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## A NEW COLONIAL POLICY.

The impossibility of making a silk purse out of a sow's ear has long been proverbial and it has not taken long to prove that the responsibilities of office have not had the effect, so ardently desired, of lessening the exuberance of Mr. Winston Churchill. His statement, made in the early days of the Liberal triumph, that he had accepted the Under Secretaryship of the Colonies chiefly with a view to keeping his eye on Mr. Chamberlain, was accepted with a tolerant smile by friend and foe alike; his supporters imagining that he would find sufficient work to do in the department he was to represent in the House of Commons to make it necessary for him to confine his transcendant abilities to somewhat more careful, if less congenial, occupations, while his opponents had no reason to doubt that it would be Mr. Chamberlain who, in the interests of the English in South Africa, would continue to keep his eye on Mr. Churchill, who was never in the least likely to equal the reputation of his great predecessor at the Colonial office, or to attain the same knowledge of Colonial affairs. Mr. Churchill's first speech as representative of the Colonial department in the Lower House, went far to justify any favorable anticipations that may have been held as to the sobering influence of responsibility. With, for him, a wonderful moderation he explained the policy of the New Government with regard to South Africa, and even whittled down the notorious charge of "slavery on the rand" by employing the, by now, historic definition of a "terminological inexactitude". His Chief in the Colonial department went even further, and regretted that the word "slavery" had ever been used to describe the conditions of indentured labour in South Africa, but this withdrawal of a charge which had been so useful at the general election, had been little to the taste of the egregious Mr. Byles and the more fanatic members of the Liberal Party. Mr. Churchill, even in the days when he fought wild birds on his escape from Pretoria, has always been in the habit of playing to the gallery, and in the latter part of last week he made a speech in the House, as remarkable for its utter lack of taste as for the extravagance of its proposals. Stated briefly, its purport was, that although the Government intended to confer a constitution and self-government on the new South African colonies, and that, too, as rapidly as possible, yet they proposed to retain a veto if the new Transvaal Government intended to keep up the Chinese coolie system on the Rand. This speech, as was only to be expected, has raised a perfect storm in South Africa among the people chiefly concerned. The Johannisbury Star publishes a letter from one of the most distinguished Africander lawyers in the Transvaal, in which he points out that Mr. Churchill's statements, if they mean anything, can only mean that in spite of a constitution having been granted to the New Colonies, the wishes of the Transvaal, if they happen to run counter to the opinions of a political party in England, may be thwarted by the use of the Imperial Veto, which has always, hitherto, been reserved by tradition to questions affecting the rights of other British subjects or the relations of the Empire to Foreign powers. To neither of these categories does the question of the employment of Chinese labour belong, and Mr. Churchill is establishing a dangerous precedent if he is serious in affirming the right of the political majority at home, for the time being, to veto any proposal made by self-governing colonies; if selfgovernment is to be granted to the Transvaal at all, it must be real, not sham, and if the Government once begin to interpose their veto on domestic legislation in the new Colonies, there is nothing to prevent them attempting the same indefensible and disastrous policy in dealing with Canada and Australia; and that way separation lies. For no sane man could doubt for a moment that, if any English Government were to return to the illstarred policy of a Lord North, the ties which bind

the great British colonies to the Mother Country would vanish as snow before the sun. With the single exception mentioned, when Lord North hastened on the separation of the American Colonies from England, the policy of British ministers towards the colonies has always tended to absolute noninterference, and though probably much of Australian legislation of recent years has been little to the taste of the party who have so long held office in England, neither Lord Salisbury nor Mr. Balfour ever dreamed of interfering, by exercising the Imperial Veto on legislation which merely concerned the Australians themselves. The chief Government organ in the Press complacently denies that there is any danger of a serious conflict between the Colonies and the Imperial Government, stating that the Transvaal need have no fear that a Liberal Government will ever be false to those liberal principles on which our free Empire has been built up. But as one of the chief of those principles has always been, that by self-government is meant all that the term implies, this complacency is somewhat difficult to share, nor is it very likely to be induced by the petulant letter which Mr. Churchill has addressed to the Press, attributing to the pessimistic utterances of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour the ominous fall that has been taking place in South African securities. Most people, we imagine, would not have been surprised if this gratuitously insulting epistle had been left to answer itself, but Mr. Chamberlain has thought fit to reply to it, and while professing himself unconcerned with Mr. Churchill in his new character as a political Mr. Turveydrop and professor of Parliamentary deportment, points out that the new policy, announced by the Government's representative, can only mean that self-government, as defined by the new Premier means that a self-governing colony must submit all its proposed legislation to Downing Street, and if it is found not to be in accordance with the views of the party which for the moment the Premier wishes to be conciliated, the Imperial Veto is to be unsparingly used. It is certainly to be hoped that Lord Elgin will interfere and endeavour to moderate the transports of his self-opinionated lieutenant, for if Mr. Churchill's policy with regard to the Colonies were to be really carried out, it is tolerably plain that in a comparatively short time there would be no Colonies to apply it to. The application of the Imperial Veto to domestic Colonial legislation is unprecedented and unconstitutional, and there can be no reason to believe that the Colonies, either old or new, will put up with it for a moment.

## THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE MURDER OF CZAR ALEXANDER II.

With reference to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the assassination of Alexander II, Dr. Otto Schmelzer contributes some interesting personal experiences to the Dresdner Anzeiger.

"On the morning of the 13th of March 1881, the dictator Loris Melikow rode into the Winter Palace in order to restrain the Emperor from taking his usual drive. The imprisoned Nihilist Goldenberg had made a full confession, and the Government were in possession of the plans of the conspirators and knew that a new attempt against the Czar's life had been planned and prepared. Loris Melikow was able further to inform the Czar that they had been successful in capturing the ringleader of the conspiracy, Shaljabow. This news was pregnant with fate for the Czar. It stilled his anxiety so far that, in spite of all warnings, he proceeded to the parade in the Museelmanége. The Emperor drove with a full escort; in front of his carriage rode Cossacks, behind it were more Cossacks, and the sledges of the Minister of Police and an officer of the Gendarmerie. The Emperor reached the Manége uninjured, reviewed the troops and then drove to the house of the Grand Duchess Katharina Michailowna, where he took luncheon. There he

remained about an hour, and then once more entered the carriage to return to the Winter Palace the same way by which he had come. By the St. Catharine's Canal fate overtook him.

At 2.15 p. m. two detonations were heard in rapid succession, as loud as cannon shots; but it was only in the neighbourhood of St. Catharine's Canal that consternation was caused, and comparatively few people ran in the direction from which the sound came. The first bomb was thrown by a young peasant scarcely twenty years old, named Ryssanow: it fell a little short, and though causing considerably injury to the Emperor's carriage the Emperor himself remained uninjured. Pale as death the Emperor alighted from his carriage, walked with a firm step up to the criminal, spoke a few unintelligible words, and then returned to his carriage. But he had only taken a few steps when a man stepped towards bim and raised his arm without being hindered by those surrounding the Emperor. The latter evidently recognised his danger, for he made the sign of the Cross, and at the same moment the second bomb fell. When the smoke cleared away the Emperor was seen lying by the Canal railings in a pool of blood. Blood was running down from his head, and was pouring from the lower part of his body, and his two legs had been torn off just below the knee.

The Emperor was carried to the Winter Palace, and at 3.30 the flag on its summit floated down to half mast. Whether the Czar really lingered till then in agonising pain, or whether he died on the way back to the castle we will not question; but for the people it was necessary that priests should stand at the side of the dying monarch,

At midday the weather had been bright, but then a terrible snow-storm set in and a cold northeast wind swept through the broad square in front of the Winter Palace where, in the meanwhile, about a thousand people had collected, who, for Heaven knows what reason, were scattered by Cossacks. When the news of the murder spread abroad into the town, the populace were seized with a frightful panic, the streets emptied quickly, and the town on the Neva soon became deserted, dumb, and uncanny. The Police sent all the cabs home, closed the railway stations and telegraph offices, and shut the restaurants. Even the Hotel-keepers were ordered only to receive strangers who were arriving. The conspirators, as transpired later, celebrated the success of their deed of blood in the evening with champagne in the conspirators' quarter, in one of the side-streets off the great Sabalkowski-prospect.

On the following day the streets were bright and animated. Officers were driving in full uniform to take the oath of allegiance; but the crowds were looking on at the spectacle, with the expression of auxiety and consternation on all faces. The newspaper reports which were eagerly devoured, rumours which passed from mouth to mouth with lightning speed, the incidents which occured when the police made an arrest, the consequence of which one could not foretell, increased the general anxiety. As early as this first day it was perfectly clear that the Emperor in any case had been doomed, and even if the second bomb had spared him, it was known that no protection could be expected from the St. Petersburg police, either public or secret, this police whose helplessness, cowardice, incapacity and deplorable condition was forced to appear the more extraordinary since they had been informed not only of the object of the attempt, but in part of the people who had planned it. In fact the general feeling was that men were standing on a volcano: it was rumoured that all bridges were undermined, that mines had been laid at the Winter Palace, at the Anitschkow Palace of the their apparent and new Emperor, and at the barracks to prevent the interposition of the military. It was indeed a boundless anxiety that possessed the populace, and it reached its height when a mine was discovered in a cheesmonger's shop in the little Shadowaja, which according to the testimony of experts was sufficient