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CONTENTS.		PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	469
ARTICLES:—		
The U. P. Council	471
A Remarkable Educational Report—I	472
The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community. By Cosmopolitan ...	...	474
A LETTER FROM LONDON. ...	...	476
REVIEWS:—		
India in 1921-22. ...	...	578
MISCELLANEA:—		
Mr. Sastri's work in Canada ...	...	478
CORRESPONDENCE:—		
Local Board Bill ...	...	479
Gurdwaras and the Akalis ...	...	489

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Prospect. AS is only natural, the Non-co-operating Party's press professes a lofty unconcern with the fall of Mr. Lloyd George's ministry and the pending elections in Great Britain. On our part we pretend to no such superior aloofness: on the contrary, we confess to a most lively interest in the result of the present tussle in British politics, since we realize that, whatever the result, it is bound to affect India vitally. For if the Conservatives should be in power in the next Parliament, we must be prepared for a policy which would interpret the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms as narrowly as possible, just as an Asquithian Liberal régime would mean as generous an interpretation as possible; whilst a Labour Government is pledged to the grant of immediate Dominion Status. As for the prospects, we are optimistic enough to expect a Labour-Liberal government, as we have stated already in previous issues. The number of candidates placed in the field, would seem to bear out that forecast. There are put forward at present 435 Conservatives, 301 Liberals, 399 Labour and 156 Centre (i. e. followers of Messrs. George and Chamberlain): a total of 1291 candidates. If the expectations of all these parties are fulfilled in the same ratio, as is expressed by the number of candidates, the Elections would therefore result in a return of 207 Conservatives, 191 Labour, 142 Liberals and 75 Centre. In that case no one party could form a government of its own, and of possible combinations there are three: either the Conservatives ally themselves with the Centre, or the Liberals with the Centre, or Labour with the

Liberals. In the first case we would get a strength of 282; in the second of 217; in the third of 333. Hence Labour-Liberals would have it.

* * *

WE do not pretend of course to understand the British Electorate but to judge from ourselves we should say that they must be very hard put to it to know, what exactly Mr. Law or Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. George or Mr. Asquith stand for, and what they propose doing, if and when they come into power. Mr. Law cultivates the Dominion pose and works the Imperialistic stunt for all it is worth. Is he not a Canadian himself and with him associated are there not former Governor Generals of Canada (the Duke of Devonshire), of Australia (C. Munro Ferguson, now Viscount Novar) and of India—Lord Curzon? The brand of "imperial" appeal made can he well understood by such representatives. "The nation's first need is to get on with its own work with the minimum of interference at home and disturbance abroad:" in these terms does Mr. Law address himself to his Glaswegian constituency. But since he diagnoses "a revival of trade as the first essential," he considers it "the most helpful method, to develop the vast trade of which the resources of the Empire admit." Put bluntly, this means Empire exploitation, and since the Dominions do not lend themselves to this, there remains the dumb Colonial Empire—and India, perhaps. Mr. George, not to be outdone in patriotic imperialism, digs out the egregious scheme whereby a hundred million pounds were to have been lent to the Dominions to enable them to employ on relief work English unemployed who were to be shipped there *ad hoc*! Why the £100 millions could not be spent in England on necessary houses and school buildings &c., witness deposes not. Mr. George tried the slogan "Britain first, party second"—but everybody knows that to mean, "Lloyd George first, principles second." Mr. Chamberlain truly wonders, scanning Mr. Law's manifesto, what had been the need for "so great a commotion to produce so small a change." Against all this welter of mere "standpat" conservatism, personal intrigue and specious opportunism, there stands out in bold relief the programme of the Labour Party, which as Mr. George himself testifies, made an appeal to millions and was a formidable challenge. That is the secret of the appeal Labour makes—that it is a clear challenge, not a

the unanimous Bench of Bishops comes out with so strong and thorough a condemnation of the activities of the Irregulars. It certainly goes to the extreme of the Irish hierarchy's pastoral powers. The "Westminster" rightly says that no Liberal could possibly approve of it if the conduct of the Irregulars lay in the political field; but no one who stops to survey the material and moral ruin that they have caused to their country hesitates to declare that this is no longer a matter of politics. Neither Church nor State could possibly condone a policy of murder, rapine, arson and assassination. That the Irish Free State Government will now make the fullest use of its powers under martial law, once the amnesty period is terminated, is a foregone conclusion. Anything less would be condemned by all civilised opinion as the very negation of government.

REVIEW.

INDIA IN 1921-1922. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Director, Central Bureau of Information, Government of India.

The Government of India Act requires that a statement regarding the material and moral condition of India, prepared from detailed provincial reports be laid before the Parliament within fourteen days of its sitting after the 1st of May every year. Prior to 1918 this statement used to be prepared by the staff of the India Office, but during the last five years it is prepared in India. Formerly it was strictly impersonal, full of tables and figures and uninteresting to the ordinary reader. The new series are narrative in form, review the main political events of each year and the work of the Legislatures and make very interesting reading. Mr. Rushbrook Williams who has prepared the last four statements deserves hearty congratulations for the ability and skill with which he has prepared the facts. The old series, however, possessed one advantage over the new ones. They gave in numerous tables the provincial figures of the various departments which made a comparative study easy for the student. We think it is very desirable that these statistical tables should be restored.

The volume for 1921-22 is of special interest on account of the connected history of the non-co-operation movement which it contains. It is given at considerable length and with great fairness. Mr. Gandhi's high motives and restraining influence are fully acknowledged. There are no undignified or petty-minded references. One is agreeably surprised to see so much fairness shown in an official report to a person who did his best to destroy the authority of the Government. Khaddar has been the red rag of officials in many places. Mr. Rushbrook Williams, however, takes a very rational view of the constructive items of the non-co-operation programme. For instance (on page 67) he says:—

"He (Mr. Gandhi) and his lieutenants continued to preach without ceasing the virtues of the spinning wheel, the satanic character of foreign cloth, the evils of indulgence in drink. Had they confined their movement to exhortation and practical help, their efforts would doubtless have been productive of good. There is much room in India for the introduction of cottage industries, which might to great advantage occupy the weeks when climatic considerations forbid the practice of agriculture. It cannot be denied that the flimsier kinds of imported cloth, which have for so long been fashionable even among the poorest, are less serviceable than homespun. The temperance question also has for years attracted the attention of social reformers."

Whether one agrees or not with the Government about the necessity for Mr. Gandhi's arrest at the time, the frankness of the statement is indisputable.

"This step (arrest) had long been contemplated but had been postponed from time to time. In the first place there was a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who, however mistaken might be his activities, was by all widely respected and by millions revered as a saint. Moreover, he had constantly preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all that he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods. It was further impossible to ignore the fact that until a substantial body of Indian opinion was prepared to support measures against Mr. Gandhi's person and until the popular belief in his divine inspiration had been weakened by the efflux of time, there was reason to fear that his arrest would have been attended with bloody outbreaks in numerous places, by the intensification of racial bitterness, and by the creation of conditions in which the new constitution would have little or no chance of success. That the arrest, being well-timed, passed off peacefully, should not mislead the reader into thinking that it could have been effected with equal absence of popular excitement at an earlier period."

One wishes that the 'Foreword,' which refers to the Reforms as a "constitutional experiment" and speaks of there being "good reasons both for hope and apprehension" in their working, had not been written. The 'Foreword' is too obviously an 'afterword' written just before publication and is a weak defence, like the Viceroy's speech, of Mr. Lloyd George's indefensible I. C. S. speech. It creates unmerited prejudice in an Indian reader against the volume.

V.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SASTRI'S WORK IN CANADA.

THE following letter which was published in the *Times of India*, was written "to a well-known citizen of Bombay by one of the most eminent business men in Canada." It is a most convincing testimony to the value and success of Mr. Sastri's mission.

"Mr. Sastri's mission in Montreal has just closed. He has been in this city for ten days, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the extent to which he has influenced public opinion here, particularly among the upper classes of the community. He has had a very busy time, with one or more addresses almost every day. The newspapers have devoted column-day after day to India, and their comments have invariably been cordial and appreciative. He has addressed large public meetings, such as the Canadian Club, and the Canadian Women's Club, but I think his most effective work has been done in much smaller gatherings of influential people. I myself had the privilege of giving a dinner in his honour, at which were present a goodly gathering of the leaders of political life of both parties, together with outstanding representatives of finance, education, law, etc. It was possibly the most representative gathering of its size that I have ever attended. As reporters were excluded, Mr. Sastri was invited to talk freely and confidentially. He spoke for over an hour and made a profound impression. He was followed by Sir Lomer Gouin, who was for many years the Premier of the Province of Quebec and is now the leader of the French Canadian element in the Dominion House, and a Cabinet Minister. He is a man of great commonsense, clear thought and much force, and his influence at Ottawa is great. Sir Lomer expressed keen appreciation of Mr. Sastri's arguments, and while he said that he must respect the principle of Cabinet solidarity, it was quite clear that we could count to the utmost on his influence on behalf of giving the full vote to all Indians resident in Canada. To have won such a powerful ally means much, and

I am decidedly of opinion that the seed which Mr. Sastri has sown will bear abundant fruit. Success seems certain; it is a mere matter of time, and I think not a long time at that. Sir Lomer was followed by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Leader of the Conservatives, and our former Premier. There was no mistaking Mr. Meighen's position. He endorsed Mr. Sastri's contention unreservedly and very emphatically.

I should here explain that in every instance Mr. Sastri made it clear that he could not approve the action of any part of the Empire in excluding the citizens of another part of the same Empire, but that he was not at the moment discussing that matter. Accepting conditions as they exist, he emphasized with force and persuasiveness the justice and necessity of conferring the franchise on all Indians resident in the Dominion. I do not believe there was one person who heard him who was not converted to this view.

A marked feature of the addresses was that every one was illuminating on some point. He supplied information, and did so in language that kept his audience almost under a spell. His facts, even if unpalatable, were presented in a way which won the sympathy of all hearers. Although I already knew a great deal about India I have learned a vast deal more than ever before on many points. I did not realize how great is the progress already achieved in the direction of self-government. I do feel that the people of India are to be congratulated, for they have accomplished in a few years what took the people of England centuries.

Never before in Canada has India attracted so much attention or been so much appreciated. Her importance as the great Eastern member of our imperial family has been emphasized. The brilliance and culture of her educated classes are admired. At the same time the seriousness of the great problems and difficulties which they have to face is realized. The solving of these will, of course, take time, and will require much thought, and possibly novel provision, but the terms of the great Act which marks the first milestone in your progress show what can be done, and are most encouraging. In your solving of these problems you will have the deep and intelligent sympathy of Canadians. The most surprising of all things we Canadians have learned, is the immense strides you have already taken in self-government.

It was a wise move to send such a man as Mr. Sastri to visit the Dominions. India is to be congratulated on having had such a spokesman, and the more visits of such men we can have, the more will the different parts of the Empire be drawn together in mutual understanding and sympathy. Personally I have learned to esteem Mr. Sastri and his work so highly that I consider it a great honour to be allowed to rank as one of his friends."

CORRESPONDENCE.

LOCAL BOARD BILL.

WHEN WILL IT COME INTO FORCE ?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The Council and the public have discussed most of the important provisions of the Local Board Bill. While attention is being concentrated on them, one point seems to have been completely lost sight of, I mean, the time when the new proposals after being passed into an Act, will begin to come into operation. It is proposed that the new proposals should come into operation after the present triennial period is over, meaning thereby that the existing Act and the recent elections there-under, should continue in operation for three long years, even though by that time the new Act will have been on the statute book for two years or more. This, I venture to think, is not right.

My reasons are as under:—I think that before the next Council election takes place, which may come on in or about January 1924, the people of this Presidency should get the benefit at local board elections throughout the rural areas, on the proposed low franchise of Rs. 8 for the taluka local boards and Rs. 33 for the district local boards. These elections on the more popular franchise, would necessarily stimulate in-

terest, and may form a very desirable preparatory training for the Council vote. Such preliminary advantage to the voters through local board elections, should be thought more desirable, if we consider that in the first Council elections held in November 1920, about 75 per cent of the voters got no experience of the use of their vote, having totally abstained from voting. If the local board elections on the new franchise, can be arranged to take place before the next Council election, the disadvantage to which the voters put themselves in 1920, will have been removed.

I can readily admit there are some difficulties, but they are easily surmountable. I think the preparation of the electoral roll on the new franchise, can be easily undertaken, and if the authorities do some amount of earnest work, the roll can be finished within a short time. If all goes on well, the new Act can certainly be put into operation in April next, so that the present local board elections can be held valid only upto the end of March 1923. If more time is required, they may be extended by three months more or even six months. In any case, the local board elections under the new Act can easily be held before the next Council election in January 1924.

I hope, the Select Committee to which the Bill is now referred will consider this aspect of the Bill to which I have addressed myself. Not only do the voters get the benefit of using their votes in the local board elections, before the Council elections take place; it also looks awkward that a Bill should be passed and kept for two years on the statute book before coming into operation. By that time any public enthusiasm for the new improvements may also evaporate. I may mention here the parallel case of the new Bombay Municipal Act which is to come into operation from April next, and under which the elections may be held in January next. I do not see why the rural areas should not be similarly treated and get the same benefit.—Yours faithfully,

S. G. W.

GURDWARAS AND THE AKALIS.

SIR—THE approaching introduction into the Punjab Legislative Council, of another Bill designed to settle the Gurdwara question, affords an opportunity, which the country would do well to embrace, of reviewing the Akali question. There can be no doubt, upon an impartial survey, that the rights and wrongs of this matter have been clouded, first by the popularly condemned blunders of the administration, and secondly, by the natural sympathy and admiration aroused by the uncompromising heroism displayed by the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh. But the question has now been dragging on for some time, and it is imperative, for its early settlement, that the public opinion of India should express itself clearly upon the issue involved. Those who guide this opinion have a clear duty to perform, and they will be false to their obligations if they allow their judgment to be clouded by any predilection, however natural, in favour of one of the contending parties. When the matter is reduced to its elements, it appears comparatively simple. Here we have a section of the Sikhs which claims that its religious rights are infringed by the present position of the Gurdwaras. Well and good; the Akalis have the sympathy of most people when they express a desire to see that the shrines of the Sikh faith are properly managed. But this is not all; the Akalis claim that the shrines must be made over to themselves. And further, they say that if not, they will take them by mass action. Now here is something very wrong indeed. For in the first place, the Akalis are far from being synonymous with the Sikh community. In the next place, they utterly ignore the rights of those in possession of the shrines. And finally they are going to work in an anti-social, anarchic, and disruptive way to gain their ends. For let us make no mistake. The Akalis, non-violent though their conduct may be, are taking the steps which seem to them most effective for the purpose of subverting the rights, not merely of individuals, but also of communities and of society as a whole. Nothing can alter that fact. And in a situation when the intermingling of competing claims and rights demands the highest degree of compromise and good will, they are deliberately, so far as lies in their power, trampling upon and ignoring the claims of other people. In other words, while the Akalis profess to be fighting the bureaucracy, they are in reality undermining the foundation of that mutual respect and tolerance upon which the State, that is, organised society, really depends. Their claims and their actions indicate a fixed determination, not to secure their own rights, but to subvert other people's; to make themselves the judges in their own cause; and to subordinate all other communities in the Punjab to the paramount dictatorship of Sikh religious claims. That is the issue.

21-10-22.

R. D. U.

discard the policy to which they had pinned their faith in the past. But they had all enough political sense, enough common sense, to understand that the situation had changed radically and that there was no fear of the Congress launching out on civil disobedience. In the end the resolution was carried without the Government asking for a division.

The third resolution was bolder and recommended a general amnesty to all political prisoners. In moving it Babu Vikramajit Singh said persuasively that if the Government accepted and gave effect to his resolution, the relations between the Government and the people would be much improved and the situation eased. Out of a total of 1,735 political prisoners, considerably more than half had already been released and his resolution would not affect more than 800 persons, many of whom were men of education and influence. The behaviour of those who had had been released gave no ground for apprehending trouble from a general amnesty. Having shown how they could maintain law and order, Government should now rise above vindictiveness and narrow-minded policy. The Finance Member, however, felt constrained to oppose it. Amidst cheers he said that the opinion of the Council was entitled to great weight and he would undertake to give due weight to the resolution regarding the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. But he could not treat this resolution similarly. Again he fell back on the Civil Disobedience Committee and urged the Council further to consider the moral effects which a general amnesty would produce on the police. We do not know that the moral effect on the police would be bad at all, but we do know that they would be altogether good on the population for whose sake the police exist. The resolution was passed like the previous one without a division.

In our opinion the conciliatory policy urged in these resolutions finds its strongest support in the figures relating to serious crime mentioned in the report on the police administration of the province, which has just been reviewed by the Government. It reveals the fact that between 1920 and 1921 dacoities increased from 747 to 1,361 and riots from 1065 to 1290, and that they were most numerous in the districts and in the months in which non-co-operation activities were most intense. There was also a great fall in the preventive activity of the police owing to their pre-occupation with political agitation. In the calm after the storm things no doubt have improved. But a policy of conciliation will improve them still further and, what is more, will enhance the respect of the people for the reformed Councils which non-co-operation has done so much to injure. We hope therefore the U. P. Government, which since the reforms has enjoyed a high reputation for smooth working and right spirit, will give effect to these resolutions and thus hasten the disappearance of non-co-operation from the province.

A REMARKABLE EDUCATIONAL REPORT.

I.

The Gold Coast is a comparatively small British Colony in West-Africa. Originally just a strip of the Guinea coast, the hinterland was gradually annexed to it in the form of a protectorate (over "Ashanti" and "Northern Territories") and the whole now forms a block of about 92,000 sq. miles (i. e. just about the size of Great Britain) with a population of 16,50,000. Whitaker, to whom we are indebted for these figures, further tells us that in 1920 trade (that with Great Britain alone is given) amounted to fifteen million sterling (Exports: £ 6,530,330; Imports: £ 8,463,968).

It is in Accra, the capital of this little Colony, that in the same year a Committee of Educationists assembled, as directed by the Governor, "to advise the Government on Educational Matters". The Report of this Committee has since been published and has attracted the attention of a very much wider public than one imagines an Accran blue-book as a rule to enjoy. The reason for it is the originality with which the members of that Committee have dealt with the problem confronting them and it is most refreshing indeed to see how little they have allowed themselves to be tied down by precedent or by English analogies. It is an admittedly far cry from Accra to Poona: but this certainly has India in common with West Africa, that the problem of education is a most pressing one, if not really the most pressing one, in both of these parts of the world; and there is always a chance of learning how to do things oneself by watching another's solution of his own problem. Besides, one really cannot read this report without being struck by the possibility that, educationally, there may exist quite a close parallel between the Negroes of West Africa and the so-called "backward classes" of our own country, and we therefore trust that an analysis of the Report will not be unwelcome.

The Committee start from the eminently sound principle that "English examinations are most unsuitable tests of West African education and will tend to become more so, as Gold Coast and English education become more efficient for each country." Yet there, as elsewhere, the test has been hitherto a "Cambridge Local Examination" or its equivalent, with the result that this test decides the whole curriculum, and that "education" becomes mere training for the passing of that test. The Committee therefore seem rightly to have endeavoured to rid themselves of English, *qua* English, notions, and to have sought rather their inspiration at such institutions as Lovedale and Tiger Kloof (in South Africa), Hampton and Tuskegee (in U. S. A.), or Codrington College in Barbados.

The principle on which these educationists proceed is therefore not that of the mechanical pouring of "instruction" into a supposedly empty human receptacle, but that of eliciting, of stimula-

ting minds into wanting to do and to know things. The pernicious old idea, that one can educate another, is given up and the principle frankly adopted, that every individual can only educate himself, that therefore all that is possible, is to arouse interest, so that the pupil may enlarge his own personality; and to guide that interest to desirable objects, so that there may result a "healthy development of the whole personality".

As a consequence, the Committee recommend that a child (after kindergarten classes for children between the ages of 3 and 5) should enter an "Infant School", which should provide for the following instruction:

- a. The unfolding of the mind of the child by stimulating it naturally and progressively to action, i. e. to receive, retain and express ideas.
- b. The training of the senses so that they develop and become more responsive.
- c. The exercise of the child's muscles and nerves by varied occupation.
- d. The acquisition of right habits, such as obedience, service and truthfulness.
- e. The encouragement of the aesthetic taste.

To an old-fashioned teacher, who vainly looks for his fetish of the three R's such recommendation must provide a nasty shock—not diminished, when this wielder of the cane reads on to find that "we recommend that this instruction should be in the form of play as far as possible. The child should be encouraged, by arousing his interest, to overcome difficulties by himself." And because play-schools, the Committee are strong on the point that they should be called "Infant Schools" and not "Preparatory Schools", though intended for children between 5 and 11 years old; that they should in no way be linked up to the "Primary Schools" (standards 1—7), as this Report calls these latter schools; that these Infant Schools should be under a separate head teacher and staffed by teachers who have special training for this work. This latter proviso indeed is essential; for since the differences between the mentality of an adult and the mentality of a child increase, the younger the child: the more is it necessary for teachers of infants to specialize in their work and for educational authorities to recognize that, if a raw youngster may be put to teach the old boys, only the most expert teacher will do for infant classes—and to pay Infants' teachers accordingly.

The basic method, then, is to arouse the child's interest—which obviously play will do and, we may add, a task will kill. But since "children cannot be interested unless they understand what they are doing and what is being said to them, we recommend that the Vernacular should be the medium of instruction. For there can be no real imagination if a child merely repeats by memory certain sounds the meaning of which he does not understand." Never surely was the argument for the Vernacular put more simply or more cogently. But there is no anti-English fanaticism about the Report, either. *Fanti* and *Akan*,

the two main languages of the country, are obviously not such vehicles of culture, as to make English superfluous. Our Educationists fully recognise that only through English can come all that additional knowledge which in later life may be sought after: hence the necessity for making English a subject of instruction in Infant classes, when the acquisition of a language is easy. "Therefore although the *medium* of all instruction at Infant Schools should be the Vernacular, English should be a *subject* of instruction, and introduced as early as possible." And—characteristically—the writers of the Report go on to say that "opportunities should be taken to combine the Vernacular with English, particularly in regard to games." Compare this method of teaching English with that current in India, where the unfortunate child is carefully left without English during all the most impressible time of his youth, until he is 10, and then, sometimes already at 14, plunged into an education which both in matter and form is purely English!

The Report stipulates that these Infant Schools should comprise three classes only, but is silent on the time the average child is expected to remain in them; only the minimum age of 5 and the maximum age of 12 are mentioned. But from another paragraph it would appear that by an "infant" is meant a child up to 8 years old and therefore one infers that normally a child is expected to get through its Infant School between his 5th and 8th year. When he (or she—for "there are great advantages in co-education for infants" and already all these schools are "mixed" schools) leaves the Infant School, the child is then ready for the so-called "Primary" school with its seven standards, which thus will keep it at least up to its 15th year.

But here too, the same right pedagogic lines are being adhered to. "The primary object of reading", we are told, "is to create interest. The imparting of information must be regarded as of only secondary importance." Again, we read that "Natural History should be taught in every school." Why? Because, "if it is properly taught, it is a corrective against the prevalent idea that knowledge is something only to be acquired from books." For the same reason "the Committee strongly advocates plenty of manual work to overcome the mere bookiness of most of our school instruction. The senses and muscular movement need cultivation and have a direct bearing on the mental processes of the pupil." How true all this is—yet, where, oh where, do we find in India a school run on such lines and on such educational principles, lip-service apart? Not as if our authors advocated vocational training being given in Primary Schools: on the contrary, they "strongly discountenance any attempt to make the Primary Schools of the Gold Coast a training ground for any particular trade, profession or industry, whether it be clerks, mechanics or farmers", since they lay it down emphatically, that "it is not the duty of the primary

school to train for any particular vocation, but to train children that they may adapt themselves readily to life in general, whatever trade or profession they may eventually follow." The assumption is that as much time will be devoted to practical, as to literary instruction; the former to include gardening, wood, metal and clay-work. Not only so, but "besides working to an organised scheme the pupil should be allowed time in which to exercise and develop his own initiative by original or hobby work" and the golden rule is laid down that "it is not technical work that is required, but the common attempt to overcome difficulties when found by the boy, by the boy's work and the teacher's advice and encouragement." Hence the Report advocates the class teacher (if possible, trained in bench, garden and forge work himself) as the best fitted, pedagogically speaking, for this practical instruction, rather than a more skilled specialist from outside.

The completion of the 7th standard of the Primary School means the limit of education for most pupils, and as it does mark "a certain standard of attainment," provision is made for the award of a certificate—which leads to the question of examinations.

This chapter begins refreshingly by stating that "the purpose of examinations is two-fold; they help the teacher and the pupil;" the former as to faults due to the matter, the method or the pupil; to the latter it affords "the opportunity of taking stock of his mental resources, testing the amount and accuracy of his knowledge, and ascertaining his ability of using his knowledge." The whole of the remarks under this head are so eminently sane—neither a mere repetition of the bad old tradition, nor a revolutionary extremism that sweeps aside things not because they are bad but because they are old—that we cannot resist quoting some more lines: "The chief use of examinations should be to test the child's power of applying his knowledge. For it is almost impossible, except by some process of examination, to ascertain the knowledge a child can *assimilate*," whatever its immediate interest and intelligence during lessons may be. The Report rigorously discriminates between assimilated knowledge and mechanical reproduction of knowledge acquired—and if one were to put in a nutshell the main vice of modern education in India, one surely could not do it better than by reference to the almost total absence of this distinction with us. To the members of this Gold Coast Committee examinations are, even under the best conditions, a concession to the weakness of human memory and understanding. Though an essential part of teaching, neither teacher nor pupil should regard an examination as an end in itself." Finally they point to the fact that wrongly conducted examinations are not merely valueless, but positively harmful.

With the application of such principles assured, one may feel reconciled to the granting of what

amounts to a School Leaving Certificate to pupils who "by at least two tests conducted during the year by an Inspector of the Education Department" have been adjudicated as "having assimilated knowledge in the subjects taught in a Primary School—which, by the way, are Arithmetic, Geography, English (Composition and Grammar), Hygiene, Nature Study and History (Gold Coast and British Empire).

But for all the care bestowed on this chapter in a boy's educational life, our authors are aware that Primary Education, even at its best, whether in West Africa, or England or elsewhere, turns out boys "with but little inclination or guidance to contrive self-culture," because "with characters still unformed and minds unexpanded, with tastes undeveloped, unable to think consecutively for themselves". Hence stagnation, lack of thought, lack of initiative. And the Committee add that "this is only to be expected and not peculiar to West Africa"; for was not "for the very same reason the Education Act of 1918 passed in England?"

How then would these Gold Coast Educationists deal with this problem?

THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN INDIA.

"THEY will find after all that it is their best interest to unite and co-operate with the other native inhabitants of India." Henry Derozio, the Eurasian Poet, Teacher and Journalist. 1830.

"To-day is the day when we must associate ourselves as citizens of India with the rest of India, irrespective of caste, creed and colour." Col. Gidney, President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association.—1922.

Eurasians are the descendants of native mothers by European fathers of every nationality (which, by the way, includes the Dutch, the Portugese, the French and the English, who in turn fought for the mastery of India) and, as a community, they have cast in their lot, since the days of Albuquerque, with the race to which their fathers belonged. This description applies to the 'Anglo-Indians' who are not, under the present law of the land, recognized as "European British Subjects" beyond the second generation. Although born of Indian mothers and brought up in India, the community as a whole has a natural affinity towards the race to which their fathers belonged, being "united with them in language, in habits, in manners, in feelings and in opinions." The affinity was further strengthened by the fact that Europeans were, in India, gradually becoming the conquering race; but this affinity was—and is to this day—one-sided, not being reciprocated by the Europeans. In fact, so far as their recognition as Europeans is concerned, "their history is a record of exclusion and repression, from the year 1786 when the general letter of the Court of Directors (17th March) prohibited the wards of the Upper Orphan School, whose mothers were natives and whose fathers were Britons, from being sent to England for education, to the Viceroyalty of Lord

Ripon, when the Forest School of Dehra Dun and the Rurkee Engineering College were closed against the sons of Englishmen domiciled in India." Moreover, in 1795, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis, all persons not descended from European parents on both sides were "prohibited from serving in the European branch of the Army unless as fifiers, drummers and bandsmen." The community, therefore, alive to their sense of self-respect, began to organize, and decided upon obtaining redress of their grievance by deputation and by debate. "Differences of opinion as to the line of action and the name which the united community should take, Indo-Britons, East-Indians, Indo-Europeans, Anglo-Indians, very early arose in the movement which ultimately in 1830 culminated in the East Indian Petition to the Hon'ble the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The burden of this petition was that the petitioners should receive the same legal status as Britons, that is to say, they should not be excluded from the benefits of the law of England and "from superior and covenanted offices in the civil and military services and from all sworn offices in the marine service of the East India Company." Excepting their prayer with regard to certain inconveniences with respect to the law of marriage and succession, the British Houses of Parliament were reluctant to grant any of their prayers. As though this was not enough, an insult was added to the injury. Lord Ellenborough, then in charge of Indian affairs, in the course of a debate in the House of Lords on the 29th March, 1830, said: "They are the illegitimate offspring of European fathers and native mothers, and they wish to be placed in a situation such as is filled by illegitimate children in no part of the world." In spite of the lapse of close upon a century the same prejudice seems to have been handed down generation to generation, and is reflected in the present-day average Englishman. The law does not recognize Anglo-Indians as "European British Subjects" except up to the second generation. After that he becomes a statutory native of India and loses his rights. We gather, moreover, from the agitation of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association that Anglo-Indians are subjected to unfair distinction as compared with Europeans even in railway administration and other services.

PRIVILEGED POSITION OF ANGLO-INDIANS.

It must not, however, be supposed that this community receives the same scant consideration as is meted out to Indians at the hands of the ruling Englishman. Except in agriculture, the Anglo-Indians have entered almost all the walks of life: commerce, industry, Government service, railways; and wherever they have entered they are accorded a decidedly preferential treatment over their Indian brethren. The 'plum' appointments in Government service go to Anglo-Indians in preference to Indians. There are some Government

departments which until very recently were, so to speak, reserved entirely for Anglo-Indians. There is in Government services the policy of big loaves and little loaves, or big fishes and small fishes, of doors wide open and doors half-ajar. Railways are an Anglo-Indian monopoly, and from the district officer down to the ticket collector you see the Anglo-Indian invariably in the forefront. There are certain big railway stations where an Indian station master will not do; the appointment must go to an Anglo-Indian. There are certain railway trains in the case of which an Indian will not do to drive the locomotive and to "guard" the train. There are certain appointments of ticket collectors and ticket examiners which are the preserves of Anglo-Indian boys irrespective of their educational attainments. This invidious distinction is not confined to giving employment alone. Go wherever you like, search whatever you may, you will find Anglo-Indians getting preferential treatment over Indians. The rigidity of the Arms Act is relaxed in the case of Anglo-Indians. They are allowed to have their own volunteer corps and their defence forces. In the matter of education also, Government is giving them decidedly better treatment than is meted out to the poor Indians. There are some European hospitals to which Anglo-Indians are admitted, while admission is scrupulously denied to Indians. It is common knowledge that a third class compartment is specially reserved for Eurasians and Anglo-Indians on practically every railway train. No matter whether the compartment be full or empty, was to the Indian who dares to seek entrance into that compartment. Anglo-Indians are thus by far better off than their Indian brethren in the matter of temporal happiness and well-being. In fact, they are to-day so much on a par with Europeans that a distinction between them is scarcely apparent, and the average Indian does not, in fact, know that there is any distinction at all.

THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIANS.

Enjoying as he does all those privileges which are denied to the Indian, the attitude of the average Anglo-Indian has long been one of contempt towards his Indian brother. From some of the Anglo-Indian convent schools the Indian child is practically shut out by prohibitive fees, being asked to pay three or four times more than what is paid for the Anglo-Indian child. On the railway station, in the train, in the tram, the bus, the streets, or the offices, the Indian is looked down upon by the Anglo-Indian. We can multiply instances, but we need not labour the point. You may argue, you may philosophise, you may even sophisticate, but the fact is there, and no amount of special pleading can alter it. We recognize that Anglo-Indians are also suffering injustice at the hands of Europeans, but as Henry Derozio has said: "Suffering should teach us not to make others suffer." The Anglo-Indian needs to shed his conceit a bit.

A WELCOME CHANGE.

The announcement made by his Majesty's Government in August, 1917 has given India a start on the road to self-government. India is to enjoy the rights and privileges of a free member of the Imperial Commonwealth. This 'consummation devoutly to be wished' will be reached in the natural process of evolution within a generation or two; but only when the different communities in India sink their feuds and differences and feel as one nation. It is a promising sign of the times that a feeling of national consciousness is dawning even upon the Anglo-Indians and that they have begun to realise that it would not be to their welfare to maintain any longer an attitude of superiority over Indians. Col. Gidney in his presidential speech in February last asked the members of his Association:

"What is to be our policy in the future? Are we to be so foolish as to cover ourselves with the cloak of a veneer of pseudo-superiority; look down on the Indian as no one and live the insular and isolated lives that we have hitherto done? Or, are we going to open our eyes, the same as the Englishman has had to do, and realise that the time has come for us to fall into line with the rest of India and to walk side by side with the citizens of India in this great fight for *Swaraj*."

While this change in the angle of vision is a great advance, much more however yet remains to be done. The Anglo-Indian does not as yet entertain a feeling of trustfulness in the Indian, which is essential. Otherwise Col. Gidney would not have been so opposed to the Indian demand for the abolition of racial discrimination in judicial trials and said:

"Let us agree to the same privilege being given to the Indian if he wants it, but do not, on any account, forfeit your protection especially at the present time when racial hostility runs high and the political atmosphere is surcharged with animus towards the European and Anglo-Indian. Let us be determined to join the Englishman in *India to go to any length* (Italics ours) to retain this jury privilege and other legal rights we now have."

We have been told by some of our best Anglo-Indian friends that this distrust in their minds is not entirely groundless, as the ordinary Indian shows want of respect towards them and even goes the length of insulting them. We fear there is some truth in this. But it cannot be denied that it takes two to make a quarrel. The attitude of the Anglo-Indian has never been what it should be towards his Indian brother. The Indian is really more sinned against than sinning, he has submitted to various political and racial iniquities with a docility verging on cowardice. Anglo-Indians need not entertain any suspicion about Indians. The latter are prepared to regard them as one of their own sister communities. The Parsees and the Indian Christians, for instance, have no special legal rights as against the Hindus or Mohamedans. Can it, therefore, be said that in jury trials, a Parsee or a Christian juror necessarily gives a prejudiced verdict against a Hindu or a Mohamadan, or *vice versa*?

Indians however do not want to deprive the

Englishman or Anglo-Indian of his right to be tried by a jury. What they insist upon is that the law should not be a respecter of persons or of communities. The invidious distinction made between "European British Subjects" and "Indian British Subjects" under part VII, Ch. XXXIII of the Criminal Procedure Code is a standing disgrace to the Statute book, and should be entirely deleted, the principle of trial by jury being retained. Let the Jury be selected by ballot, or by any other approved method of selection, irrespective of race, caste, creed or colour of the juror, the complainant, or the accused. Anglo-Indians should come out of the cockpit of suspicion and join Indians in this agitation. Indians and Anglo-Indians must live together through weal and through woe. If we would have everything go as merry as marriage bells we must endeavour to produce a feeling of homogeneity. That feeling can only be produced by mutual trust and good will. Col. Gidney does appreciate this point of view. All the more reason why he and his followers should respond to the call of Indians when they say:

"For the good of our motherland, India,—these are the closing words of a resolution you adopted on the 21st March, 1922, in your annual general meeting. Have a feeling, therefore, of 'composite patriotism' and say that you are Indians first, and any other community afterwards. Say it without evasion, equivocation or mental reserve of any kind. We do not mean to exclude you from any of our political organizations, moderate or otherwise, if only you care to shake off that delusion of superiority. Join our national movements with your heart and soul. Agitate that you should not be treated as inferior to Europeans, but do not claim special privileges over us. Let us be equals. Let us live together, let us work together, let us die together."

COSMOPOLITAN.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 12, 1922.

MR. H. E. A. Cotton, with whom I had a long chat last week on the subject of his new appointment, which he spoke of with great enthusiasm increased by the fact that he was going to Bengal, and especially to Calcutta, where he had spent a number of happy years in the early part of his career, has just left England enroute for India, to preside over the Bengal Legislative Council. Since his return to England, Mr. Cotton has not only done a lot of work to popularise the Indian demand for constitutional reforms, but he has also become an expert in municipal reform, as a member and later an alderman of the London County Council, and also as an energetic member of the Independent Liberal Party. He was frequently to be found at the National Liberal Club and the offices of the London Liberal Federation, under whose auspices he became at one time a member of Parliament for one of the Finsbury Divisions. Mr. Walter Isaac and a number of political and other friends and well-wishers gave Mr. Cotton a genial send-off at the National Liberal Club last

Saturday evening, under the chairmanship of Capt. Wedgwood Benn, one of the foremost of the younger Liberals. He paid a fine tribute to Mr. Cotton's many services to the causes that he had advocated, a sentiment that was powerfully supported by Sir Mancherji Bhownagree, who does not belong to Mr. Cotton's political party here. Mr. Cotton, in acknowledging the compliment, said some admirable things as to the hopes enshrined in the great enterprise in Liberalism for which the new legislatures in India stand and also as to the cardinal need in India to-day—the restoration of the people's belief in the good faith of England and British statesmen, sentiments that were warmly applauded.

I understand that Mr. F. H. Brown will carry on the secretarial work of the Indian Reforms Committee for the present, but I doubt whether even his sincerity can vitalise that rather moribund body, whose chairman, Lord Clwyd, cannot be altogether happy in the somewhat crust-ed company that circumstances force upon him. He is now in America or on his way there.

I suppose that there will be no difficulty in selecting a candidate for the seat on the Secretary of State's Council that will fall vacant upon Mr. B. N. Basu's retirement a few weeks hence, after completing his work at Geneva. He will be glad to return to India, and I believe he will be found to advocate the appointment of a younger and more aggressive type of Councillor to cope with the needs of new India.

Mr. Sastri and Mr. Bajpai have now returned to England. Both look in the best of health, and, in spite of the many ill-informed criticisms of his mission on the part of a section of his countrymen Mr. Sastri is not at all pessimistic. Indeed, he is philosophic. He did not expect, when he set out on his tour, to have complete success wherever he went, and he said so at the time. He is therefore not disappointed that the highest hopes of his countrymen have not yet been fulfilled. But he is strongly of opinion that the tour was well worth while. He had important opportunities of meeting the foremost citizens in the Dominions and explaining to them the nature of Indian aspirations as an integral part of the British Commonwealth, and once they were able to look at matters from that point of view and realise the true nature of the Imperial obligation on the part of the Dominions, he found difficulties that at first seemed formidable melt away, with, he believes, substantial results for his country. When it is recognised that it was no part of his mission to reopen the immigration question, it must be admitted that Mr. Sastri has secured, both immediately and in the near future, substantial results. The Queensland Government has withdrawn the obnoxious Banana Industry legislation that operated harshly against Indians, and logically they will be obliged to repeal the offending clauses of the Sugar Cultivation Act. In South Australia Indians are to be admitted to the benefit of the Murray irrigation scheme, by

owning and occupying land. Throughout Australia Indians will presently come under the old age pension legislation, and similarly in New Zealand. All the Australian Universities, except Brisbane, which has limited accommodation, have agreed to accept Indian students. Most of the Australian States have already granted the equal franchise to Indians. Western Australia and Queensland have agreed to bring up the matter of an extension of the State franchise to Indians at the forthcoming conference of Premiers. Similarly, the Commonwealth franchise will shortly be brought up in the Australian Parliament, all parties having expressed sympathy with its extension to Indians. In Canada too Mr. Sastri has succeeded in getting both the British Columbia and dominion Governments to agree to bring the matter before their legislatures.

The "Manchester Guardian" and its readers are naturally going very carefully into the reports of the Indian Fiscal Commission, and a "Correspondent" seeks to analyse in that paper some of the true inwardness of the reports and the Nationalist point of view on tariff problems. I shall not here attempt to give a summary of his interesting article but I may say that he takes it as a foregone conclusion that the Legislative Assembly will support the minority view and will not only abolish the cotton excise duties but erect a high tariff wall around a miscellaneous assortment of industries for the eventual establishment of which there may seem to be some reasonable hopes. This attitude, he considers is based on two fallacies. Firstly, protection means high prices for the poor man who is not adequately represented in the Assembly. Secondly, too much is expected of protection. 'You cannot create an industry by merely building up a wall around it.' In spite of the prosperity of the cotton industry, he says, it has taken root and flourished only in Bombay. Lancashire economists may rest assured that the Assembly will not be less mindful of the poor man than they are.

The Irish situation does not seem to have improved materially of late. The Irregulars are still sniping and ambushing and destroying. Now the Irish Catholic Hierarchy has stepped in and warns the Irregulars that they may not be absolved in confession, and the priests who support them that they will not be allowed to retain their faculties, unless they take advantage of the Government's amnesty, which expires on Sunday. What effect this will have is somewhat obscure. It is doubtful whether those who still persist in destroying the country—a prominent Irishman has declared that they have during the last few weeks done more injury to Ireland than British domination did during generations, and the Irish estimates bear a sum of ten millions sterling as a portion of the cost of reconstruction—are at all amenable to religious adjuration. But the moral position of the Free State Government has obviously improved when

mere carrying on or hedging. Mr. Asquith characterizes the Labour manifesto as "frank and open" and in thinking of the British Labour Party to-day one would do well to realize that, as Mr. H. G. Wells, who is Labour candidate for London University, said in his election address, "the Labour movement was in no sense a class movement, but a movement against class privilege. They stood for the new world—one of men and women co-operating sanely and intelligently to make life fuller and richer, more free and more creative, as against the old world, which was breaking down about them, of wasteful competition, suspicion, and hatred."

A Counterweight
to Fissiparity.

THE Indian Christian Conference at Allahabad *inter alia* resolved to press for representation of their community in the Legislative Council of the Province. On the face of it there is no reason—once sectional interests as such are to be represented—why the U. P. Christian Community should not be; and if they, why not other, hitherto unrepresented, sections as well. At this rate India, so far from progressing towards national unity, will become steadily more a disjointed conglomeration of incompatible members than ever it was. Surely it is time to call a halt to all these centrifugal forces and, for a change, to emphasize the centripetal tendency? As things have gone, we are afraid that the abolition outright of sectional representation is impossible. But we do believe, that the method of two-chamber legislature lends itself admirably to satisfy the needs both of national unity and of sectional interests. When the Provinces are given complete autonomy, it might be well to introduce a second chamber, elected on a principle of uniform voting qualifications, without any regard to the voter's race, religion, caste or profession; whilst the present "Council" might be turned into a chamber, purely and solely representing the very sectional interests, which the second chamber does not recognize. And if feasible and advisable in the Provinces, why should not the Central Legislature be similarly reformed on a clear principle—the Assembly to reflect the electorate in their capacity of Indians, and the Council of State in that of Moslems, Mill-owners, "Domiciled Europeans" or what not? The present compromise seems to us to be getting less and less satisfactory.

Poona Nationalists
in the Wilderness.

THE sequel to the Poona District Congress Committee's elections which ended in a *debacle* on the 15th October, was not very exciting; for on the 28th idem., when the elections were to be completed, the Nationalist candidates in a body retired from the contest and left the field clear to the Non-co-operators, who were thus able to spare the world another exhibition of soul force, in which they have proved themselves to be such adepts. In this way has been effected an

utter obliteration of the Nationalist party, formerly led by Mr. Tilak, from all positions of power and responsibility in the Congress sphere. The Nationalists have been so completely swept off the board that even their leaders like Mr. Kelkar have had reason to doubt if they will even have a chance to attend the Congress as mere delegates. Their only chance now seems to be that some friends in the mofussil, commiserating with them in their sad plight, may show so much spirit of self-abnegation as to get them elected in substitution for themselves. No one can help sympathising with the party, but no one can also help reflecting that if from the very first they had proclaimed their convictions and held to them firmly, the control of the Congress machinery would probably have slipped from their hands, but their moral prestige would have stood high.

A Protest from the
People.

THE Kathiawad Hitwadhak Sabha has done well to submit a petition to both Houses of Parliament requesting them to withhold assent from the Princes' Protection Bill. The petition points out that the people in the Kathiawad States have many grievances but are unable to give expression to them within the States, as in most of them public meetings are prohibited and in hardly any is there a newspaper worth the name. It points out further that there is no warrant in treaties and engagements with these States for the British Government giving the protection intended by the Bill and that there is no ground to hold that newspapers in British India have been used for any unjust, unlawful, violent or seditious criticisms of the Indian Rulers or their administrations. The Sabha is of the opinion that the ordinary law in British India is sufficient to give such protection to the Princes as they may require against seditious or other libels or any other offences which may be committed by newspapers against them.

FINLAND and Norway have prohibition laws, though not quite so strict as the U. S. A. Volstead Act. Finland in 1919 prohibited the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, and has recently amended her law, increasing the penalties for its violation. A mission of twenty-four members from Sweden, which visited the country recently, reported that a decline of 50 per cent. had taken place in arrests and sentences for crime between the pre-war period and 1920. In Sweden there is no prohibition, but what is known as the "Bratt" system is in force in that country. This system draws a distinction between home consumption and consumption in public places, but interferes with both. To take home liquor, a resident of Sweden must have a book of coupons issued by a central office running the whole liquor trade. Only by presenting such a coupon can he procure his liquor, which is limited to four litres per month. This *mot-bok* is issued free of charge; but upon evidence that its contents are not properly used, the owner is deprived of it. No liquor may be sold in public places except to persons who order a meal worth a crown and a half. Liquor is very expensive in Sweden on account of the heavy revenue duties levied upon it, and the frugal Swedes show little disposition to exceed their legal quotas. The consumption of liquor is said to have decreased one-half since 1913.

THE U. P. COUNCIL.

THE present session of the United Provinces Legislative Council is of extraordinary interest for several reasons. Meeting after a very long interval of six months it has taken up unofficial business prior to official business, which is a striking departure from the usual practice of the Councils. Among the resolutions moved were three very important ones relating to the conditions created by the non-co-operation movement and on all of them the Government sustained a through defeat. There was indeed a fourth resolution, which was to have been moved by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, asking for the appointment of a mixed committee to enquire in the circumstances under which a non-co-operator prisoner died in the Lucknow jail. But just before the present session of the Council met, the Government appointed a committee similar to the one desired by Mr. Kunzru, who has therefore now to wait for the report of that committee before pursuing the matter any further. In carrying those three resolutions against the opposition of the Government the members have not only correctly represented the opinion of the country but have proved that on matters of vital importance they can rise superior to personal or party considerations and can give the Government excellent advice. In this respect the Punjab, Bombay and Madras Councils will do well to follow the example of the U. P. Liberals and landlords who opposed each other bitterly on the Oudh Rent Bill in the last session of the Council now joined hands to insist that policemen guilty of excesses against non-co-operators shall be dealt with suitably, that repression be withdrawn and that things be made easy for non-co-operators to give up their inane creed and return to healthy public life. The opposition of the Government to these resolutions was utterly unreasonable and its defeat well-merited.

The first resolution asked for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the cases of alleged terrorism in the Basti district by Government servants in April last. Mr. Devidas Gandhi, after an enquiry into happenings at Sohratgunj, reported in *Young India* and the *Leader*, that on the Congress volunteers who were picketing a liquor-shop refusing to disperse at the order of a sub-inspector of police, the latter with the help of the constables pulled down the hut in which the Congress office was located, burnt its thatch, the Congress records and other articles that were in the hut and severely belaboured the volunteers, one of whom died as a result of the injuries. Similar beating, looting and other atrocities were committed by the police in other parts of the district. A few days after the Sohratgunj outrage was reported the Commissioner of Gorakhpur division issued a meagre communique of a few lines, stating that a magistrate had enquired into the occurrence and found that no serious injuries were caused to any of the volunteers and that the death reported was

due to natural causes. This obviously could satisfy no one and hence the resolution. In opposing it the Home Member put forward the curious argument that as nearly six months had passed since the occurrence, no satisfactory circumstantial evidence would be available to make an investigation by a committee useful—an argument which was easily demolished by the supporters of the resolution, who pointed out that the Hunter Committee and other bodies had obtained such evidence after a much longer interval than six months. The Finance Member in supporting his colleague frankly admitted that the police had committed excesses but pleaded that the sub-inspector had lost his temper on being abused by the volunteers. One member asked whether the sub-inspector had been punished. The Finance Member replied that he had not been punished because the Government thought he had acted in good faith. This led to the mover of the resolution exclaiming that if excesses had been committed and the Government admitted the fact and still would not punish the man responsible for them, they need not come to the Council and merely talk and talk. The Finance Member could only plead the exceptional nature of the times. The wonder is that with such a weak case the Government should have opposed the resolution and courted a crushing defeat. But this is exactly what happened with regard to the other two resolutions also.

The second resolution recommended the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act from the province. In January last a resolution was moved in the Council and accepted by the Government, recommending the withdrawal of the Act from districts where there was tranquillity and peace. But very soon after it was passed, the Chauri Chaura tragedy occurred and no action was taken on the resolution. Rai Sita Ram, the mover of the present resolution, and his supporters pointed out that since then there had been no disturbance in the province and demanded the fulfilment of the promise made by Sir Ludovic Porter in the Council and by the Governor at Agra that the Act would be withdrawn from places where life and property were no longer in danger. In opposing the resolution the Finance Member said that though the political situation had immensely improved and few reports of criminal intimidation were now received, the volunteer movement was not dead but was only in a state of suspended animation. The Civil Disobedience Committee was going to publish its report in a few days and it would be much wiser to consider the resolution after its recommendations were known. In reply Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru pointed out that the Khilafat question being solved by the Kemalists' victories, a powerful cause of discontent had been removed. Moreover, from what had appeared in the newspapers and from the state of things in the province, it was absolutely safe to conclude that the policy of civil disobedience was dead. The Congress leaders, who are only human, might not in so many words

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