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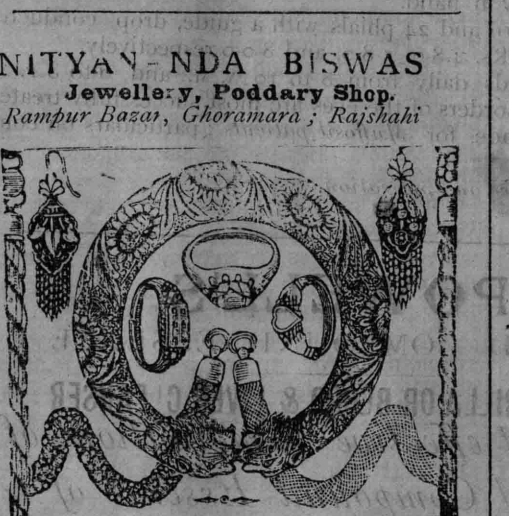
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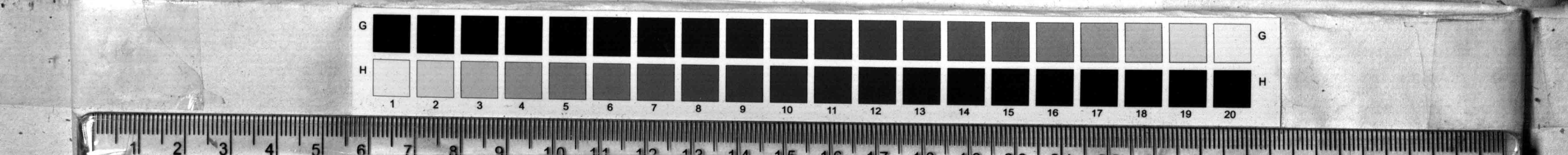


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Amrita Bazar Patrika

CALCUTTA, MARCH 17, 1898.

FRONTIER POLICY BLUNDER.

ONE can see, after a careful perusal of the views of the English press, Tory and Liberal, that the Forward policy of Lord George Hamilton has been almost universally condemned.

A great blunder was committed; but such is the system under which India is ruled, that there is none whom one can hold responsible for it.

In justice to Lord George Hamilton, we must say that if it was he who was led to commit the blunder, certainly the system is much more responsible for it than himself.

It then rested with the Secretary of State to settle this matter. Now, to act against the wishes of the Viceroy, who is on the spot and who is primarily responsible for the safety of the Empire, is to take serious responsibilities.

The same thing may happen again. Indeed, if the present blunder led to a complication with the Afrieties, the next blunder may lead to a complication with a formidable Foreign Power, say, Russia, China or France.

Those Indians who take interest in public affairs, are often reminded that they are a scionous lot and that they are trying to undermine the Empire.

NEW CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT.

In spite of the emphatic protests of the nation, uttered through the press, the public bodies and the representative members in the Council, section 108 of the Procedure Code Bill became law last Friday.

contempt. But if Mr. Ananda Charlu, or the Maharajah of Durbhanga, or Mr. Chitnavis, and the like did not represent the country, Sir Griffith Evans did.

No proceedings shall be taken under this section against the editor, proprietor, printer or publisher of any publication registered under, or printed or published in conformity with, the rules laid down in the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

Sir Griffith Evans began well, and might have put a full stop after the words, "the Local Government." But that would have been doing some service to the people of this country; so, he was obliged to add the next few words, namely, "or some officer empowered in this behalf."

The Executive Government which has the privilege of making laws in this country, has thus utilized its opportunity sixteen annas to its own advantage.

The process, however, ought to have been reversed. As the British Government gets older and more and more acclimated to the soil, the people ought to have been blessed with more and more freedom.

But then, the appeal, to be effective, must be preferred in a manner so as to draw their attention and enlist their sympathies.

THE BOMBAY RIOT AND ITS LESSONS.

THE riot that took place in Bombay on Wednesday was a serious affair. The feelings of the rioters were directed against English residents of the city and the plague officials.

benevolent motives upon which they were based. And it was thus Messrs. Rand and Ayerst were murdered, and it was thus that other European residents were killed or roughly handled in Bombay.

The first question that occurs is,—why were then Mr. Tilak and other editors sent to jail? The theory of an organized conspiracy against the Government has been utterly demolished.

When Messrs. Rand and Ayerst were murdered by assassins, all Englishmen here, especially the authorities in Bombay, very naturally were led to lose their temper.

We are quite willing to admit that the Government showed a good deal of energy in its attempts to stamp out the plague; that its motives were benevolent; and that it intended to do things smoothly as far as that was possible.

In a delicate matter like this, the Government ought to have been very much guided by leaders of native opinion.

Of course, those who break the laws ought to be punished. The Government has a right and duty to punish them; but it has also to take note of its own mistakes and failures.

So risky a step have the authorities taken in gagging the press of India that even some of the best friends of the Tory Government were led to disapprove of this policy of repression.

high-handed or illegal proceedings were brought to the notice of the Allahabad High Court. The retiring Chief Justice accepted the compliment gratefully and praised Sir Antony, and frankly admitted that as the members of the Civil Service were his countrymen, he was bound to protect them at any cost.

We regret to announce that that patriotic and smart paper of Lahore, the Arjuna, has ceased to exist.

Under the new law, it is impossible for us to carry on the business of journalism, as it does not clearly define what constitutes an offence or non-offence under it.

Some time ago, the editor and proprietor of a very intelligent vernacular paper in the N.W. Provinces, when bidding goodbye to his constituents, said that as he had other means of livelihood, he had no business to place himself at the mercy of a District Magistrate.

To raise the drooping spirits of the Indians who had been paralyzed by a succession of repressive measures, a friend wrote to us from London that "the country (England) was Liberal to the back bone."

So risky a step have the authorities taken in gagging the press of India that even some of the best friends of the Tory Government were led to disapprove of this policy of repression.

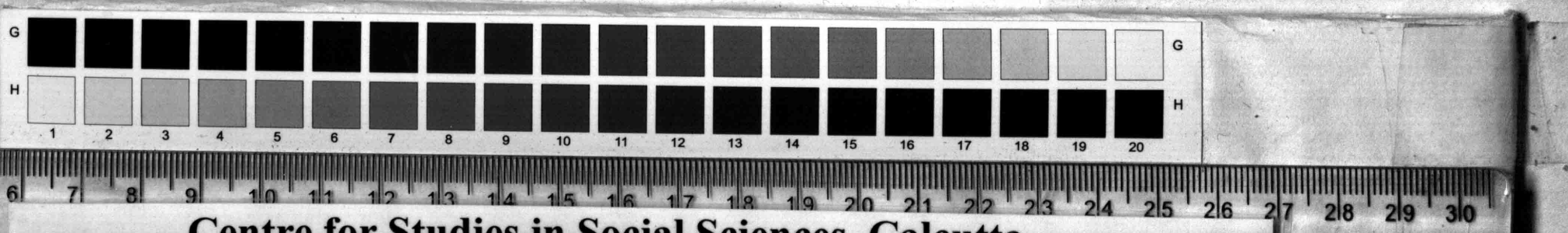
sentiments in effect. Mr. MacNeill wanted to clear a point, which is involved in utter obscurity. He asked Lord George Hamilton to explain who was the author of the sedition measure.

THE Pioneer has the following paragraph on the murder case, tried before the Allahabad High Court, in which a soldier, named Anthony Doyle, was charged with murdering a woman, named Chutwa, at Jubbulpore on January 5th.

The case in which a soldier was charged with murdering a woman at Jubbulpore, ended in the Allahabad High Court on Saturday, after a hearing which had lasted the whole week, in the acquittal of the prisoner.

The Pioneer justly remarks that "the result was not unexpected"; for, we do not remember to have ever come across a case in which a European, accused of murdering or committing a gross outrage upon an Indian, man or woman, was convicted by an Allahabad Jury.

Mr. Rives, Officiating Government Advocate, said the defence admitted, the deceased woman was killed in the manner described by some soldier. The question was whether the prisoner was the man.







India and England.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LONDON, FEB. 25.

PARLIAMENTARY.

Mr. Herbert Roberts finished his very able indictment of the Poona policy and press persecutions of the Indian Government...

Lord George Hamilton rose at once to reply. He began with a well-earned compliment to Mr. Roberts, who, he said, had, in an able and temperate speech, called the attention of the House to a matter well worthy of its consideration...

It was assumed that the brothers Natus gave great assistance to the Bombay Government, but that was not the opinion of the authorities. The brothers Natus did everything in their power to stir up unrest, and they worked against the regulations, the enforcement of which could alone save the people...

Lord George then declared that so long as the plague lasted, it would not be safe to liberate the brothers Natus; I venture, however, to prophesy that they will be out long before that happens. Lord George did not make the slightest attempt to associate the Natus with the murders...

After a speech from Mr. Swift MacNeill, Mr. Maclean, the Conservative member for Cardiff, made a brief but very weighty speech on behalf of Mr. Roberts' amendment...

the Bombay University. His speech is worth quoting intact. Mr. Maclean said he had not intended to take part in the debate, and would be extremely sorry to say anything which might add in the slightest degree to the anxiety and responsibility which must have weighed heavily on the Secretary of State for India during the last 12 months...

He was himself for many years connected with the Press of India, and he thought it would be unworthy of him if, when a question of this sort was brought up, he did not express his own opinion upon it. The noble Lord had told them they wanted exceptional powers in India. His own opinion was that they had exceptional powers enough already...

I do not think it possible for any one to put in a clearer or more concise language the true position of this important controversy, than this short, pungent speech by a distinguished supporter of the Government.

Mr. Pickersgill, Dr. Clark, Mr. Michael Davitt and the Attorney-General took part in the debate, and the House divided. For the amendment 109, against 182, majority for the Government 73, or just half their full majority. The division would have been even more disastrous to Lord George Hamilton and the Indian Government, if the Front Opposition Bench had done their duty...

On Tuesday evening the House of Commons decided by a majority of 92 that the entire cost of the Frontier Campaign is to fall on Indian finances. Alarmed by the bad divisions their party have given them on Indian questions, especially on Mr. Roberts' amendment, the Government whips were rigorous with regard to pairs, and managed to get within fifty of their majority, and so, once more, this Government has inflicted a serious blow to the prestige of the British Empire by an act of contemptible meanness...

Mr. Samuel Smith moved a resolution, calling attention to the extreme poverty of the mass of the people of India, and to the serious condition of the Indian finances, and to the need of a more effective control over Indian expenditure...

mass of the Indian people, quoting Lord Lawrence and Lord Cromer, in support of his estimation that the average income in India was only 1/2 per head or one-tenth of that of the United Kingdom. This chronic condition, he urged, had been greatly aggravated by pestilence and famine, which had left millions of cultivators absolutely penniless. He protested against the refusal of the Viceroy and the Council to delay the operations of the additional land assessment, and to relax altogether for another year the assessment in the famine-stricken districts...

I have never heard Mr. Samuel Smith so effective. His warm heart was touched to its very centre, and his speech made a profound impression on the somewhat thin House. Mr. Robinson Souttar seconded the resolution in a brief speech, declaring that no voice in the Empire would be raised against the adoption of the motion by the Government...

Sir Henry King strongly deprecated the proposal for a grant-in-aid as introducing a most mischievous principle and weakening the restrictions put upon the military party by the Finance Minister. He advocated a staple rupee and a staple exchange, as the panacea for India's woes, and that could only be obtained by putting the currency on a gold basis...

He thought it hardly suitable to go into the financial question, but he felt strongly that instead of merely helping India from time to time by doles we could exercise such control over her finances as would enable her to stand alone, and he felt convinced this would enable her to meet all necessary expenditure and be a source of strength and advantage to this country...

Lord George Hamilton then replied. He admitted the great poverty of India, but contended emphatically that the condition of the agricultural population of India was improving. He did not say so, but I suppose he bases his comparison on the Famine year, for under no other hypothesis could he justify such a view. He wisely evaded the debatable ground of currency reform, as outside the resolution, and then propounded his quack remedy in competition with all the others. Capital, he cried, Capital! that is what India wants to cure all her evils and a flow of capital into the country can only be got by a staple exchange...

which would in any way help India. While I feel that I cannot assent to his proposition, I can assure him and hon. gentlemen on the other side that any practical proposals which can make for the amelioration of the condition of the population of India or for the improvement of the financial position of that country will always meet from me with an appreciative hearing.

Sir Henry Fowler followed, and made some amendments for his absence on Mr. Roberts' motion, but supporting Mr. Smith's resolution heartily. He expressed himself as much disappointed at the definite decision arrived at by the Government, as he fully expected, they would have regarded the resolution in a more favourable spirit, and at any rate, had deferred their final decision until all the figures were known. He protested against the attitude assumed by Lord George Hamilton that this was not an Imperial question. The decision of the present Cabinet, which had led up to the war, had been defended by their last week by Imperial reasons...

So a patriotic Conservative Government, with its big mechanical majority, treats our greatest dependency, and every thoughtful Englishman is thoroughly ashamed of such contemptible and disgraceful meanness. This corrupt Government throws millions of sovereigns to rich landlords and the wealthy Church of England at home, and to West India sugar planters in the colonies, able to lend ten millions to China at low interest, and then throws upon the famine and plague-stricken millions of India the cost of a war which they themselves declare to be Imperial, with hard labour in prison for any who dare to grumble...

But for the present Government to be shocked at the idea of a "dole," is indeed Satan rebuking him. It is a veritable Government of doles, doles to Ireland, doles to the West Indies, doles to Egypt, doles to Landlords, doles to Church Schools, doles to everybody everywhere, except to the one claimant who only asks for a dole because justice is denied. It is a shameful and discreditable position, and it is little wonder that the Democracy of the country declares its disgust in each successive bye-election.

In the division on Mr. Herbert Roberts' motion three members of the late Government had the courage to break through party discipline, and refuse the cowardly course of abstention pursued by Lord Kimberley's advice, viz. Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Seale Hayne, and Mr. Hemphill. Mr. Maclean had not the courage of his speech, and actually voted with the Government against the motion which he had supported with so able an argument. Such is the power of the party whip. I am glad he did, as it emphasises like nothing else could have done the fact that the party screw was put tightly down, and that the majority of 73 was the very best the Government could accomplish in favour of the Poona policy of repression. Considering the absence and coldness of the Opposition leaders, it is the severest rebuke the Government has had since the election, in Parliament at any rate. On Mr. Smith's motion the Opposition leaders voted all right, and among them were Messrs. Asquith, Campbell-Bannerman, Foster, Sir Henry Fowler, Hemphill, and John Morley, all of whom now stand committed with their colleagues to the principle of paying for Imperial enterprise on the Indian Frontier from Imperial revenues, to which they will have to stand when they return to power, illustrating what I have often called attention to in these letters, the value of being in opposition that Liberal leaders may be committed to great principles, which they would probably have resisted had they been in power...

THE PRESS ON MR. SMITH'S MOTION.

MANY of the Tory journals condemn the action of the Government in refusing any financial help to India over the Frontier expenditure. I cannot quote at length from them, as I have already exceeded my allotted space in your columns; but as an instance I may quote from the "Pall Mall Gazette," which is one of the most uncompromising party papers devoted to the present Administration. The Editor writes:—

We cannot say that Lord George Hamilton's speech in the House yesterday is altogether convincing. His statement that no one contends that the frontier operations are an Imperial matter, almost staggers us, seeing that we have contended that from the first, and contend it again now. No doubt it is not desirable to encourage the Indian Government to rely too much upon British aid, and the Viceroy's announcement that it is not necessary just now is a strong argument. The principles of doles in aid is not a particularly good one. But India has had such an exceptional and unhappy year that no reasonable person would have objected to an exception in this case, especially for a matter which, as we say, is Imperial, and was dealt with by Mr. Curzon for one as such.

The most influential and widest-circulated Tory journal of the metropolis, the Daily Mail, says:—

The Government seems to have missed the point in the matter of assisting India financially. The argument for doing so is not that so brilliant a financier as Sir James Westland is unable, without help, to make both ends meet, but that a voluntary contribution would be just on abstract principles, and have the happiest results politically. Great Britain is as conspicuously rich as India is notoriously poor, and a grant would be a graceful mark of sympathy at this time of acute strain and distress.

Every Liberal journal, without exception, supports the resolutions generally, and their editors do much to clear up the confusion which might otherwise have prevailed in the public mind, by the disposition which the House displayed, to treat Mr. Smith's motion as though it were proposing "a charitable subscription" to India. Of course, it proposed nothing of the sort. The real question before the House was, whether the expenditure on the North-West Frontier was incurred on Imperial or Indian interests. It was not a question of generosity which had to be decided, but justice. Lord George, with his usual overreaching smartness, insisted on the fact that the Indian Government did not wish for assistance. Of course, it does not for the reason I have already stated, that assistance means control and the present Indian administration shouts, "Perish India!—but no Parliamentary control!"

FORTHCOMING FRONTIER DEBATE IN THE LORDS.

I am glad to say that there will be yet another Parliamentary debate on the Frontier policy. Lord Roberts has given notice that, on March 7th he will call attention in the House of Lords to the papers recently presented in regard to our relations with the tribes, and to the military operations undertaken against them during the year 1897-8. I don't know that the country, or India either, will be much moved by any decisions which may be arrived at by the House of Lords, but a debate initiated by Lord Roberts is sure to be full of interest to the public, especially as Lord Dufferin, Lord Ripon and Lord Lansdowne will be sure to take part. This debate will supply the deficiency of the House of Commons debates, by raising a direct discussion upon the methods on which the campaign has been carried out and generalised, and there can be little doubt it will be a "full dress" affair, with a crowded House.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

Two elections have been decided in the last few days. The vacancy in Pembrokehire was filled last week by the election of Mr. Phillips, the Liberal candidate, by a majority of 1604, over the Hon'ble Mr. Campbell, the heir to the Earl of Cawdor, the ardent landed proprietor in the county, and son of Lord Elnyn, the Tory candidate for the Cricklade division of Wilts. This is the largest Liberal majority ever recorded in Pembrokehire and is the Welsh rebuke to the Frontier policy of this Government.

The Cricklade election took place yesterday. The result is—

Table with 3 columns: Candidate, Party, Votes. Lord E. Fitzmaurice (Liberal) 5624, Lord Elnyn (Tory) 5135. Liberal majority 489. In 1895 the figures were Hopkinson (Tory) 4679, Fitzmaurice (Liberal) 4560. Tory majority 99.

This is the English rebuke to the Frontier policy of the Government. At Cricklade India was brought well to the front by repeated speeches from Mr. A. M. Bose, and R. C. Dutt, C. I. E., who have done grand service in all the recent by-elections. Another vacancy has occurred in London in a working-men's district at the East End. The Tory majority was over 500 at the General Election. It will certainly be fought by the Liberal party. It is now abundantly clear that the country is more and more veering round to the Liberal party. If we had a dissolution now, the figures of the by-election carried out through all the constituencies would give the Liberals almost as solid a majority as that now possessed by the Government. Whether during the two years that still intervene Lord Salisbury can invent a policy that will retrieve his fallen fortunes remains to be seen, but there is no prospect of it at present.

In a recent issue of the East, was noticed a case of assault upon Babu Govindo Chandra Bysak, Sub-Divisional Officer of Tangail, by a prisoner of the local Sub-Jail. The man, we hear, has been sentenced to suffer rigorous imprisonment for five months by the Sub-Deputy of the sub-division.

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