

INDIA AND THE FRONTIER PROBLEM



THE Ameer of Afghanistan has at last recalled his turbulent subjects from the Indian border, and has directed his officials to prevent Afghans from crossing the frontier. It is said that he has explained the difficulties of his position, and expressed regret that earlier information was not received by him. While the Ameer's regret will be shared very completely by Great Britain, which has had to face some alarming possibilities through the unwarrantable incursions of his subjects, it is satisfactory to learn that he has at last taken steps which were urgently necessary. We have steadily deprecated any premature attempt to lay direct blame upon the Ameer for not restraining the impetuous and impulsive border clans. His difficulties have probably been far greater than we can at present discern with any clearness. His feudatories are known to be very troublesome, and Habibullah is believed to be reluctant, and perhaps unable, to display the iron resolution with which his father crushed all opposition. The voice of faction has made itself heard at Kabul and doubtless the Ameer does not always find it easy to control the intriguing influences invariably prevalent in an Oriental court. His presumable embarrassments have certainly had the accidental effect of giving the British authorities a very anxious week or two. So long ago as the middle of April strong lashkars led by fanatical mullahs were crossing the Kabul river at Lalpura, with the announced intention of entering tribal territory. Men were hurrying to the frontier from points within thirty-five miles of Kabul. The Ameer's district officials have at any rate been unpardonably lax, and we have some right to insist that they should not escape severe reproof. Though we are ready to make every allowance for the Ameer's preoccupations, his tardy action is by no means exempt from criticism. If, however, his orders are now effective, and his loyal adherence to his obligations continues to be demonstrated, we may very well refrain from questioning his attitude too closely. That his silence produced great perplexity was only natural. This is not the first time, during the last decade or two, that Great Britain has had to complain of the introspective inattention of Kabul in moments of great emergency. We ought not to have to wait for the Ameer's intervention until the menacing forces of his people have been scattered by our guns.

Though the Afghan assemblage has now disappeared, we hope permanently, the government of India are not yet at the end of their troubles on the frontier. The Mohmands have refused to make their submission. Some sections of the tribe seem repentant, but others are defiant, and Sir James Willcocks is under orders to march against them. It will be a trying movement for the troops. An advance into the Mohmand territory in the middle of May is a severe ordeal, even for a force marching in very light order. Water is scarce and bad, and the bare, rugged country to be traversed is the abomination of desolation at this season. The brigades concerned will doubtless endure heat and thirst and fatigue with cheerful alacrity if only they succeed in coming into close contact with the enemy. The trouble is that the Mohmands are the most unsatisfying and elusive of frontier foes. No one quite knows where their territory begins or where it ends. Some of them live within the British administrative boundary, others in the stony Alsatia beyond, and many are unquestionably under the nominal dominion of the Ameer. The dividing line has been drawn on a map, but never demarcated on the spot. Several of the Mohmand sections have very hazy ideas about the sovereign to whom they owe allegiance, and there is little exact knowledge either in Simla or Kabul concerning their political status. Doubtless the difficulty of effectively punishing the tribe has been duly considered by the government of India, who would hardly have ordered the advance at this period had they not regarded it as imperative. We trust that in any case it may be possible to confine the operations to the Mohmands, though that seems by no means certain. The Indian newspapers, we note, do not confirm the reassuring statements received by cable about the quietude of Waz-

iristan; but, on the other hand, a telegram published today shows that the Afridis are remaining faithful to their pledge.

If the gravity of the situation on the frontier is diminishing, it cannot be said that the news concerning the internal condition of India grows less serious. Every fresh telegram from Calcutta points with increasing clearness to the existence of a revolutionary plot with

the populace to murder and destroy, it will not be surprising if there are early repetitions of the Muzaffarpur outrage, and if the bombs known to be distributed about the country are used with deplorable results. The freedom of the Indian press has degenerated into unrestricted licence, and it is useless to arrest the makers of bombs if the infinitely more evil sowers of sedition are able to dis-

need hardly say that, under the existing circumstances, we presume the suggestion, stated to have been made in official quarters, that the strength of the white battalions in India might be reduced for purposes of economy, will now be withdrawn. Such a reduction would be exceedingly inappropriate at the present moment. The conditions now shown to exist forbid it. The unrepentant Mr. Keir

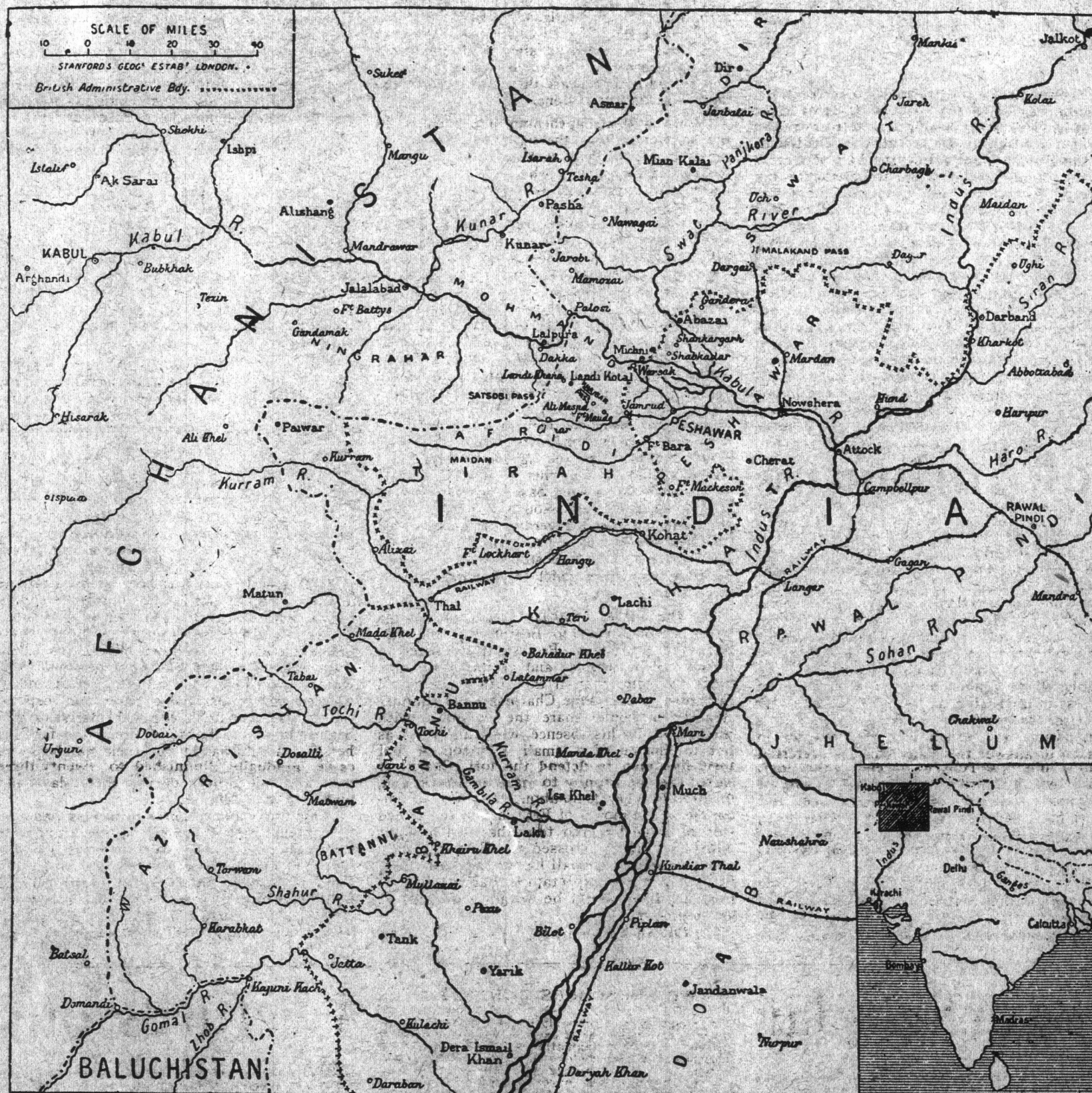
the usual influx of Indian politicians into London, bent upon their favorite enterprise of "seeing Lord Morley." One of them, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, says without deprecatory comment, that crime is sure to increase until "a large measure of self government is granted"; but he also says that "these outrages are based upon a feeling which is not national so much as local." Are we to understand, then, that the desire for self-government which produces crime is local also? Mr. Gokhale has arrived as the emissary of the remnants of the National Congress, which at Surat gave so signal a demonstration of the manner in which Indians manage their own affairs. He comes almost straight from a congress gathering at Allahabad, which had the unusual discretion to hold its wrangles about its future aims behind closed doors. It is not the worthy ideals of the Congress, but its methods and the political character of its members, that are of chief interest at this juncture. There are no signs that the moderate leaders have the slightest real inclination to sever themselves from the Extremists. The very substitute who was appointed to undertake the joint secretarial duties during Mr. Gokhale's absence was certainly at one time in intimate association with the acknowledged leader of the Extremist party. The Congress is willing to spend days in quarrelling about such paltry points as whether its statement of objects shall be designated a "creed" or a "goal" or an "aim"; but we wait in vain to learn that it has summoned even its provincial or local committees together to express any disapproval of the bomb-throwing conspiracy or the alleged dangerous enterprises of one of its own delegates, Mr. Arabinda Ghose. Not one word of reprobation of the new revelations of anarchy and outrage has been officially forthcoming either from the leaders of the Congress or from its ardent adherents in London, though they are ready enough to rush to the telegraph office when there is any chance of assailing constituted authority in India.

A BRAVE JURY

"The Penn, Mead and Jury Commemoration Committee have, with the consent of the Corporation of London, erected the tablet as proposed in the new Central Criminal Court, close to the spot at the Old Bailey where Penn and Mead were tried in September, 1670, and have issued to the subscribers as a memorial volume a reprint of the first edition of the account of the trial published in the same year," says the Christian World. "The facsimile title-page runs: 'The People's ancient and just Liberties asserted in the Trial of William Penn and William Mead at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey in London, the first, third, fourth and fifth of Sept., '70, against the most arbitrary procedure of that Court.' The frontispiece represents the tablet. The inscription begins: 'Near this site William Penn and William Mead were tried in 1670 for preaching to an unlawful assembly in Gracechurch Street. This tablet commemorates the courage and endurance of the Jury, Thos. Vere, Edward Bushell, and ten others, who refused to give a verdict against them, although locked up without food for two nights, and were fined for their final verdict of 'Not Guilty.'"

Preaching at St. Columba's (Church of Scotland), Pont Street, W., last Sunday, the Rev. Archibald Fleming, D.D., said, "I have before me, and am permitted to use, his last letters and messages addressed to those nearest and dearest to him at a time when he was under no delusion as to the near approach of death, and I am glad to tell you—and it is a great testimony—that his sole solace and support in these testing hours was in the religious faith which was his heritage from his forefathers in the land of his birth."

"It was his 'only refuge,' he said. He was 'perfectly resigned to whatever God willed for him, and had faith in His tender mercy.' And, again, in his last message, just before he died, he caused it to be written down that he was 'quite glad to leave everything in the merciful hands of God.'"



India has two frontiers on the northwest. One is its administrative frontier, shown in the above map by a line of crosses. The other is the political frontier, more commonly known as "the Durand line," shown above by a line of dots and dashes. Within the administrative frontier, the country is governed in accordance with the usual system prevailing in British India; but in the region beyond, as far as the Durand line, there is practically no administrative control. It is this region that is inhabited by the numerous Afghan tribes, who are nominally under our political sovereignty, but otherwise are largely independent. All that the Government of India asks of them is to keep the peace and abstain from raiding. The present period of trouble on the frontier began with the despatch of a punitive force against the Zakka Khel, a branch of the great Afridi tribe located south of the Khyber Pass. Their headquarters are at Chinari. Then came the rising of the Mohmands, it will be seen that the Mohmand country is severed in half by the Durand line. The Mohmands crossed into British administrative territory, and an action was fought with them near Shabkadar. Their principal village is usually considered to be Jarobi, quite close to the political frontier. The Afghan lashkars which subsequently menaced Landi Kotal came from the most part from the Ningrahar country. Men are known to have marched as far as Gandamak and Jalalabad, while many assembled in the districts round Lalpura and Daska. While one lashkar was threatening Landi Kotal, another force, under the Sufi Sahib, a fanatical mullah, endeavored to enter the Bazar Valley through the Satsoli Pass. Both movements have now dwindled away. Tirah, south of the Khyber, the principal scene of the 1897 campaign, is now reported quiet, and so is Waziristan, the stretch of tribal country towards Baluchistan. Swat and Dir, in the north, are also said to be comparatively free from unrest.

widespread ramifications, and equipped with all the deadly instruments of Anarchism. The almost incredible new feature of the position is that a notorious journal, the Yungantar, is being permitted to publish articles praising the persons implicated in the plot, and deploring the intervention of "the cursed Fenigini" which prevented its fulfilment. If vernacular journals are still to be allowed to in-

seminate their nefarious advice with impunity. The government of India must deal without delay with the obscure printing presses and the professional preachers of revolution, if they hope to check the movement at its source. There must be an end, too, of the easy facility with which the ingredients of high explosives appear to pass into the hands of irresponsible and disaffected persons. We

Hardie, in an unusually foolish speech at Newcastle, has suggested that "the secret police of India were the agents provocateurs of the whole business." A little sober reflection, if he is capable of it, may lead Mr. Hardie to realize that it is not the police who have incurred the odious responsibility of helping to fan the flames of revolt in Bengal. Meanwhile, we are evidently about to encounter

Prof. Larmor on Lord Kelvin

The Friday evening lecture at the Royal Institution, London, was given by Professor Joseph Larmor, whose subject was "The Scientific Work of Lord Kelvin." Lord Rayleigh was in the chair.

The lecturer said that the general impression at first produced by the four volumes of Lord Kelvin's collected works was a somewhat vague notion of desultory, though profound, occupation with the ideas that were afterwards to be welded by more systematic expositors into our modern theoretical knowledge of mechanical and electrical and optical philosophy. Closer attention, however, compelled the conclusion that the results of his activity in the early period from 1845 to 1856 were, perhaps, unprecedented in modern scientific annals; at any rate, there were few parallels since Newton and Huyghens and their great predecessors. Kelvin's only peer in general physics in those early days, as also later if his disciples were excluded, was Helmholtz. By the time the latter's essay on the conservation of energy had reached his hands he had himself worked, with Joule's assist-

ance, along the same lines, and he had, in fact already dug down, on the inspiration derived from Carnot, far into the true foundations of the doctrine of energy as available and recognizable to men, evolving from it ideas of revolutionary significance as regards both dynamical science and cosmic evolution. In the opinion of the lecturer, the share of Lord Kelvin was much larger than was usually understood in the great modern doctrine of physical and chemical equilibrium. The other aspect of his principle of the dissipation of available energy, relating to cosmical evolution, was the one which recurred most often in his own writings, and with which he was usually associated. When he was finally converted to accept fully Joule's proofs that all kinds of energy were convertible and that no energy was ever lost to the universe, his acceptance seemed to have carried with it the conviction that all energy was at bottom mechanical. This had colored much of his work in the science of dynamics, and, in particular, he tried hard for many years to discover some type of material constitution that would fit the luminifer-

ous ether. He was thus led to a wider grasp of the dynamical effects of rotational momentum. The theory of latent motions, developed by himself with practical illustrations from the behaviour of gyrostats, was, perhaps, the main advance achieved by the science of dynamics in its physical aspect since Lagrange.

The lecturer, with the help of Sir James Dewar, illustrated by experiment some of the main branches of Lord Kelvin's work, such as his verification of the prediction made by his brother James that pressure would lower the freezing point of water, his investigations with Joule on the cooling effect obtained by passing compressed gases through a porous plug, and his work with gyrostatic phenomena. Some of the apparatus employed was that which Lord Kelvin had actually used in the original experiments, and in the library was a further display of his apparatus and inventions, including many of his electrical measuring instruments, his crystallographic models, and the only example of his harmonic analyses yet made.

"And what do you do when you have a cold, doctor?"
"Just cough and sneeze, madam."—*Fliegende Blätter.*

Lord Curzon and Democracy

Lord Curzon, accompanied by his father, Lord Scarsdale, some few days ago opened a working man's club at Litton, a small village in the Peak district of Derbyshire. Lord Scarsdale is the chief landowner there, and gave the site for the club, as well as funds towards the building.

Lord Curzon, after declaring the club open, said he should like for a moment to regard that club as a local illustration of that wider movement of the emancipation and education of the working classes that was going on in every part of the country. He was not yet 50 years of age, but he had lived long enough to see a most astonishing change in the position of the working classes. They were now infinitely better housed, with good water supply and efficient drainage, than when he was a boy. They were also better educated. He could remember the time when a scholar, or "scholar," as he was called, was a rare exception in the villages. He was looked upon with some suspicion, and perhaps some respect, by the rest of the people. But now

every man was educated, and it was the object of all of them to lift their children to a higher scale of education and material advantage to that they had enjoyed. The working classes also now had a voice in the local government of the area in which they lived. The railways, too, had worked wonders. All these advantages were enjoyed by the working classes. They were not accidental. They were neither a generous gift nor the reluctant concession of wealth to poverty, nor capital to labor. If democracy was to live its leaders must be educated men, and if the leaders were to go straight they must have a cultured, thoughtful public opinion behind them. He believed the working classes of this country desired to be true, straightforward, and honest in the management of the affairs committed to them, and that they did not desire to use their power for any party, selfish, or class interest, and that all institutions of that kind (the working man's club) might be regarded as evidence of their desire to improve themselves and make themselves worthy of the rights conferred upon them. (Cheers.)

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ly scaling the walls when a Tour, even in this vigor that the besiegers a loss of twelve men killed

er capturing the fort by proposed terms of capitulation, who, knowing how low the impossibility of re-accepted his offer of life arison on their surrender, signed to the agreement, like possession of this long- and discovering how feeble so long and successfully the baseness of Charnisay's revealed by his repudiations of capitulation, and or-ison to be immediately save the life of one of the n that he act as hangman indignantly spurned, and aded but one plea to their amely, that they might be shooting, rather than to be

still beautiful in her black with a broad kerchief over her shoulders, and p which added a widowed atural dignity of her car-nd steadfastly for the lives return for all the money, d stores of the fort handed terms of surrender. The defeat her in actual war-ocked her entreaties, and power, but forced his re- a noose about her neck, the appearance before her should have been executed, as relieved.

on, and supported by an dy La Tour was compell-ecution of her courageous little wonder that this out- the ruin of her husband and er home, caused her death ee weeks, during which rir the fort for his own 1645, of a broken heart, vellous resource and un- e body was laid to rest the River St. John, which of so many hardships, and renuous life of the heroine Tour.

to be wonderin' how th' church compares wid th' "About th' same as th' d th' min in th' p'intin-

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same fate and have gradually ace of itself behind. Under he introduction of a new el-ct of the institution. It came ous incident. In 1254 a war- y. The King wanted money, d asked them if they would unds. The barons said they at unfortunately the minor were exceedingly unwilling to ing to do was to see whether the minor gentry to speak for y the King sent a knight, who shire might be sent to consult very small change indeed from which had prevailed before. Instead of sending some one the knights of the shire were it was the first time that the in a central assembly at all. to grant anything in the way ing was obliged to fall back- ing money from the church. of the term House of Com- that the word common, like which it was another form, great interest and importance tutions. The House of Com- House that represented the that represented the people it-conscious, political groups, the local assembly of the shire, the local assembly of the r district, organized into a roup. It was not a question heads. It was a most for- h life that this beginning of omunes into a central body an it did. It came exactly at was growing into the con- character. Had there been the local communities of have been far too sectional little conscious of any com- organization did not begin to England had become a self- its common interests, and ch belonged to it as a nation. many other points in the e House of Commons. ns were asked after the lec- when payment of members sman, after consultation with ed that there was an instance of a man's suing his con- due to him and getting it- ives of the Chancellors, said Bill it would probably have to sue his constituents for tion was put by a lady, who her women were ever voters. ved with loud laughter. Fred that at one time unusu- led in the House of Lords, but constituents had any share in lile Ages.

table one day there was men-own as a lion-hunter; and, Emerson used the word d; the word was too harsh- lass of words beginning with how he would characteris- slowly—"she is a person hav- success."