foresee the direction which the explosion will take. The present attacks made on the officers and helpers engaged in plague operations have already resulted in sad loss of life. A squabble over an alleged mosque gave rise to a dangerous riot which, at one time it was feared, might turn into a general attack on the European community in Calcutta. We wish to trust to prevention rather than cure, and by taking power to punish people who foment class animosities to obviate the necessity of putting down the consequent disturbances with a high hand.

In section 503 the Select Committee have made a considerable modification. As the clause now stands, I think it need cause no apprehension to any speaker or journalist who acts in good faith. It must be borne in mind that the clause does not strike at mischievous and mendacious reports generally. It is aimed only at reports calculated to produce mutiny or to induce one section of the population to commit offences against another. If a man takes upon himself to circulate such a report, he surely cannot complain if he is asked to show that his intentions were innocent, and that he had reasonable grounds for believing the report.

But though we think and believe that the measures we have proposed are necessary, we have provided safeguards against any possible abuse of them—safeguards which, I may observe, are unknown to English law. My Honorable friend, the Maharaja of Durbhanga, says in his note of dissent that under the proposed section 124A "it is quite possible to punish a journalist or public speaker who is only guilty of using indiscreet language calculated to give rise to trifling feelings of irritation." May I call his attention to section 95 of the Indian Penal Code, which provides that "nothing is an offence by reason that it causes, or is intended to cause, or that it is known to be likely to cause, any harm, if that harm is so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm." In the highly hypothetical case which he puts, it seems to me that his journalistic friend would have committed no offence, and would have nothing to fear. If you put hypothetical cases, and assume that the law will be strained and administered without common sense, there is scarcely a section of the Penal Code that ought to be allowed to stand for five minutes. But we have provided another and wider safeguard. As the law now stands, no prosecution under section 124A can be commenced without the authority of the Local Government or the Government of India. We intend, of course, to maintain that rule and further to apply it to offences under sections 153A and 505. There remain the rights of appeal and revision. Every sentence passed under the provisions I have referred to can be brought in one form or the other under the cognizance of the High Court.

I freely admit that our proposals have met a good deal of adverse criticism. But, then, what are the alternatives? We have been urged both from official and private sources to re-enact the Press Law. But we are entirely opposed to that course. We do not want a press in leading strings that can be made to dance to any tune that its censors may think fit to call. We want simply a free press that will not trample on the law of the land, but will aim at sedition and offences akin to it, and not at the press, because it is taught and preached orally, is even more dangerous than written sedition, because it operates more directly on the ignorant, and therefore the dangerous classes. Some of our critics apparently would have us sit idle till an outbreak has occurred, and then call upon us to suppress it by violent methods, not known to the law. As a sample, let me cite an extract from a Calcutta daily paper which disapproves our present proposals:

"We cannot view Calcutta as a Western city. In places like Algiers or Samarkand, the religious leaders of the Muhammadan community are told that they will be held responsible for order, and it is found that it has a magical effect. In England, to lock up the clergy would be probably ridiculous and quite useless as a means of

We must begin by recognising that we live in the East and do as the East does." (Indian Daily News, 12th July, 1897).

But we have chosen much less drastic methods than those suggested to us. We have proposed what we think, and are advised, to be reasonable amendments in the law, and we intend to supplement the substantive law by providing a prompt and workable procedure to put it in force.

MR. CHITNAVIS SPEECH.

My Lord, The fourth section of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee, repeals section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, and offers a substitute. It introduces important innovations. With regard to one of these I feel that there cannot be any difference of opinion. That a person who attempts to bring Her Majesty into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection towards Her, should be held to have committed an offence and should be liable to be punished, is manifestly right and proper. This addition to the penal law I heartily welcome. We in this country are accustomed to invest sovereignty with a character of sanctity, and deem any insult to the King as almost a sacrilege. Her gracious Majesty the Queen-Emress has, however, other claims on the affection and gratitude of the Indian people than those of sovereigns in general. By Her wise and beneficent measures, by Her many acts of kindness, by Her watchful and active sympathy with the millions of Her Indian subjects, she has laid them under obligations that they scarcely know how to acknowledge. And a law purporting to protect Her against disrespectful and disloyal treatment by speech or writing cannot but command universal approval. I may be permitted, however, to point out one little defect in the drafting of this part of the section. The phrase "Her Majesty" is not only an abbreviated and elliptical form of the expression "Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India," but is obviously applicable only to Her and not to all Her possible successors. To prevent the law from being futile and to obviate the necessity of verbal amendments on the occasion of changes in the succession to the British Crown, I would beg to suggest that the words "the Sovereign for the time being of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" be used in place of the words "Her Majesty."

To the rest of the section I have serious objections. "Brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt" are words of very vague import and hardly distinguishable from "excites or attempts to excite disaffection." Whoever brings Government into hatred or contempt will be held to excite disaffection towards it, and whoever excites disaffection will be treated as bringing Government into hatred or contempt. This, however, is comparatively a slight objection. A real difficulty that cannot but arise in cases of alleged sedition is to know exactly when Government is brought into contempt or hatred, and when disaffection is excited towards it, that is to say, the limits of legitimate criticism. There may be occasions when a Court will be disposed to treat any adverse criticism of Government, however reasonable, as tending to bring it into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection towards it. I apprehend, therefore, that the section when it becomes law may seriously interfere with the free discussion of measures of Government; for any criticism that is not commendation may be adjudged as sedition. I confess I do not see my way to supporting a provision which, though, no doubt, conceived in a good spirit and honestly meant, is likely to have the effect of restraining the expression of opinion on topics of public interest.

The ambiguity of the text of the section is not removed by any of the three Explanations appended to it. Explanation 1 does not interpret or explain "disaffection," nor exhausts the different feelings included in it. It only states, what might very well have been presumed, that disloyalty and feelings of enmity are covered by it. If the Explanation does not tell us what disaffection is, neither does it tell us what disaffection is not. Explanation 2 specifically exempts some comments from the operation of the measure, namely, comments which, though they express disapprobation of the measures of Government, are made with a view to obtain this alteration by lawful means.

I now reserve my remarks with regard to the Explanation till I come to move my amendment in connection with it. Explanation 3 gives a little more liberty than Explanation 2. It states that comments on all actions of the Government will be excused even though they express disapproval. With regard to such comments it is not necessary that they should have been made with any particular view. A comparison of the two latter Explanations naturally suggests a question as to the distinction between measures and actions; but it is difficult to find an answer. No principle is apparent which would justify one rule with regard to measures and another with regard to actions. Neither Explanation 2 nor Explanation 3 indicates the kind or degree of disapprobation which will not be held to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection. I venture to think that all objections to the vagueness of the words introduced into the section would be met if the simple fact of resistance or rather the disposition of resistance to the lawful authority of Government were made the test of disaffection, disloyalty or enmity.

As regards punishment, the Select Committee have, no doubt, made an improvement on the original draft of the Bill by reducing the maximum term of imprisonment from ten years to three. But even in its present form the section lays down a punishment which is unduly severe. Transportation is an extreme form of punishment that is hardly called for by the necessities of the case, and as regards imprisonment, the purposes of

It Is Remarkable.

SAYS MR. W. WILSON, the popular Chemist at RAWALPINDI and MURREE, "How Chamberlain's Cough Remedy has attained a prominence in this district, and though it has only been introduced a few months it has taken the lead. From remarks made by my customers, who have used this remedy, I am convinced that it possesses exceptional qualities. I never hesitate to recommend it to all who are in need of a good cough mixture." CHAMBERLAIN'S COUGH REMEDY is for sale

justice would, I believe, be fully met if the simple and not the rigorous form of that penalty were prescribed. I read the following in Archibald's "Pleading and Evidence in Criminal Cases": "The Prison Commissioners shall see that any prisoner under sentence inflicted on conviction for sedition or seditious libel shall be treated as a misdemeanant of the first division, notwithstanding any statute, provision or rule to the contrary." Misdemeanants of the first class are not considered "criminal prisoners" and are allowed privileges denied to the latter. They are not sentenced to hard labour. They are not imprisoned for more than two years. It thus appears that, if it is intended to frame the Indian law of sedition on the model of the English, the punishment as now laid down in the section has to be materially altered.

With regard to this question of intention, I would, with due deference to the Honorable the Legal Member, beg to remark that it has been somewhat cruelly banished from all considerations in the proposed law. The intention will be presumed from the natural meaning of the words themselves, without reference to the actual feelings of the persons who used them. Thus, an accused under the proposed law would be left very little chance of being allowed to prove his intention except from what might be apparent from the words themselves, forming the subject-matter of the charge. There is not the least doubt that words are the natural outward expressions of the mind, and no man whose mind has not been deranged, would say anything which he had not meant. But then, there are at least some indiscreet people in this world who use words without foreseeing what the natural consequences from the use of such words may be upon such persons; the proposed law would operate a little too severely. In my humble opinion there ought to be some room in the law for such foolish men to prove what their intentions were, apart from what might be presumed from the natural meaning of the words. How often do we hear of read expressions like these, "what a contemptible Government it is to lay a tax on a famine-stricken people!" "What a swindle it is to pay the Services in 15-3d rupees, when they were promised to be paid in 2 shillings the rupee." Such expressions as these are, as a distinguished officer in the Civil Service of Bengal has pointed out, the outcome of a man's supposed right "to have his grumble," and cannot in fairness be considered seditious. It would be hard, my Lord, if the sec. 124A be enforced in cases like these. Then again, do we not find almost daily men in high position, men of light and leading, men esteemed by society as highly intellectual and commanding the respect of nations, expressing regret to each other in words like these: "I did not mean what I said, or I am sorry my words hurt your feelings, but I never intended to hurt them; pray, accept my sincere apology."

No one will deny, my Lord, that there is room for such things in this world even amongst the most highly-cultured and intellectual of men. If then a poor half-educated Indian Editor, in an unguarded moment or through want of sufficient foresight, writes anything, from the natural meaning of which seditious intent might be presumed, would the law allow him "no chance of escape"? It will be answered perhaps that the Judges of the land would undoubtedly exercise their discretion in regulating the amount of punishment in such cases. But I leave the question entirely to Your Excellency's merciful consideration whether the ends of justice would not be more properly met by a lenient framing of the law and a vigorous administration of it, where necessary, than by a rigorous legislation, leaving the accused to the doubtful mercies of a Criminal Judge.

The strongest objection to the section has yet to be mentioned. It is that the section is unnecessary. Penal and restrictive legislation is never justified except on the plea of necessity. It is an evil which is brought in to correct greater evils. In the present case I do not see that the circumstances of the country and the state of the law call for such a measure as this section purports to be. The country is not rife with sedition, not convulsed by disturbances. The existing law has not been found to be inadequate or nugatory for dealing with cases which the State has considered to be cases of sedition. Its proposed modification, therefore, is wholly unnecessary. The section that embodies the present law has been tried and not found wanting. Its proposed substitute is, I hope to be pardoned for observing, a venturesome leap in the dark. Its construction by the Courts, its effect on the country, can only be subjects of uncertain and not very hopeful speculation at the present day.

It has been said, my Lord, that recent events have necessitated the proposed alteration in the law. In other words, a belief has evidently arisen that the recent unfortunate events in the Bombay Presidency were directly or indirectly the result of newspaper writings. But this is a belief in which the educated Indian community do not share. Possibly some papers, in the excitement of the time, gave vent to their feelings in indiscreet and improper language. Can that be reasonably regarded as a ground for amending the general law of the land and fettering the liberties of the entire Indian Press? We have it upon Your Excellency's authority that although it was desirable that the general tone of the papers in India were not so often unduly coloured by prejudice, no general imputation of disloyalty can, on that account, be laid at their door. It is a valuable testimony, my Lord, to the loyalty of the Indian Press generally, a testimony which only imperfectly reflects the generous principles upon which the Government of this country is conducted, and upon this testimony alone I would

Effect Is Marvellous.

SAYS THOMAS C. FLASHMAN, Esq., the well-known merchant and proprietor of FLASHMAN'S HOTEL, RAWALPINDI, when speaking about some instances where he gave Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera, and Diarrhoea Remedy.

He said: "I have much pleasure in testifying to the beneficial results I have experienced from Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera, and Diarrhoea Remedy. Whenever I had occasion to use it, it has never failed to check diarrhoea, and often one dose was enough. The effect is marvellous. Have given it to travellers passing through my Hotel, and to my servants many times, and it has always proved efficacious." CHAMBERLAIN'S COLIC, CHOLERA, AND DIARRHOEA REMEDY sold everywhere. Price Re. 1

take my stand and urge that no alteration in the substantive law of the land is necessary. The educated community of India, represented by the leading newspapers of the country, are at any rate acute enough to foresee that in any disturbances that might arise they would be the first to suffer; and the instinct of self-preservation alone, if nothing else, prompts them to abstain from any line of action that would be likely to bring ruin upon their heads. The Honorable and learned Member in charge of the Bill has assured the public that Government has no quarrel with the Press. Much less then has the Press any quarrel with the Government. Any idea of a contest between the Government and the Press in this country is too ridiculous to deserve serious consideration.

When it is declared that the Government welcomes all fair, candid and honest criticism, it is recognised that the Press is a necessity in this country. It is a necessity, my Lord, because with all its defects, it is a mirror reflecting the thoughts and wishes of the people from which an enlightened Administration cannot fail to derive much benefit and advantage. Even hostile critics have admitted that the newspapers in this country are the great safety-valve of the Empire. What would be the condition of things, my Lord, if the newspapers in this country were to die out, or if, through fear of State prosecution, they were to abandon all honest criticism and take to singing the praises of officials and their acts in season and out of season? It will be said that Government does not intend such a course to be taken; that Government does not wish honest journalism to be abandoned. My Lord, the most hostile critic will not question the intentions of the Legislature, and yet, if the Bill be passed in its present form, the boldest of editors will feel that a sword is hanging over his head. It is for Your Excellency's Council to consider whether any value could be attached to what he might write under the influence of such a feeling.

My Lord, I cannot but regret that it should have become my duty to oppose so largely a measure, purporting to embody the views of Your Excellency's Government. But I have every assurance that my protest will be received in the spirit in which it has been meant and made. Liberty of the Press, or rather liberty of speech, is a principle, valued by no nation more highly than the English. If we have learnt to appreciate it, it is because we have been subjects of the English Government, because we have received our training at the feet of English instructors, because we have been governed on principles that are English. English training and English methods of Government have bred in us aspirations of the English sort, and furnished us with methods of criticism that cannot be described otherwise than as English. I cannot believe that it is intended to restrict criticism, however trenchant, of public measures; but I have thought it necessary to present to the Council what I consider to be the probable consequences of the measures now under consideration. A withdrawal of sections 4 and 5, a material modification of them or a postponement of the consideration of them to the next session, will be an act of grace and magnanimity for which the country cannot but be thankful; and in conclusion, I can only couple the protest I have already made with an appeal for one or another of these three possible concessions to public opinion.

My Lord, it is not my individual opinion that I have ventured to urge upon your Excellency's Council. The views and sentiments expressed above and the views and sentiments of such important and influential public bodies, European and native, as the Chamber of Commerce, the Anglo-Indian Defence Association, the Calcutta Bar, the British Indian Association, the Indian Relief Society and of such leaders of thought as the *Englishman*, the *Indian Daily News*, the *Statesman*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and others. I would most respectfully draw the special attention of your Excellency to the representations of the Calcutta Bar and the Indian Relief Society on the amended Bill. The purpose of all these representations, my Lord, is that the consideration of the Bill should be postponed till after the Bill has been translated into the several Vernaculars and reasonable time is granted to the public to formulate their thoughts on the Bill as amended by the Select Committee. In my humble opinion, I think, the request contained in the representations is quite reasonable.

MR. CHARLU'S SPEECH.

In summing up the discussion on the 21st December last, Your Lordship said that in interposing to prevent sedition you were only acting on behalf of the public whose interests suffer if the passions of the ignorant are excited and the peace of the country is imperilled. In thus placing the two conditional clauses in immediate juxtaposition, you have but stated the law as laid down by the most eminent Judges of England; for you have reorganised that the exciting of the passions is the cause—the proximate cause—as I take it, as distinguished from remote antecedent events—and the imperilling of the peace as the effect, i. e. the immediate effect as distinguished from what might be the composite result of a series of intermediate occurrences and acts of other responsible persons. Herein lies the whole distinction, if the law is to remain intelligible. Such is also the law laid down by eminent Judges and such is, in reality, the law as laid down for India by the Legislature as expounded through its accredited spokesman, Sir James Stephen, then Mr. Stephen, the greatest criminal lawyer of Great Britain, by universal and even judicial admission and an uncompromising foe of tradition and authority, merely as such. Those words of Mr. Stephen have been already quoted too often to be unfamiliar at the present day. I must nevertheless quote them from my place here. In one part of his speech in proposing the section 124A now in the Penal Code, he said:

Acted Like A Charm.

MR. J. HARRY WATERS, Head-Master of STATION SCHOOL, RAWALPINDI, says, "I regard Chamberlain's Pain Balm as a most useful household medicine. Have seen used for toothache, rheumatism, and once for a very bad scalded foot, and in each of these instances the Pain Balm acted like a charm." Every one who uses Chamberlain's Pain Balm always speaks in the same terms. It should be kept in every medicine chest. CHAMBERLAIN'S PAIN BALM for sale everywhere.

So long as a writer or speaker neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force, i. e. did not fall within this section."

In another part of his speech he further elaborated his view, which by the way was the view of the Legislature, as follows:—"Let it be shown that the matter complained of was not consistent with a disposition to obey the law; let it be shown that it was consistent only with a disposition to resist the law by force and it did fall under this section. Otherwise not."

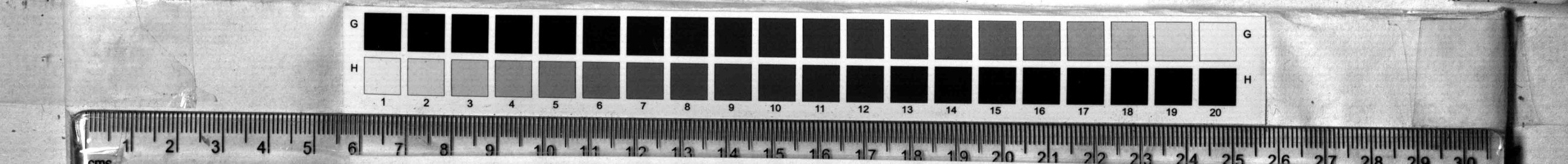
Nothing—let me repeat—can be plainer from these lucid statements than this, viz. that where the excitement of the passions is the proximate cause, producing or capable of producing the use of force and it imperilled the peace of the country as a natural and proximate effect, the offence is committed. Nothing in any degree short of it—however near to it—is an offence. This being precisely what Your Lordship's words implicitly involve, no right-minded man can have anything to say against. Your Lordship's Government proceeding to examine the section 124A with that view of the law and in order to re-word it in the declared spirit, which is at once unselfish and humane. That an occasion for examining the true meaning of the section has arrived is, to my mind, a matter for congratulation, and I shall welcome it as a godsend, if this opportunity is taken to state or rather re-state the law, so as to clearly bring it, if necessary, to bring it back—within the declared intentions of the Legislature which introduced the section and so as to do away with subtleties and technicalities which stand in the way of that true intention being unerringly given effect to. It would be, I venture to think, to mis-use the opportunity and to drift into slippery ground to go beyond the firm and intelligible position, defined by Sir James Stephen so carefully and with so full a grasp of both law and the claims of perspicuity and precision. That the wording now proposed goes vastly beyond that intention and perilously enlarges the scope of the law of sedition is my honest conviction; and I beg to be excused for saying so; for I think that I have no business to be here, if I finish from avowing my convictions, I shall make good my said conviction in detail when later on I shall come to move my amendments.

In going on with my further remarks at this stage, I shall assume that not only the scope of the offence of sedition has been enlarged but that it is the explicit intention of the Government to do so. It has been pleaded that, when so enlarged, the Indian law will be the same as English law. Whether such an enlargement is or is not an adoption of the English law is, in a sense, a purely academical discussion; for if any exigencies of the present day necessitate the "extension," it must take place, be it English law or not, provided, of course, it is intrinsically unobjectionable and free from obscurity. The fact, if it is English law or not, has only a subordinate use, i. e. by proving a link in the chain of argument for or against the change. But after all, the change must either stand or fall, according as there are or are not the necessary conditions precedent for it and according as it is sound and intelligible or otherwise.

Coming back again to the position that the present legislation has been embarked on in the interests of society and of the peace of the country, the questions naturally arises, have there been or are there any symptoms of a danger in this direction. I may at once declare that, if there were any ground for apprehending any danger, I should be the foremost to support any measure that might fitly answer. Myself and those of my countrymen who have spoken out against this measure and whose well-being I should do my best to safeguard, have far too substantial interests at stake for me or for them to stand up for a mere sentiment or for what may be calculated to bring them or me harm and danger. We must advocate our common-sense before doing such a suicidal thing. Fully alive, therefore, to these substantial interests and with my eyes and ears wide open, I feel bound to declare that there is no danger to fear—none to need this widening of the section into shadowy regions of speculation as I view it. I have no doubt that your Lordship had utilised the resources at your command before undertaking this legislation. But, without disparagement, I venture to submit that the information available to Government must be, at least, second-hand and that, for that reason alone, if for no others it can at best amount to no more than a presumption to initiate action upon, but liable to be rebutted by the actual experience and declarations of those whose protection is aimed at and of those who, while entitled to share that protection, possess opportunities at first hand to ascertain and voice the exact state of things and to aver whether the proposed alteration of the law will prove beneficial or prejudicial to public interests. I for one claim to possess that opportunity.

To begin with, there is a great meaning in the absence of that ubiquitous class of persons who used invariably to bestir themselves under the notion that thereby they would please the Government of the day and make a parade of divergence from the public in pursuit of selfish ends of their own; for the fact shows that even such self-seeking spirits have recognised the peril and quailed before it. There is equal meaning in the fact that the native officials, who were competent to give an opinion and whom the Government has considered to be worthy of being consulted, have all, with one voice, counselled against this measure. This is not all. The entire non-official European and Eurasian community have, through their mouthpieces, spoken against the measure in unqualified terms; and it is no wonder. With the culture and intelligence they possess, with the great stake they have in the maintenance of the right of manly and frank discussion of public questions to correct errors, to which a bureaucratic system of Government is too prone,—let me add unwittingly—and with the sense of fairness that should belong to them in taking an unselfish in-

LIINSEED COMPOUND. Trade Mark of KAY'S COMPOUND ESSENCE OF LIINSEED. LIINSEED COMPOUND, a demulcent expectorant for Coughs, Colds, and Chest Complaints. LIINUM CATHARTICUM PILLS, digestive, correctives, and agreeably aperient. KAY'S OUB CEMENT—Tipe Hilliard Once used, Your Cement is the best I have ever used.—JOSE BOWMAN (Champion), Ill. LINX.—New white inorganic Cement, almost hydraulic, for Pottery, Porcelain, &c.



interest in public affairs—they could not be so far hoodwinked or beguiled as to be victims of any deceptive theory that, in this respect, there could be one law for them and another law for their Indian fellow-subjects; for they, of all men, are sure to recollect that Government had not hesitated to prosecute even exalted persons, as for an instance, Sir Francis Burdett and even Members of Parliament—a thing as possible here as elsewhere any day, inasmuch as sedition is generally viewed and rightly viewed as a political offence, differing, both in kind and degree, from crimes involving moral turpitude and grovelling selfishness.

I trust—and I hope I do not trust in vain—that the measure now before us may be dealt with on the principles pointed out in the above passage. Dealing with this measure on those declared principles, I cannot help saying that the measure, if it is to be persisted in, should be modified in accordance with the constructive suggestions that have reached us, notably the excellently-matured recommendations of the Defence Association, re-echoed or concurred in by almost every one else who chose to exercise his mind on the subject. Prompted by my anxiety to describe this measure as it at present stands in the most fitting terms, I cannot do better than borrow Your Lordship's well-chosen words "that I am, most strongly, of opinion that an Act of this nature is obnoxious in principle, uncertain in operation and not necessary under present circumstances"—words which seem to be quite as fit for this measure as for the now defunct Vernacular Press Act to which Your Lordship applied them.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.
Before this Bill passes, there is one point to which I desire very briefly to refer. When I spoke in this Council in December I submitted the proposition that, in this legislation the Government hoped to attain, an object which the vast majority of their fellow-subjects would consider a desirable object. I have been immensely strengthened in that belief by what has happened since then. Our proposals have met with a considerable amount of criticism—some reasonable, some unreasonable; some hostile, and a few friendly criticisms—but throughout the whole—I think I may say out side as well as inside this Chamber—there has run the admission that the British Government must be maintained, and any attempts to subvert it must be prevented. That has been throughout our sole object, and I am glad to find myself in accord with so many of our severest critics. That there is a difference between us I admit; but what is the nature of that difference? I have paid careful attention to what has been said and written on this subject; and it seems to me that it all turns on a difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of certain expressions or even words. Let any one study the proceedings in this Council to-day and he will find this is of the essence of the discussions in which we have been engaged for a good eight hours. Now the Government cannot be accused of having taken up an impracticable and domineering attitude even in the matter of wording. They have willingly accepted any modifications which have been proposed, either in the Select Committee, or here in Council, wherever they could do so consistently with the attainment of their purpose, and have listened, I am sure every one will admit, with patience to all representations made to them. But, after all, with the Government must remain the responsibility for the proper framing of the law. They have the right and they have the power of inviting, and they have invited, the most capable men, both in India and in England, to advise them, and the cannot wantonly, or with a light heart, reject even in the matter of drafting, the advice so received. Perhaps I ought not to say in the presence of my Hon'ble colleague 'even in the matter of drafting; for, I know that he maintains, and I fully agree with him, that drafting is a most important subject, and that is the reason why we have left ourselves obliged beyond a certain point to resist alteration in the form of our proposals.

We are all, as I have said, at one in the desire to put down sedition which is aimed against the Government of the Queen-Empress. We differ not so much as to the precise form of the powers to be taken, or the means to be employed as to the language in which the law is to be expressed. All that we, the Government, can say is that we desire the powers necessary to put down sedition. We ask for nothing more, but we can be satisfied with nothing less. We do not desire to law which bears oppressively on one particular section of the community. Only partial justice is done to us when it is said that we have abstained from proposing an enactment aimed at the Vernacular Press, because "as a matter of fact our legislation is not a Press Act at all." It lays down certain rules of conduct, by observing which any member of the community can keep within the law—rules which are applicable to all and show favour to none.

I cannot but hope that when these are calmly and dispassionately considered—on the one hand, the supreme and admitted importance of the object; on the other, the necessity that the Government should accept the full responsibility for the form of the law in a matter of this kind—that the Bill which is now about to pass will be given a fair trial, and that some of the feelings which, I think, have been unduly excited may subside.

MOST inclement weather prevails in the Peshawar Valley. The whole country is a sea of mud, but it is anticipated that this state of affairs will do much to coerce the tribesmen into submission. General Lockhart visited Jamrud on the 14th, where the Jirga representatives still are, and the impression is that the political outlook is more satisfactory.

Telegrams.
[INDIAN TELEGRAMS.]
DELHI, FEB. 16.
Mr. Juggernath Khunna organised a public meeting, being invited to do so by Delhi Piece-goods Association and the Hindoostani Mercantile Association, to consider and pass resolutions, calculated to allay the misapprehension that at present exists regarding the plague rules. The meeting was largely attended by the European and the native merchants, bankers and citizens of all classes. Mr. Khunna proposed the adoption of the Bengal rules, which was unanimously carried with applause. The meeting will have beneficial effects on trade and in removing the wild apprehensions of the people here.

NOAKHALI, FEB. 16.
The Station Daroga admits having deputed 18 Constables and one Head Constable, all from the Reserve Force, without duty critique, to the place of the occurrence. One lost his pugri, another his baton all flying in fear. Only one got slight scratches. The accused students have been discharged. Bidhu Bhusan Babu has been charged under sections 147 and 353.

[FOREIGN TELEGRAMS.]
LONDON, FEB. 15.
During the debate on the Address in the House of Commons last night, Mr. Lawson Walton brought forward a motion disapproving of the permanent occupation of Chitral and the maintenance of a road there, and urged that we should respect the independence of the tribes.

Lord George Hamilton rebutted the charges of breach of faith with tribes, and said the Opposition was unable to adduce a single line in proof that the troubles were due to the Chitral policy. The maintenance of the road was less perilous than abandoning our friends in Kashmir and Chitral. India, he said, was unable to abandon her suzerainty over Chitral, which would result in anarchy, necessitating another expedition. Lord George said: "It was unmistakably led down in my despatch of 28th January that there would be no interference with the tribal system by Government except when essential for the fulfilment of our obligation." Continuing, this Lordship said, the Secretary of State lately passed through a much graver crisis than members are aware of and there has been no such troublous time since the Mutiny, but we are safely through the worst owing to the courage and resolution displayed by Lord Elgin, who deserved well of his country. Lord George said he had never had alarmist views regarding Russia, but it was necessary to ensure that the Pass dominating the Afghan Passes did not fall under the control of others. "Our frontier policy," declared his Lordship, "rested on four documents, viz., the Russo-Afghan delimitation treaty, the guarantee given to the Amir, the Durand agreement and the Anglo-Russian Pamir treaty, and all of these were concluded by the Liberals. Our policy for the future consisted, first, in forming police and arranging for the administrative protection of British districts; second, in the exclusion of extraneous interference with the tribes in the British sphere; third, in the fulfilment of our obligations towards the Afghans, by maintaining the natural frontier." Regarding the execution of this policy, Lord George said he preferred the Sind method to the old Punjab punitive method as being more worthy of a civilized nation. He concluded, by saying that the frontier difficulty was permanent, and we must face it and grapple with it.

Sir H. Fowler gave a lengthy personal explanation of his private telegram to the Viceroy, and added that he believed the past was a blunder, and regarding the future we must resist the tendencies of the military party in India. He advocated more effective control of the military expenditure by the Indian Council. The vote will be taken to-morrow.

LONDON, FEB. 15.
Mr. Asquith resumed the debate, and reiterated the arguments against the Forward policy. Mr. Curzon said that while refraining from questioning the bona fides of Russia, circumstances might be too strong for her if a gap existed on our frontier. The policy of Lawrence, he said, was dead; but the system followed by Sir R. Sandeman might be successfully established. The frontier officers must be carefully selected, and then the tribes would be brought within our British control.

Sir M. Bhowanji, who supported the Government, thought India should receive a financial grant. Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Balfour wound up the debate on the frontier policy which the former denounced, especially attacking Sir George White's Simla speech as being most culpable and dangerous. Mr. Balfour, who defended Sir George White, said that he was unable to give the slightest hope of avoidance of complications on the frontier, but he did hope that the influence which has been successfully exercised northward and southward of the disturbed district, might slowly and cautiously be further extended.

The motion of Mr. Lawson Walton was rejected in the House of Commons by 311 against 208 votes.

LONDON, FEB. 17.
At the Zola trial to-day General Pellieux volunteered the statement, that apart from the famous bordereaux, a document was received at the War Office long after the conviction of Dreyfus proving his guilt. This statement caused another sensation in Court.

The statement made by General Pellieux yesterday at the Zola trial is regarded as mainly intended to influence the jury and the country, and prevent the reopening of the Dreyfus case, since it is becoming generally recognised that Dreyfus was illegally convicted upon secret documents.

PLAGUE PREVENTION IN BENGAL.
H. H. RISLEY, Esq. C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, has addressed the following paper to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I., President of the Conference held on the 6th December 1897 to consider Plague Regulation No. 9.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th December, 1897, reporting the views of a Conference of the leading members of all sections of the native community on the rules contained in this Government Plague Regulation No. 9 of the 10th November, 1897. The Lieutenant-Governor is obliged to the Conference for this expression of their opinion, and I am to communicate the following observations on some of the principal questions touched upon in your letter.

With regard to the question of home segregation, which is discussed in paragraph 3 of your letter, I am to forward a copy of a Resolution recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor, reviewing the objections taken by the residents of certain districts of Behar to the provisions of Regulation No. 9, which will show why it is not possible to allow home segregation under any circumstances. It is urged by the Conference that home segregation is allowed in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The Lieutenant-Governor has been in communication with that Government, and finds that the experience gained at Kankhal and Hurdwar shows the extreme difficulty of destroying the plague germ or bacillus, and the great communicability of the disease when the germ effects a lodgment in a house. This experience further goes to show that, in spite of all precautions, an ordinary house in a crowded neighbourhood, in which a case of plague has occurred, cannot be made safe without evacuation, not only of the house itself, but of the houses in its vicinity. The narrower the circle of adjacent houses evacuated, the less chance there is of controlling the disease. The Government of India have, therefore, condemned home segregation, and the Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that their decision is right.

With reference to paragraph 4 of your letter, I am to say that the Lieutenant-Governor has no objection to the family physician being permitted to attend at the examination of suspicious cases of plague. In connection with the proposals to associate also a medical member of the Plague Commission in the examination, I am to observe that it has been found in Bombay that the diagnosis of plague is particularly easy, as the character of the disease is marked and progress very rapid. When an outbreak has commenced, immediate action is essential, and the delay involved in sending for a member of the Plague Commission might produce serious consequences.

The question of retaining the Maniktoka Hospital is one for the Corporation by whom it was erected at considerable expense. The Lieutenant-Governor has no objection to ward hospitals being located within the ward for which they are intended, provided suitable houses and open spaces are available, which may not everywhere be the case. As regards the treatment of plague patients, I am to invite the attention of the Conference to paragraph 7 of the enclosed Resolution, from which it will be seen that the treatment will be that preferred by the family.

As regards the proposal contained in paragraph 6 of your letter that some leading member of the native communities, unconnected with the medical profession, should be appointed to the Plague Commission, I am to say that the Lieutenant-Governor does not think it desirable to add to the numbers of the Commission, which already represent the chief interests and leading medical talent in Calcutta.

In paragraph 11 the Conference express a hope that no attempt will be made to interfere with the social and religious usages of the people in the disposal of their dead. The Lieutenant-Governor assures the Conference that rule 52 of the Regulation does not contemplate any such interference.

For the rest I am to say that, as the parts of Regulation 9 which relate to Calcutta seem well adapted to their purpose, and no serious objections have been raised to them, while action has already been taken in the way of preparing a scheme for combating plague and approving of private hospitals, the Lieutenant-Governor has not thought it necessary to introduce any changes at present. He hopes that the precautions taken in the form of medical inspection of persons arriving by land and sea will prove effectual in keeping out the plague, and that it may not be necessary to resort to any of those rules in Regulation No. 9 which come into force only after the disease has appeared.

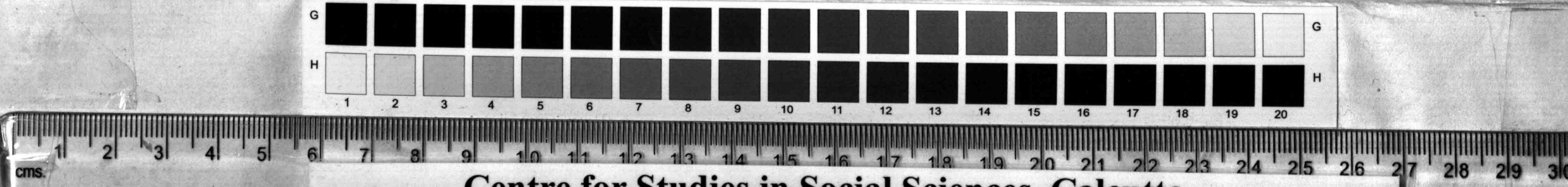
ALL available transport of the Tchili and Malakhand field forces is being despatched to Peshawar for possible operations against the Afridis.

DR. BISWAS
ACIDITY PILL
ACIDITY and DYSPEPSIA are the two most common disorders of the day, and very few are so fortunate as to declare their immunity from these. In view of the fact that though apparently harmless in the embryo stage, Acidity and Dyspepsia shatter and undermine the constitution in the end and lead to its total wreckage, it must be held that they are dangerous in their insidiousness.

After years of incessant toil and experiment, I have discovered a medicine which, I can confidently say, will cure the patient of acidity, and its worse stage of Dyspepsia in a short time, effectively and radically. However chronic and long-standing the complaint, however violent its attack, the Acidity Pill will give instant and permanent relief as has been proved in hundreds of cases. Here are a few unsolicited testimonials:—

ELECTRO-HOMOEOPATHY
Perfection in Medicine.
Doct ines simple & Diagnosis easy.
33 MEDICINES in all Cheap and Comfortable.
CURE UNRIVALLED IN RAPIDITY AND THOROUGHNESS.
SEVERAL AILMENTS GIVEN UP AS HOPELESS CURED.
Report of Cures, Price-list and Pamph let. 10/- free.
TREATMENT OF ALL DISEASES UNDERTAKEN.
Medicines, Boxes, Books and Sundries—per V. P. Post.
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TREAT YOURSELF SECRETLY AT HOME.
Our famous nervous debility drops warranted to cure errors youth, Loss of Mankind, Spermatorrhoea, Gonorrhoea, Whites, urethra discharges, wet dreams, Loss of memory, Weakness, Emaciated Blood, and all other urinary diseases and complaints arising from Sexual debility, no matter how severe the case. Our medicine will give you immediate effects. Catalogue free on application. Thousands of testimonials have been received quite unasked for.



THE SEDITION BILL.

THE following communication has been submitted to the India Government by Mr. M. R. Mehta on behalf of the Calcutta Bar.

SIR—I am directed by the Calcutta Bar to make the following observations upon the Indian Penal Code Amendment Bill, as amended in Select Committee and to ask you to do good enough to lay this letter before the Legislative Council for their consideration:—

I. In sec. 124A the words "established by law in British India" have been restored after the word "Government." The offence of promoting enmity between classes has been eliminated, and the term of imprisonment has been reduced to three years; but the words "bribe or attempt to bribe into hatred or contempt" have been retained. These words will make a writer, as to whose own loyalty and the absence of any wish or intention on whose part to tamper with the loyalty or true allegiance of others there can be no doubt, liable to transportation for life under this section.

I am directed to urge most strongly that writers for the press ought not to be held liable under this section for anything short of exciting or attempting to excite disaffection. Whilst the words in the original Explanation, expressly introduced in order to guide and limit Judges, remain omitted from the new section, no definition of "disaffection" has been introduced on those lines, thus taking away all that was intended to throw light upon the question, and putting nothing in its place except Explanation I. As to this it seems quite unnecessary to explain that "disaffection" includes disloyalty. The Select Committee have rightly omitted the words which would make disaffection include all feelings of ill-will on the ground that they appeared to the Select Committee too wide and vague. Surely the words "hatred," "contempt," and "all feelings of enmity" are open to the like condemnation. The next two sentences in the Select Committee's Report exactly represent the views of the Bar, if only the words "enmity" or "are inserted before" "ill-will" and omitted after "disloyalty." Those sentences would then read as follows:—

"It is only when feelings of enmity or ill-will amount to disloyalty that they constitute such disaffection as is contemplated by the clause. A certain amount of enmity or ill-will may be compatible with genuine loyalty."

The distinction between enmity and ill-will appears to be subtle, to make it expedient to put Judges to the task of discovering the line, if there be, between them. "Hatred" and "contempt" might well be inserted before enmity in each of those sentences, so that "hatred, contempt, enmity, and ill-will" would form one group. Explanations II and III appear to be wholly illusory. It is difficult to conceive how the offence being in effect the "exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection," it can be an explanation to say that comments of one kind or another "without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection" do not constitute an offence under this section.

It seems obvious, without any explanation, that nothing done "without exciting or intending to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection" can constitute an offence under the section.

The result of this Bill, if passed into law, will make it penal amongst other things:—

1. Effectively to criticise the policy of the Government with reference, for example, to the present war beyond the frontier.

2. Effectively to oppose and to give true utterance to the feelings of the people, or a section of the people, against a proposed tax that may be considered oppressive.

3. To present a petition for the redress of serious grievances, showing the existence of such grievances hitherto unredressed; and to leave it in the discretion of the Executive Government to prosecute or not.

4. With regard to sec. 153A, I am directed to urge strongly that the words "with intent to cause a breach of the peace" should be inserted after "subjects." It is difficult to see how otherwise there can, properly speaking, be any offence for the intent should be an essential element in the offence in all such cases, and the intent should, as usual, be proved by the prosecution.

The burden of proving the absence of intent should never be thrown upon the accused. Throwing the burden of proving the absence of intent upon the accused is without precedent in this country, or in England, even when the penal laws were most severe, and such a precedent, I am to urge, ought not to be established. The Select Committee have come to the conclusion that to require a person who publishes a statement to prove its actual truth, is going too far, having regard to the conditions under which modern journalism and the discussion of public questions is carried on; but it is going much further to make him prove the absence of a particular intent.

5. Sec. 505. I am directed to urge that in view of the new sec. 153A, sub-sec. (c) of sec. 505 should be omitted.

6. With regard to the general question, I am further directed most respectfully to protest against such sweeping and fundamental charges being introduced as amendments to a Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code in relation to extra-territorial offences, to single so-called amendments having any relations whatsoever with the result in the public being first made aware of the proposed changes on the 21st of December, 1897, and the Bill being passed through Select Committee on the 31st January, 1898.

7. Though the Bar think that the amendments of the Penal Code, introduced on the 21st of December, 1897, have no relation whatsoever to the original Bill, yet I am directed to point out that under the Bill as it has left the Select Committee, a Native Indian subject of Her Majesty, who petitions British Parliament for the redress of grievances or against alleged oppression, and thereby excites or attempts to excite any feeling of enmity against the Government of India as by law established, would, though his petition were in such terms as were allowable according to the procedure of the British Parliament, be liable to transportation for life, when found in British India. This appears to be in this respect a measure which may affect the authority of Parliament within the meaning of the last clause of sec. 22 of the India Councils Act of 1861, and the putting of it in force in such a case would undoubtedly constitute a breach

Further, such a law, in so far as it rendered penal the presentation of petitions to Parliament in any way and in any terms authorised by Parliament, which is the birth-right of every subject of Her Majesty, would seem to contravene the same clause, for, that it may affect the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, whereas they depend in some degree the allegiance of persons to the Crown of the United Kingdom.

6. I am lastly directed to say that in their view the correct definition of "disaffection" is that quoted by the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Durbhanga in his note of dissent:—"Feelings of disaffection means all feelings incompatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government established by law in British India, and to support the lawful authority thereof against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority," and the Bar hope this may still be embodied in sec. 124A.

THE SEDITION BILL.

GREAT MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL.

LAST Thursday's public meeting at the Town Hall to consider the Sedition Bill was an embodiment of the universal feeling of disapproval—unknown in the annals of Indian legislation which the measure has evoked in the country. Long before the appointed hour, the hall was crowded to its utmost capacity; and when our reporter arrived, he had to alight at a distance from the stairs, the space in front having been filled up by a large number of gentlemen against whom the door was shut, probably lest any larger crowd might endanger the safety of the hall. The hall was literally packed; and, indeed, for a long number of years, no meeting was held in the Town Hall when the lobby had to be utilised for the accommodation of the audience. Verily, when the door was thrown open the corridors were immediately filled up, and hundreds had to go away disappointed for want of even standing room. But it was not only the number who attended the meeting that was worthy of remark. On the platform were seen the foremost Indian barristers, vakils, attorneys, orators, merchants and journalists; and, if, for some reason or other, the highest aristocracy was not represented, the lower grade and the sturdy middle class mustered strong. It seemed as if they met in their thousands to pour out their minds and hearts, freely and fearlessly, just on the eve of their mouths being gagged.

The representatives of the Calcutta Bar were conspicuous by their presence. Besides Mr. Bonnerjee, who was elected to the chair, and Mr. Pali and several others, there were Mr. Pugh, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Grey—the last-named gentleman, though formerly Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Legislative Department, and now on the staff of the Indian Law Reports, had the moral courage to second a resolution. The appearance in the hall of Messrs. Pugh and Jackson was a signal for loud and prolonged cheering.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

The proceedings opened with Mr. Allan Arthur, the Sheriff, declaring the meeting open, and asking the assembly to proceed to business by electing their chairman. On the motion of Mr. S. N. Tagore, late of the Bombay Civil Service, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee took the chair. He received a perfect ovation when he stood up. Raising his voice to the highest pitch so that all in that vicinity could hear him, Mr. Bonnerjee said that it was meet and proper that there should be a demonstration like the one they had to show the feeling that the proposed legislation had evoked. The Calcutta Bar honourably distinguished themselves for the prominent part they had taken in almost all the "public measures" connected with the Government of the country. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It was proper, that a member of that body should be selected to explain the objects of the meeting, although it would have been better if the choice had fallen on a "worthy individual." He had been connected with public affairs for the last thirty years, but hardly had seen a movement in which he had taken part, like the present one. He did not remember any measure of the Imperial or Local Government which had evoked so strong a feeling as the present measure had evoked in the country. Non-official Europeans and British Indian subjects and all public bodies, with one voice, protested against the measures and pointed out that the measures were not necessary and that they should not be passed into law. Mr. Bonnerjee remembered the agitation in connection with the Jury Notification of Sir Charles Elliott which had evoked very strong feeling, but that feeling was nothing compared with the feeling that had been evoked by the present proposal. He took it that this meeting was not held so much for the purpose of a protest against these measures, as for entreating the Government not to pass the measures against the united protest of the people. The Government possessed an irresistible power; it had the strength of a giant; but they entreated it not to use that giant's strength in a violent manner, but to use it with discretion and moderation, with due regard to the feeling created in the country. If the Government persisted in passing the law, that would be putting out the beacon light which showed to the Government where the danger to the administration lay. He would, therefore, submit that it would not be wise statesmanship to pass a measure, which no section of the community approved. (Hear, hear and applause.)

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS.

At the request of the President the Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee read the following letters and telegrams expressing full sympathy with the meeting received from the following public bodies:—

- 1. Pubna Bar Association.
2. Purulia Bar Association.
3. Chittagong Association.
4. Rajshahi Association.
5. Faridpur People's Association.
6. Comilla Bar Association.
7. Mozafferpore Bar Association.
8. Mymensing Bar Association.
9. Goya Bar Association.
10. Purneah Bar Association.
11. Bhagalpur Bar Association.
12. Dinajpur Bar Association.
13. Barisal Bar Association.
14. Krishnagarh Association.

17. Rungpur Association.

18. Lahore I. Association.

19. Mymensing Association.

20. Faridpur People's Association.

21. Uluberia Branch Indian Association.

Delegates came to the meeting from the following places: Pubna, Purulia, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Faridpur, Comilla, Uluberia, Bishenpur and Berhampore.

PRAYER FOR POSTPONEMENT.

Babu Amrita Nath Mitter, Rai Bahadur, proposed the first resolution which was as follows:—

That this meeting earnestly hopes that in view of the singular unanimity with which the proposed modifications of the law of sedition have been disapproved of by Her Majesty's European British and British Indian subjects and by important public bodies in the land representing widely different interests such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Anglo-Indian Defence Association, the High Court Bar, the British Indian Association, and other bodies, the Government will be pleased not to proceed further with the Bill without allowing further time for consideration and discussion.

In the opinion of this meeting, the revision by the Select Committee makes no substantial change, and to quote the words of the Englishman newspaper "the result will be exactly what it would have been if the Bill had been approved at the first reading."

Mr. C. E. Grey, Barrister-at-law, seconded the resolution. In doing so he said that he thought that this resolution did not go far enough. It should have been said that the Government should drop the Bill altogether. All the prosecutions under the Act, as Mr. Bonnerjee had said, had succeeded; and if that was so, where was the necessity of forging a further measure on the subject. He had been for some time in the Bengal Legislative Department and he found that the country was being legislated somewhat too much.

The Hon'ble Surendranath Banerjee in an eloquent speech supported the resolution, which, when being put to the vote was adopted with great enthusiasm.

THE MEMORIAL.

The Hon'ble Norendra Nath Sen moved the next resolution which ran as follows:—

That a memorial to the following effect be adopted and submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council under the signature of the Chairman of this meeting:—

"That your memorialists view with alarm and apprehension the amendments, of which notice was given on the 21st December, 1897, to the Bill for the amendment of the Penal Code in relation to extra-territorial offences, which, your memorialists feel, involves a grave and serious departure from the views of the Indian Law Commissioners and the eminent men who have since dealt with the subject; and your memorialists humbly pray that Your Excellency may in Council be pleased to permit the further consideration of those amendments to be adjourned so as to allow further time for their discussion and consideration. That your memorialists further humbly pray that Your Excellency in Council may be pleased to sanction the insertion, in sec. 124A, of a definition of disaffection in the sense in which it was explained by the Indian Law Commissioners to sanction the omission of the vague and uncertain words "hatred," "contempt" and "enmity" and of any provision throwing upon a person accused under section 505 the proof of the absence of the intent charged, or dispensing with the proof of the intent and to limit the scope of that section to what is false, and to sanction the omission from the Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure of any provision enabling Magistrates to adjudicate upon offences under section 124A of the Penal Code and to sanction the insertion in section 153A of the Penal Code as proposed by the Select Committee the words "with intent to cause a breach of the peace."

Babu Baijanto Nath Sen, of Berhampore, seconded the resolution in a short telling speech. He said the meeting was called to show the intensity of the feeling on the subject at a place which was close to the Council Chamber where the Bill would be taken into consideration the next day, so that Government might easily understand their opinions on the subject.

The motion was put and carried with acclamation. Before the motion was adopted Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore explained the effects of the measure in Bengali.

MAGISTRATES TO TRY SEDITION CASES.

The Hon'ble Kali Charan Banerjee moved the third and last resolution which was as follows:—

That this meeting desires to record its protest against the Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897, now pending before the Imperial Legislative Council, as being a retrograde and reactionary measure, which will add to the already large powers of the police, invest Magistrates with a discretionary authority which they do not now possess, and curtail the powers of the High Court, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons.

The speaker pointed out how dangerous it would be to invest Magistrates with powers to try sedition cases.

Babu Tinowri Ghose, pleader, Uluberia, seconded the resolution. It was carried with acclamation.

NOTE OF THANKS TO THE CHAIR.

Amidst loud and deafening cheers Babu Mati Lal Ghose proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee for presiding at the meeting. The president then declared the meeting dissolved.

TELEGRAM TO ENGLAND.

A telegram announcing that a monster public meeting was held to protest against the sedition measure of the Government was despatched to the London Daily News.

The Indian Daily News publishes the following telegram from Poona under date, the 16th inst:—"Great sensation has been caused by the arrest of the son of the State Kharbari and District Magistrate at Savantwari, in the Belgum Collectorate, on a charge of murder. The arrest, it is expected, will lead to thrilling revelations."

PRIVATE Macquillan, Royal Irish Rifles, was arraigned on Wednesday before the Cantonment Magistrate of Poona, on a charge of causing hurt to a dholee-bearer on the 5th inst, by cutting his throat. Three witnesses were examined. The evidence went to show that the accused about an hour after tattoo went to the auxiliary hospital drunk and cut the complainant's throat. No cause is as yet assigned. The further hearing was to have

GERMANY IN THE FAR EAST.

STATEMENT BY HER FOREIGN MINISTER.

BARON VON BULOW, Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking before the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, on January 24th, said that the draft of the Greek financial control scheme, which had been elaborated by the Finance Minister, would be in co-operation with the Greek Minister of Finance, was now under the consideration of the different Cabinets and the Greek Government. The publication of the scheme was not yet permissible, but the statements on the subject which had appeared in the press were, in the main, not incorrect. The German Government had on every occasion kept the rights of the German creditors of Greece in view, and they would also vigorously defend those rights in the future. They had been the more pleased to act as they had, since, by doing so, they had been fighting in the interests of the non-German creditors of Greece as well.

Adverting next to the negotiations with the Chinese Government regarding satisfaction for the murder of German missionaries in Southern Shantung, Baron von Bulow made the following statement:—

The negotiations which are now concluded, are to the following result:—First, the Governor of the Province of Shantung has been removed and has been declared for ever incompetent of holding a high office. Besides that, six high officials named by Germany, have been removed from the Shantung Province and punished. Proceedings have also been instituted for the punishment of the individuals, actually concerned in the murders. Secondly, the Chinese Government have promised to pay the sum of three thousand taels demanded for the material losses sustained by the missionaries, three churches are to be erected, each provided with the Imperial tablet, showing them to be under the protection of the Chinese Emperor—one at Tsingai, one at Tsao-chou-fu, and the third at the place where the murders were committed. The Chinese Government make a grant of sixty-six thousand taels for each church, besides providing free sites. A further sum of twenty-four thousand taels is to be assigned for the building of seven secure dwelling-houses for the Roman Catholic Prefecture of Tsao-chou-fu. All these money payments are to be made through the German Legation. Fourthly, a special Imperial Edict will be issued for the protection of the German Mission. The Chinese Government has thus complied with all our demands in this direction. In the opinion of Bishop Alzer, the granting of three Imperial protection tablets—an extremely advantageous privilege, very seldom accorded in China—will considerably heighten in the eyes of the Chinese, the German Government believe that they have in this way done all that is necessary for the prevention of further outrages and for averting similar occurrences in the future. The Imperial Government considers, however, the best guarantee afforded by the permanent presence, under Treaty, of German men-of-war and a German garrison at Kiao-chau Bay, whereby it may be hoped that the authorities and the population of China will not again forget that no wrong done to subjects of the Empire will be allowed to pass unpunished.

LIVE AND LET LIVE. Questioned further on the subject of Kiao-Chau, Baron von Bulow said, an immediate answer was, to some extent, precluded by the fact that only telegraphic reports had at present been received of the Agreement signed at Peking, on the 5th inst, and these were naturally briefly expressed, only dealing with the salient points of the agreement. These points, he said, had been published by the "Reichsanzeiger" which attested their authenticity. On the other hand, negotiations were still pending on special questions, such as the construction of the railways and working of coal-fields. These seemed to offer a prospect of favourable results, which might be impaired by premature publication of the facts. In answer to further specific inquiries, Baron von Bulow said, he had read that two British ships were at Kiao-Chau, but there was no information on the subject from other quarters. He could not make any statement as to the commercial policy which Germany would pursue at Kiao-Chau, but it would be only in accordance with Germany's principles if they followed here the principle of "Live and let live." Baron von Bulow declared that he knew nothing of any secret understanding arrived at between the Chinese Government and Germany at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of Simonséki.

Baron von Bulow, continuing, said that Germany had not, before occupying Kiao-Chau, entered into any special pledge in any direction. In view of the loyalty, peaceableness and moderation of Germany's course of action, no special explanations had been necessary, either before or after the despatch of the Squadron, and Germany's relations with other powers had not been disturbed by her action in Eastern Asia. Asked whether some other point would not, perhaps, have been more suitable, Baron von Bulow said that he was not one of those who would let the guilt be taken off their gingerbread, but circumstances had to be reckoned with. One could only strike in where the favourable opportunity offered and no other rights stood in the way. The advantage of Kiao-Chau was not too near either to the British and French spheres of interest or to the territories under Russia's sphere of power. Its occupation by Germany consequently did not interfere with the interests of those nations.

In reply to an inquiry as to whether Prince Henry was to visit the Court of China, Japan, and Korea, the Imperial Secretary said that that was a question which he could not answer. It depended on circumstances. Answering a remark by Herr Richter, Baron von Bulow said that there was no doubt about the Imperial Chancellor being willing to accept the responsibility for the Emperor's utterances at Kiel, but he begged that the personality of the Emperor should not be introduced into the debate. To another question as to the cost of the occupation of Kiao-Chau, the Minister replied that the Imperial Secretary of the Treasury would give the Committee all the information at present possible at its next sitting. He afterwards read a report on the conditions existing at Kiao-Chau by Herr Franzius, an eminent German engineer. The Government did not represent Kiao-Chau to be an Eldorado, and it would not tend to-day and to-morrow, become a second Hongkong or Shanghai; but, according to all expert reports it afforded a guarantee for sound, steady, commercial development.

FLIRTATION TO BE MADE ILLEGAL. A CORRESPONDENT in Maryland draws attention to a Bill at present pending before the Senate of Virginia. This measure is intended to apply a veto to the dangerous practice of flirtation. It is called "A Bill for the Protection of Boarding Schools and Colleges for Females and the Principals and Inmates Thereof," and its provisions are of the character described as "drastic." If it passes, it will be unlawful for any male person in the State of Virginia, to wilfully and unnecessarily interfere with, disturb, or in any way disquiet the pupils

public road or street, or in any building or structure it will be equally unlawful to "disquiet" the principals and teachers in charge of the aforesaid maidens; though, whether the young Virginia is in the habit of flirting with the "principals" of young ladies' seminaries, or whether he only causes them disquietude by his attention to their pupils, is not to be gathered from the information before us.

At any rate, no nonsense is to be stood from the youths of Virginia in their relations towards girls' schools. They are forbidden to hold any communication "for such purposes" (i.e., flirtation purposes) "with the pupils, either orally or in writing, or by signs or otherwise." Senator McCune, who has drafted the Bill, evidently knows a thing or two militavit non sine gloria. He is probably aware that the language of Cupid has many dialects, and can at times make itself remarkably well understood "by signs or otherwise." But they will not stand that sort of thing in Virginia, if Senator McCune has his way. Any person who commits one of the very numerous offences described in the Bill, such as loitering, wandering or sitting upon the public roads or "side-walks" with intent to annoy, vex, or disturb the occupants, teachers, or pupils of any girls' school, shall be, upon conviction, fined not less than five or more than fifty dollars for the first time. If he offends again he may be sent to prison for any period from ten to thirty days.

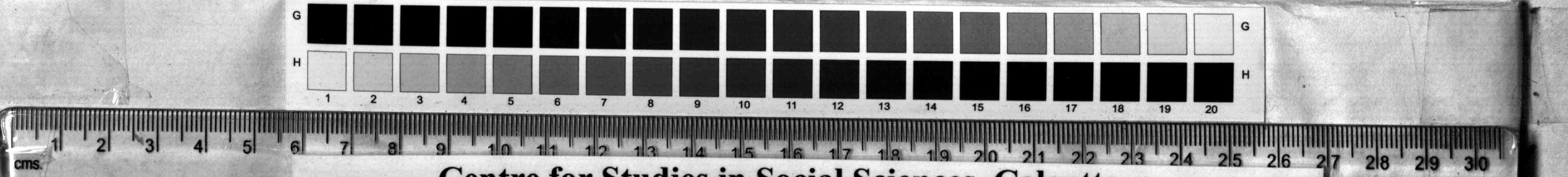
The Bill, it will be observed, is occasioned in its operation. "The boys" must not flirt with the girls, but on the other hand, there seems to be nothing to prevent the "damsels of the Old Dominion from disquieting" the masculine heart to any extent they please. Thus a trying situation may arise for the susceptible local bachelors. He may be exposed to all the artillery of the blue, brown, and black eyes of a whole column of fascinating maidens, and be unable to respond by so much as a sign or otherwise—say a mere languishing glance or the gentle lowering of an eyelid—under penalty of fine or imprisonment. Some difficulty, one would think, would occasionally arise when it is sought to obtain evidence for the prosecution. There are young ladies, even in Virginia, who would be far from disquieted by the circumstance that a young man has openly manifested admiration of a pretty face or a smart new frock. If Mr. McCune's Bill passes they will want a Court of Love—with a jury of minor poets, in Virginia.

THE PAVING OF THE BILL. OUR greatest dependency has rarely been so much afflicted as it has been within the past two years. Never in our time, with the exception of the last Afghan War, arising out of a similar situation, has there been so costly an enterprise upon the Indian frontier as the war, or series of wars, which resulted from the reversal by the present Government of the frontier policy agreed on by Lord Rosebery's Cabinet. That enterprise is certainly not an Indian, any more than an Imperial, adventure. It is defended openly by its advocates on the ground that it is needful for the safety of the Empire, in the "far-off event" of a Russian attack. The theory is more than doubtful, but that may pass. For whether the policy be right or wrong, it is in either case an Imperial affair—an Imperial bulwark, as they contend, or an Imperial blunder, as all sensible men believe. There was, therefore, until now, no question in anybody's mind that the Empire was going to pay. Seldom has the Exchequer been so well able to bear the burden. After a long depression, the wealth of the country is going up by leaps and bounds, and large surpluses are the ordinary rule. Nevertheless, we are informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself that we will not, and that we ought not to, pay a penny of the war expenses. No one yet knows how much the total cost will be. It will almost certainly amount to ten millions. Probably there will be much more than that amount to pay before the account is closed. The "Indian population" will have to bear this burden if it must. Our bayonets in India will ensure the collection of the taxes, so long as the natives are not actually starving. But we in Great Britain are beginning to realise that India is appallingly poor. We have been often told that even in the ordinary course of things taxation has almost reached the limit. We tell the Nonconformists that India simply cannot afford to drop the opium revenue, or the other day we had to pour in alms to save whole provinces from starvation or from grievous distress. Even at this hour the plague is again mounting up to an alarming measure, and in direct connection with these disasters we have had open outbreaks of disaffection, and have gone through times of grave anxiety by reason of the rumours, true or false, which indicated that a semi-reasonable unrest was spreading far and wide over great areas of the peninsula. And yet these Ministers, who profess to be above all things the Imperial patriots, turn round and tell us that India out of her poverty must pay for our Imperial luxuries.

We have a certain respect for Sir Michael Hicks Beach. In many ways he is a good servant of the public. But he is, hard-fisted, and his zeal for saving the millions in his care is not always according to discretion. As to this last astounding declaration, we can only say that "it be maintained, it must be fought tooth and nail in Parliament, for the mere honor of England and for the best interests of our Indian Empire.

We need not refute the curious pleas by which the Chancellor "supported" this policy. His first point was that India was so well off that the Indian Government "should" consider it necessary that any help should be given to India at the present time." We can only say that, if in the unfettered choice of the Indian Government they prefer to pay this War Tax, they show a strange callousness as to the funds of the populations over which they rule.

The next argument is that as the expense was not incurred on a vote of the English Parliament, the English tax-payer should not bear it. That is flat pedantry. For the expense has all flowed absolutely from the vote by which the House of Commons, and after them the electorate, were pleased to place the present Government in power. Finally we have an argument which is unpleasantly familiar in the mouths of those who are busy in discountenancing private charity. "If you give them help, they will not be so careful— you will relieve them of responsibility." There are times when such an argument may be very wise— but surely of all absurd applications of this is one of the worst. We shall be told, we suppose, that it was the Indian Government which advised the forward policy in Chitral, and that the Tory Cabinet at home merely indulged the fancy of its correspondents at Calcutta. But this is as idle as it is mischievous. Downing-street is alone responsible for the great decisions of Imperial policy, and if ever a Cabinet was responsible for a war it is in the case before us. If this decision be carried out, we, the richest people in the world, shall be treating the Indian populations, who are almost the poorest, with a meanness which would be despicable if it were a matter between man and man. We have often done so before, but seldom so flagrantly. It is a kind of "Little Englandism" of which those who are not credited with the true brand of Imperial patriotism would be ashamed. It can be carried, as other things are carried, by the votes of the Government's supporters in the House of Commons, and it can be enforced in India. No one will revolt, and a few extra rixtors are starved in the result, that will not matter. Sir Michael Hicks Beach will have a few more millions to play with, and Lord Salisbury's Government will be rid of that most recent argument against a "forward policy."



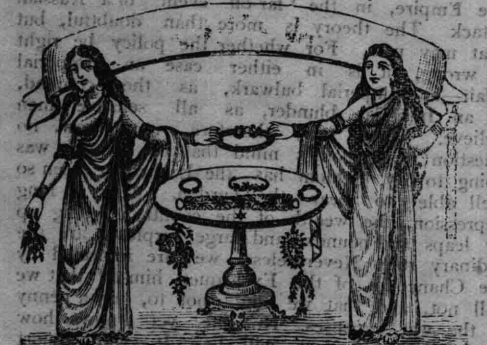
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