

# Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is a great relief to hear that the *hartal* of the 19th passed off everywhere without a hitch. The self-restraint of the demonstrators combined with the good sense of the police, who remained in the background. Will a similar good fortune attend future demonstrations? for we hear of several such. It is true practice makes perfect; but it is true also that use takes away the edge of caution. The true test will come when the news of the full settlement arrives. Should the news be unfavourable, will Mahomedans carry out the commandment of their Sacred Book? Will Hindus follow them? We hope, not; a thousand times, not.

THE non-Brahmans of Madras have gained nothing by forcing a reference of the question of the reservation of seats to the arbitrator. He has assigned for them fewer seats than the Brahmans would assuredly have consented to allot to them. The Brahman representatives who appeared before Lord Meston offered, it would appear, 26 or 27 seats, but we make no doubt that they would have agreed to the reservation of 50 per cent. of seats, the proportion suggested by the Government of India and endorsed by Lord Willingdon. Mr. Sastri, who was not among these representatives, had already supported this compromise before the Joint Select Committee. He said in his evidence: "The only thing I need add under this head is that if such an expedient (reservation of seats) is finally decided upon, the proportion of 30 to 61 seats that the Government of India have recommended does not seem to be excessive, and it is a proportion which I should certainly support." Some of the other Brahman leaders, we know, were equally

anxious to end this dispute by embracing this compromise, but the non-Brahmans, who till the last moment kept up their cry for separate communal electorates, demanded before the arbitrator as many as 42 seats to be reserved for their community out of a total number of 66 seats allotted to the general Hindu electorate. That the non-Brahman community adopted throughout an unfortunately truculent attitude and made exaggerated claims will be admitted by all, and we are sincerely sorry that this rendered it impossible for an agreement to be reached between the two communities.

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LORD MESTON came to the conclusion that it was not necessary in the case of the non-Brahmans to guarantee an absolute majority of seats for them; it would be sufficient, he thought, to ensure them such a start in the race as would prevent their being out-distanced if they exercised ordinary energy and intelligence. Considering the "very great preponderance of the non-Brahmans in the electoral rolls which they themselves put, on a moderate computation at 8 to 1," he believed that the necessities of the case would be amply met by reserving for them 28 out of 65 seats. If the reasoning of Lord Meston is correct, it is not possible to quarrel with his conclusion. It is argued that since the Brahmans were practically willing to guarantee half the number of seats for the non-Brahmans, which was not acceptable to the latter, Lord Meston ought to have fixed a certain number between 33 and 42. This contention is not valid, for it would put a premium upon perverseness and a spirit of reasonableness would be at a discount if the arbitrator were always to split the difference.

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IN the result the non-Brahmans must feel the truth of the saying that one may go farther and fare worse. They would not take the 30 seats which the Brahmans would have gladly yielded; nor the 32 or 33 to which they could have been got to consent by pressure. Feeling sure of this number, they thought they only stood to gain by forcing on arbitration. Parties may be generous; but the arbitrator has to be just. Lord Meston's reasoning and conclusion are alike irreproachable. We fear, however, the non-Brahmans will be long in reconciling themselves to his award. A reckless campaign has been arrested in mid-career. The Brahmans may have to stand a fresh outburst of ill-temper and chagrine. Let us hope they will exhibit charity and patience.

A DEADLOCK has now been reached in the Poona municipality in the matter of compulsory education, and we have no hesitation in laying this unsatisfactory condition of things at the door solely of the Nationalist party. The Liberals are strongly for including the girls also in the scheme of compulsion prepared by the municipality, and they believe that it is within the means of that body to introduce compulsory education simultaneously for boys and girls. But with a view to meeting the Nationalists half way, they prepared three or four alternative schemes which, while keeping taxation within the limits desired by the Nationalists, provided for girls' compulsory education in greater or less measure. The Nationalists, however, contemptuously rejected all these earnest attempts at compromise and insisted upon the application of compulsion to boys alone. One of these alternative schemes was prepared, be it remembered, by an expert committee presided over by a renowned educationalist, who went into the whole question thoroughly and arrived at the conclusion that, by adopting the shift system, it was possible to provide schooling for all the boys and girls of school age, at the cost of nearly the same sum which the Nationalists themselves would have had otherwise to spend for the compulsory education of boys alone.

ANY scheme which issues from such a committee and with such a strong recommendation from them, it will be universally allowed, at least deserves serious consideration, but the Nationalists, sure of their majority, did not deign even to consider it. When the scheme came up for consideration before the municipality, they merely voted it down, without giving anything like a critical examination to its features. If the scheme has any drawbacks, they as yet remain unexposed. This proceeding on the part of the extremists, wanting in the ordinary courtesy due to colleagues, forced upon every one present at the meeting the conviction that the Nationalists were thoroughly unwilling to come to any compromise. This was not all. Other alternatives proposed to the municipality were also similarly condemned out of hand. If the Nationalists had only to encounter the financial difficulty and had on that account to restrict the scope of compulsion, why should they not have let the girls come under the operation of the Act, in the first instance? They stand in greater need of compulsion, and surely public opinion is quite ripe for it.

THE Liberals, backward classes, untouchables, women are all united in insisting that in no circumstances should girls be excluded from the application of compulsion, and it is computed that some fifty public meetings were held voicing the demand. Not one public meeting did the Nationalists dare convene in a city considered to be their stronghold. The opposition is led by Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar, and yet they have no forum in Poona where they could express their opinions. We are confident that

all dispassionate observers will acquit the Liberals of the desire to adopt obstructionist methods for the purpose of defeating their opponents' proposals. The Liberals themselves suggested alternatives which, at the lowest, were *prima facie* reasonable and which the extremists superciliously refused to consider. We will not impute any motives to the other party; but if their attitude is to be judged from some of the writings in the vernacular prints, one may fairly infer that the Nationalists are opposed to girls' education as such. Even their leaders, on their own admission, hold it of less account than boys' education, and unblushingly maintain that the former must be postponed to the latter. Where such an uncompromising opposition is offered to girls' education, the Liberals need feel no qualms in taking measures to foil the extremist attempt to limit compulsion to boys.

A STRIKING incident in last week's debates at Delhi was the acceptance at the last moment by the Finance Minister of the suggestion of the Hon'ble Mr. Patel that the bill for the constitution of an Imperial Bank should not be proceeded with during this session. The credit of this non-official victory belongs almost entirely to the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha. In a speech which for convincing argument, appropriate phrasing and earnestness of appeal has hardly been surpassed, Sir Dinshaw made it impossible for Government to persist in their course. He approved generally of the principle of the bill and the subject-matter of the schedules. He was not satisfied as to the constitution and cited with telling effect a former episode in the history of Bombay banking when a representative of Government had been too weak and allowed directors with a speculative turn to bring about a disaster. The obvious lesson was that the Government should take time and satisfy both themselves and the public that their interests were amply safeguarded by an efficient watch-dog. The bill before the Council was defective in that respect, and there was nothing for it but to defer its consideration.

MR. C. R. REDDY of Mysore delivered on the occasion of the last anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death a thoughtful address in the Gokhale Hall at Madras of which we have received a copy. Mr. Reddy came into fairly close contact with Gokhale during his last two visits to England and they appear in this brochure as kindred souls keen on the the political advance of their country consistent with social progress. Gokhale's belief in the substantial justice of the British democracy, his realisation of the defects of his own countrymen, his advocacy of the better treatment of the depressed classes, and Hindu-Moslem unity, his experiences during the South African visit, the differences between Gokhale and Tilak views—these various other topics are dealt with in the trenchant style of which Mr. Reddy is a master.

## COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

IN voting for the motion that the Dacca University Bill be passed on the 18th instant, I made a speech which drew on me the displeasure of some of my colleagues. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy, whose good nature would not let him say a harsh word if he could help it, thought I marred the compromise that had been effected between Hindus and Mahomedans. Haji Choudhry Mahomed Ismail Khan, Mahomedan member for Bihar and Orissa, called me an opponent of communal representation for his community, pronounced my conduct the very antithesis of the pacific spirit displayed by Nawab Ali Chaudhury and lamented the breach that I had made between the Moderate party and the Mahomedans. Mian Mahomed Shafi complained that I had been silent during the discussions and sprang a sudden attack on the Bill towards the close; but, considering the state of his mind, he dismissed me in a few merciful sentences. Other friends too were surprised by my utterance, but seemed to look on it indulgently as the lapse of a man usually discreet.

When the Bill was referred to Select Committee, I criticised three of its features, communal representation, Government control and the method of appointment of professors. The last two items need not concern us now. As regards the first, I admitted its necessity in the case of the Dacca University; but pleaded for the correctives recommended by the Senate of the Calcutta University, *viz.* a limitation on the communal provision to ten years and the adoption of a mixed electorate. Mr. Banerjea and others were less compromising in their attack. So Mr. Shafi commended my position, and the most important non-official Mahomedan member begged me to convert Mr. Banerjea and promised to support the mixed electorate idea. I was a good boy then. How have I since become a bad boy?

When the Select Committee reported, it was found that, so far from adopting either of the correctives advocated by me, it had actually stiffened the provision for separate Mahomedan representation by laying down that it should not be altered except with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. Not content with this, Nawab Ali Chaudhury proposed an amendment making this particular statute unalterable by the Court; while Mr. Banerjea, on the other hand, sought to introduce the correctives that I had suggested. When the time came for Mr. Banerjea to move his amendments, he announced that Nawab Ali Chaudhury and he had agreed to withdraw their amendments and expressed the hope that the Council would be gratified to learn of the compromise. I was not gratified. The provision for communal representation was left in the Bill as stiffened by the Select Committee. What, then, had Mr. Banerjea gained by the compromise? It appeared, and still appears, to me that although

there was no chance of his carrying his amendments, it would have been a great advantage if he had argued and pressed them. Nawab Ali Chaudhury lost nothing except the chance of still further stiffening the communal provision. I had not been put on the Select Committee, and Mr. Banerjea's withdrawal of his amendments prevented my pleading for them during the discussion. Mr. Shafi, therefore, was not justified in complaining that I had lain in ambush for him till the close. I spoke as soon as I could. Nor can I see how I was wrong in describing a compromise as unfortunate, which left the substance of the dispute untouched, but only had the effect of shortening the debate and shutting up other people. Haji Choudhry Mahomed Ismail Khan spoke of me as the disturber of harmony. What I disturbed was the hush-hush character of the proceedings.

Communal representation is a necessity; but it is also an evil. Every time we admit it into our polity, we must seek to qualify and correct it, and lest custom make us callous, we must keep alive the public recognition of its evil. We may submit to it under pressure of circumstance. Let us at least groan aloud.

In justice to the Government of India, it must be admitted that the Act incorporating the Dacca University is cast on lines recommended by the Sadler Commission. The great names comprised in that Commission and their unanimity afford shelter to those that only carry out their proposals. To the same extent, they make the task of the critics difficult. But a difficult task must be faced, not abandoned.

## THE CURRENCY MUDDLE.

BOMBAY'S meeting of protest against the exchange and currency policy of the Government of India ought to open the eyes of the Secretary of State to the enormity of the mischief which has been caused by the advice of the Finance Committee of the India Office on which he has acted. The whole mercantile community of this Presidency has been deeply stirred by the steps Government has taken on the recommendations of the Exchange and Currency Committee, and the position has been rendered worse by the disregard which has been shown to the repeated protests addressed to the authorities at Delhi. Public sentiments on this question were loudly echoed in the Indian Legislative Council by Sir Fazulbhoj and Mr. Sarma, and the lengthy apologia put forward by the Finance Member in that assembly with reference to them only aggravated the prevalent dissatisfaction. The Indian Merchants' Chamber, therefore, called a public meeting on Saturday last to voice the opinion of Bombay, and it was one of the most successful gatherings the city has witnessed for a long time. The meeting was attended and addressed by leaders of Indian commerce and industry in Bombay and by expo

nents of public opinion, and it gave unmistakable proof of the strong feeling of resentment which has been roused in the country by Government's exchange and currency policy.

Mr. J. B. Petit's presidential speech took mastery review of the development of the Indian currency system and its present position. He described in telling words how Government has tinkered with India's exchange and currency for the past thirty years, without taking into serious consideration the effects of its action upon the economic condition of the country and the opinion of its people. Mr. Petit's speech was a powerful indictment of the system of currency Government has evolved during the last generation, and particularly its aspects with reference to the sale of reverse councils, the restrictions upon the import of gold and the fixing of the exchange at a high rate, which have evoked bitter public criticism. He made it clear that an exchange and currency policy which was calculated to do harm to India's economic interests and was pursued in defiance of public opinion and protests stood self-condemned, and asked Government to give up the gold exchange standard in favour of an automatic system under which a natural adjustment of trade and currency would take place. Indian interests, he stated, had been sacrificed and subordinated to outside interests, and in the matter of our gold standard and paper currency reserves, as in that of the rate of exchange which had been constantly manipulated without there being real need for that process, the Indian point of view had been ignored and neglected. The Finance Member will find in Mr. Petit's speech a faithful reflection of the Indian mind thinking about the situation the country's exchange and currency arrangements have created.

The proceedings of the protest meeting constituted a strong and wholesale condemnation of Government's measures in relation to India's exchange and currency system and, as Prof. Kale pointed out in his speech, evinced the unmistakable desire of the public to demolish entirely the existing structure and to replace it by one more in conformity with India's economic interests and popular opinion. The resolutions passed at the meeting placed beyond the shadow of a doubt the fact of public dissatisfaction with the manner in which the exchange and currency operations of the country have been conducted, the composition of the Currency Committee, the method in which evidence was taken, the recommendations made by the Committee and the action taken thereon by the Secretary of State. The feeling uppermost in the minds of the speakers and the audience at the meeting was that the minority report of Mr. Dadiba Dalal, the only Indian member of the Currency Committee, took the correct view of the whole position and faithfully reflected the opinion of the country. By one resolution the protest meeting condemned the unsatisfactory composition of the Committee and the recommendations

made by it in defiance of the expressed opinion of the Indian commercial and industrial community, and by another it prayed for an urgent reconsideration of the entire policy of Government in the light of Indian opinion, and thus called for a re-examination of the whole problem and the complete overhauling of the existing system. The other resolutions were in conformity with and subordinate to the two mentioned above and protested against the sale of reverse councils and the continued embargo upon the imports of gold. Messrs. S. R. Bomanji and Madon subjected the sale of reverse councils to a mercilessly searching examination and demonstrated how unnecessary and wasteful they were, and Mr. C. V. Mehta and Prof. Kale put in a vigorous plea for the removal of the restrictions on gold imports. Mr. Muzumdar's speech asking for an immediate reconsideration of the whole question was an impressive and convincing call for a radical reform of the Indian currency system in the light of the deliberate views expressed by the mercantile community.

The Secretary of State will commit a grave blunder if, on the advice of the Finance Committee of the India Office, he sets aside the expression of public opinion ventilated in the Bombay protest meeting, as the effusion of a self-interested and self-centred class of money-making merchants whose interests are at variance with the requirements of the bulk of the population. He will be wrong in thinking that the policy of an altered and a high rate of exchange will be conducive to the best interests of the mass of the Indian people because it is calculated to bring down prices and cause a considerable saving to the Government and will thus be ultimately favoured by the country as the most beneficial to progress. The thinking portion of the Indian community is sorely disappointed with the Secretary of State's policy which the Government of India has dutifully to carry out, and, far from allaying public dissatisfaction, the explanation offered by the Hon'ble Mr. Hailey in the Indian Legislative Council has added to the intensity of that feeling. Nothing but a genuine gold standard and an automatic currency and exchange system accompanied, of course, by the location of Indian reserves in this country and by a free movement of the precious metals will satisfy public opinion in this country. No tinkering and no official management in the supposed interest of the people will reconcile Indian opinion to the manipulation of the exchange and the currency of the country, and it is now high time for the Secretary of State to give this problem the calm and the serious consideration it requires.

### THE UNIVERSITY AND EXAMINATIONS. EXAMINING AND TEACHING UNIVERSITIES.

THE undue importance attached to examinations and the evil influence exercised by them on studies are matters of obvious weakness in the earlier educational policy. And though theoretically exam-

minations are not expressly held up now as a *terminus ad quem* to work to, still they wield a considerable influence because of a seeming finality of division of students into sheep and goats.

Take the preamble to the Madras Act of Incorporation of the University (XXVII of 1857): "Whereas for the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the Presidency of Fort St. George and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education, it has been determined to establish an University of Madras for the purpose of ascertaining by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art," etc. The end aimed at is "the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education." Examination by the University is only a means to see that educational work is sound. The reference to examination, albeit as a means, in the preamble of the Act justified perhaps the stigma attached to "Examining Universities," as applied to the earlier Universities of Madras and other places in India. The Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) does not commit the mistake of the earlier Act of emphasising prominently the function of examinations as ancillary to education. The 3rd section is clear. "The University shall be and shall be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose of making provision for the instruction of students with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers . . . and to do all acts, consistent with the Act of incorporation and this Act, which tend to the promotion of study and research." Except by implication, there is no reference to examination as part of the educational machinery in this all-important section. Even in the earlier days what really mattered was "the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education," and examination was for ascertaining what different degrees of proficiency had been acquired. After the passing of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, there can be no cavilling against the aims of the University, "incorporated for the purpose of making provision for the instruction of students." No critic of education who carefully weighs the words he employs will now say: the Indian Universities are only examining bodies and they do not teach; for teaching Universities you have to go elsewhere.

If the criticism is to the effect that the University is not *unitary* but made of federated colleges, is not *residential*, etc., all this may be relevant, but it is not the same as the other, that the University does not teach but only examines. We may appear as having been labouring the obvious, but even people who ought to know better are constantly blundering with regard to this matter, and hence the need for the above remarks.

2. University studies form only a part of what University life and its attendant training imply. There is, in cases where there is provision for University students living together as social

wholes, accepting common standards of moral and intellectual life, stirred by common waves of feeling and enthusiasms, and aiming at common ideals, there is, in all such cases, something more than the mere knowledge shop, where the professors, shopmen dealing out different kinds of goods, impart different kinds of knowledge. If the Indian Universities have not had so far much of the outer moral atmosphere referred to, where young, keen-witted, enthusiastic scholars benefit one another by impact of young thought on young thought, or of fresh thought on fresh thought, they have all begun to provide for this essential requisite of University efficiency. Studies flourish best in a congenial intellectual atmosphere, and they languish and wither otherwise, as plants deprived of their proper habitats.

And studies yield their full benefit only when they are graded duly and the intellectual pabulum is thoroughly assimilated. Spurts of intellectual exertion to the point of exhaustion followed by periods of lethargy and idleness are as little wholesome for the mind, as spurts of physical energy followed by fits of indolence are for the body. Methodised study resulting in organised knowledge invigorates the mind, and the student is enabled to make more of himself and of his envioning world than he could without such invigorated mind. And among the studies, some cannot be hurried over, making due allowance of quickness of grasp: Ascham knew what he was about when he wrote disparagingly of 'nimble wits.'

Due growth based on healthy assimilation, not feeding up as for the butcher's stall, not training as for the race course to win this or that cup; this is the principle on which we must judge of the work of the students. And if the teachers are of the right sort and qualified to promote the intellectual and spiritual manhood of their young charges, they are the best fitted to judge of the attainments of their scholars, of the standard of maturity the scholars reach in their various stages of the school or college course.

3. (i) Physical games and sports no body thinks of crowding into a few weeks. They must be duly spread out. All must evenly share alike and not merely a picked few to be specially trained for spectacular display.

Where there is science teaching or, for that matter, the teaching of any branch of systematised knowledge, there can be no hurrying. Where there is laboratory work or practical manipulation of materials there must be slow assimilation and real instruction. And similarly with regard to practical exercises in language, conversation, composition and translation, training in these and proficiency in these must mean permanent progress and a real advance in studies.

And with regard to all the above, regular, systematic application from day to day, from week to week, is the all-essential thing. There is no growth as of the prophet's gourd over feverish night's fostering.



If we must choose between those who have had the regular training referred to above and those who, without any evidence of such careful preparation and equipment, can compete with them and stand successfully any rough and ready tests of proficiency in regard to the studies, it is safer to choose the first.

As proficiency in the particular directions above mentioned can be only the result of training and assimilation of knowledge, there is no danger in relying on examination results as indicating intellectual growth and progress. That with regard to language that a person's proficiency might be due to his having been in the country where the language was spoken or that he had a nurse who spoke it as her mother tongue might make a difference in the estimate of intellectual growth; but we may ignore that aspect for the present.

(ii) There are, however, other studies which lend themselves easily to exercises of 'portative' memory, as Lathain calls it, and it is because of the prominence of these in the courses of studies in schools and colleges that the abuse of examinations in connection with such subjects has come to the fore in educational discussions.

Take even the subjects mentioned under (i). Nobody thinks of physical games and sports as subjects of examinations. But they easily lend themselves to competition, and the inter-school or college contests are availed of for purposes of preparatory drill. The members of the particular team receive great care and attention and other students are neglected though their physical development and health must be of equal importance. And in the absence of arrangements for medical inspection of schools and colleges training is often carried on at the risk of health breaking down.

As regards science, the theory of it can be often memorised, and in ill equipped schools and colleges this is the only thing effectively done. And the supplementing of this test by evidence of laboratory work throughout the course—as by examination of records of laboratory exercises—will be necessary to make sure that there was real instruction in science. As even the exercises may be 'faked,' practical tests under proper supervision may have to be resorted to.

Language exercises of the *viva voce* kind are really a searching test; the disadvantage is that this test bears hard on young people of nervous temperaments. The tactful, sympathetic examiner can do a great deal to overcome the diffidence and distrust of the candidates.

The danger with regard to composition and translation exercises comes in when, instead of straightforward and honest work of attaining mastery of language and the technique of writing, students take to the cross-cut of guessing 'likely' subjects or 'likely' passages and prepare themselves specially for the purpose. And if there is a vitiated moral atmosphere of those in the 'know' having blabbed, farewell all honest work.

If educational work ending in organised intellectual habits and manipulative skill of the students can—in an unintelligent system of examinations—be simulated, we can easily guess how other courses of studies, not easily lending themselves to practical tests, can be exploited for showy purposes—examination by resort to unhealthy memorizing. And if the limitation of examinations as a sound test of intellectual progress, when divorced from honest imparting of instruction by the teachers and honest assimilation of such instruction by the pupils, if such limitation is not realised and if people will through indolence be content to judge of educational attainments by the rough and ready test of public examinations, there must be a premium on the results of examinations and the fetich must have its homage for an indefinite period.

( To be continued. )

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

#### MILL LABOUR IN BOMBAY.—IV.

##### REMEDIES SUGGESTED.

IT appears from the statement made by Sir Thomas Holland in the Indian Legislative Council that the Government of India is thinking of devising a machinery for the settlement of disputes between labour and capital. The necessity of the existence of such a machinery has, during the last few months, been clearly demonstrated. Settlement by strike or lock-out involves much avoidable loss both to employers and employees, and also the general public has to suffer not a little on account of the frequent and long drawn-out disputes between the two parties. The methods of force and tyranny ought to be replaced by those of a peaceful nature in the adjustment of industrial differences, and for that purpose it is essential that there should be a machinery ready at hand which will enable the contending parties to have a speedy settlement either by conciliation or arbitration. It is for the State to provide the required machinery, inasmuch as the whole community is interested in the industrial development of the country along peaceful lines. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that our Government has recognized its duty in this direction and seriously taken up the question. Of course, whatever pattern might be chosen and however comprehensive the scheme might be, it would have its limitations. So long as the interests of labour and capital are not identical and the society is not reconstructed on an altogether new basis, industrial differences are bound to arise every now and then. Boards of Conciliation, Arbitration Boards, or Industrial Courts mean a higher stage in the industrial evolution of the country, and India is now ripe for the institution of Boards of Conciliation or Arbitration Boards, if not for that of regular Industrial Courts, all parties concerned having realised the waste involved in the present methods of settlement of disputes. Industrial Courts, where they

have been established, have not proved quite successful, and when larger issues are involved and when the parties are not individuals but associations of masters and unions of men, such Industrial Courts are quite out of the question. Besides, we have yet to reach the stage of conciliation and arbitration. In devising the proposed machinery, not only the peculiar conditions of Indian labour, but also the peculiar provincial conditions will have to be taken into consideration.

The institution of Boards of Conciliation or Arbitration Boards presupposes the existence of labour as well as capitalist organisations. If either of the parties is in an unorganised condition, no negotiations are possible on a systematic basis, and no guarantee can be given that the parties will abide by the decision given by the Board that may be set up for that purpose. Mr. N. N. Wadia, one of the leading mill-owners of Bombay, has proposed the establishment of a Council consisting of the representatives of both capital and labour, but has failed to take cognisance of the fact that labour in its present unorganised condition can never be trusted to abide by the decision of the Council, however fair and just it may be; nor has he taken the trouble to consider whether the proposed council will be really representative so far as labour is concerned, if the workmen are not sufficiently organised to elect representatives worthy of their trust and confidence. Labour without organisation and discipline is an untrustworthy factor and is sure to render the Council's decision a mere dead letter. The mill-owners and other Indian capitalists must frankly recognise, if they want to avoid the waste involved in the present methods of settling industrial disputes, that "it would be better to deal with a well-organised body of labour than with indiscriminate factions," as happily put by the chairman of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce. The Ahmedabad mill-owners have recognised this essential fact, and the managing committee of their association has prepared a tentative scheme, accepting the principle that industrial disputes should be settled by a joint board consisting of representatives of capital and labour. On the other hand, practical steps have been taken by the friends of the mill-hands there to form some unions or *Mahajans*. This should facilitate the desired end, and on the whole the experiment is really worth trying. Another scheme has also been proposed and it aims at establishing a buffer between the mill-owners and their ordinary workmen by forming an association of mill-officials, head-jobbers, jobbers and foremen. The pretensions of the proposed Association, which has some mill-officials for its sponsors, probably inspired by some mill-owners who fight shy of mill-hands' unions, must not be seriously taken. No such buffer is necessary and, in the event of that buffer being created, the possibility of a closer touch between the parties would be still more distant. The interests of the mill-officials and jobbers

and those of the men under them are not reciprocal, nay, in certain matters diametrically opposed. The mill-officials are a class apart and are naturally looked upon as partisans of capital. The head-jobbers and jobbers, though they mostly belong socially to the same class as the men, are generally treated with suspicion and distrust by the men under them. Nor can they claim that they are capable of exercising a potent influence over their men when they are out on strike. At one of the meetings of mill-hands in Bombay during the last general strike, some of the strikers openly warned their friends from outside who were present there to ascertain their demands against accepting jobbers as their leaders and spokesmen. The idea of forming buffer unions is a mischievous one and should be given a short shrift even by the mill-owners if they do not want to trifle with an urgent problem.

Thus the necessity of having mill-hands' organisations in the form of unions is quite plain, but the unions must be real ones and not only in name, as the present unions in Bombay are. The formation of these unions must be taken up by a responsible institution and they must not be allowed to be controlled by such people as do not care for discipline in public life, or they may degenerate into mere pestiferous bodies.

The settlement of disputes is but one of the many aspects of the labour problem, and the other aspects are no less important. Prevention of disputes by removing the causes that lead to frequent differences between the mill-owners and their men is a question of supreme importance at this stage of industrial development in this country, and the question can be solved only by having the whole industrial system revised. If we want efficient labour and if the present waste in human material is to be stopped, we must go to the root of the matter and place the whole system on a much stronger basis. Labour is wealth in itself, and it is the duty of the community to take steps for its preservation. The State must therefore give up its present attitude of indifference in the matter and treat social legislation not as a luxury, but as a necessity. The mill-owners also must be made to realise their duties in that behalf. Free and compulsory primary education, sanitation, medical relief, preservation of infant life, housing, old age pensions or Provident Funds, compensation in cases of accidents when on duty, are some of the pressing needs of to-day. The mill-hand must be assured of continuity of employment and must not be liable to be dismissed at the sweet will of his departmental superior, and also must be adequately rewarded for regular and continuous service. Unless the mill-owner can make provision for continuity of employment and give necessary stimulus, he has no right to ask for continuity of service. This will bring an immediate recompense in that the operative will be more regular and steady in his work and also more amenable to discipline. No workman can be really efficient unless he is interested in his work and has hopes of being duly

rewarded. He must be freed from the tyranny of petty officials, and the conditions must be such that he should feel the stability of employment. The supply of labour is short of the demand for it, and this shortage is sure to be felt in an increasing proportion in days to come, in view of the industrial enterprises that are being launched and may be launched in the near future.

The Indian Factory Act is seriously defective in certain respects and requires to be amended at an early date. It is generally supposed that Japan is behind India with regard to restrictions on factory work, but so far as the labour of women and children is concerned, Japan has shown much more progressive spirit than India. In the case of children working in the mills the age limit must be raised, if we really want a physically fitter generation of mill-hands. Women ought not to be allowed to work in the mills for some weeks before and after confinement, and during this period of compulsory absence they should be entitled to mothers' allowance. This reform is urgently necessary in view of the appalling rate of infantile mortality among the working classes. As regards accidents in the mills, the mill-owners should be liable to pay adequate compensation, and as at present, the matter should not be left to the charitable instincts of the masters.

The suggestion that a Commission should be appointed by Government to institute inquiries regarding the conditions of labour in this country deserves to be strongly supported. This Commission, to be really useful, must be provincial in its scope of inquiry, as suggested by the *Times of India*. The facts and figures relating to the conditions of mill-labour in Bombay which are available at present are deplorably meagre, and only a Commission with sufficiently wide terms of reference can supply them. The inquiry must be exhaustive to be of any practical value. The Government and the community must be prepared to act upon the findings of the Commission, regardless of the bogey of foreign competition. If Japan or any other country is going to neglect the well-being of its labour, let it do so at its risk. We need not think of committing industrial suicide simply because Japan cannot see in its blind pursuit of materialistic gains that she is committing the national *Harakiri*. Japan too is now experiencing labour unrest and undoubtedly will have to pay dearly for its past neglect of labour.

Before concluding this last article of the series, I would briefly refer to the welfare movement, which has been introduced by the Social Service League in two groups of mills in Bombay. Welfare work is one of the measures calculated to counteract some of the evils of modern industrialism. Judged from the experience gained in England and America "welfare work is not only a means of satisfying the humanitarian instincts of employers, but is also a commercially successful device for improving the efficiency of business." To be successful, it must be carried on on sound

principles, and the employers must give all the necessary facilities to the welfare worker. At present the welfare worker is looked upon as an intruder by a number of mill-officials and necessarily the work is much hampered. There must be Welfare Departments in the mills as their integral parts. Along with its uses, welfare work has its limitations. It is as good as lost if the workmen are ill-paid and ill-fed, and it should never be considered as a bribe to prevent strikes or other symptoms of legitimate labour unrest. The main aim of welfare work ought to be to raise the standard of living of manual workers and to make them more self-respecting, more provident and more conscious of their duties. Factory Acts, Arbitration Boards and Labour Unions can never hope to accomplish what welfare work aims at doing, and hence it is an essential part of industrial organisation.

In conclusion, the labour problem is not merely a problem of wages. Apart from its humanitarian bearing, it is a problem of national importance. There are some friends of labour whose sympathy is purely sentimental and who imagine that the problem ends with a sufficient increase in wages. In fact, the problem begins at that end. Let the mill-hand be adequately paid for his work, but also let him use the money in such a way as will increase his domestic happiness, raise his standard of living and make him an efficient workman. The community need not concern itself about him if it is going to allow him to ruin himself by taking to drink, by contracting heavy debts and by remaining satisfied with the present low standard of life. Mere transference of money from the mill-owner's to the mill-hand's pocket will not benefit the nation, nor the individual mill-hand in the long run.

(Concluded.)

PARELWALLA.

## SELECTION.

### THE DACCA UNIVERSITY BILL.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI'S SPEECH.

SPEAKING in the Indian Legislative Council on the 18th inst. on the motion to pass the Dacca University Bill, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said:—

I have no difficulty in persuading myself to vote in favour of the motion. As a general rule, I am quite willing to accord my consent to the establishment of a new centre of learning anywhere and almost in any shape or form. In the second place, I have noticed the enthusiasm of the people of Eastern Bengal, particularly of the Mahomedan residents therein, for the establishment of a University of this character. They have been promised the establishment of such a University, and they have looked forward to such establishment as in part a solution for Eastern Bengal having been deprived of the rank of a province. I am, therefore, Sir, entirely in sympathy with the motion that has been made.

At the same time, there are some features of this Bill which I deprecate and which I deplore. On the whole, however, I believe that a great centre of learning, howsoever started in the beginning, will be able to improve itself, and I have hopes that Saraswati will know how to cleanse her temple



of all classes. This new University, Sir, has been criticised in some very unfriendly quarters as really a Moslem University, sailing under a false name. One or two imprudences, perhaps, on the part of Government have given rise to this misconception. But a fair examination shows that this is a grievous and unwarranted exaggeration. The provision made for the representation of Mahomedans never exceeds one-half. It is, therefore, wrong to say that this University is predominantly a Moslem University. I recognise, and gladly recognise, that this provision for communal representation that has been made proceeds from a desire merely to safeguard the interests which otherwise are considered to stand in peril of being forgotten. I cannot see that there is anything in this Bill to justify the charge that it is going to be practically a Moslem University, open, however, to all classes in name.

I spoke of one or two imprudences. May I mention one of them? One of the clauses in this Bill, clause 5, is expressly there for the purpose of saying that this University shall be open to all persons of either sex, and of whatever race, creed or class. Now a statement of that kind has so far been found in University legislation in this country only in the case of the Benares Hindu University, which is expressly for the benefit of the Hindu population. It was right that a clause of that kind should be included in the Act which incorporated the Hindu University. If this be a cosmopolitan University, if we are to follow the University Incorporation Act in this country, say for example, the Patna University Act, there is no need for putting in a clause of this character. What has given rise to the suspicion that perhaps the framework of this Bill is for the purpose of creating a Moslem University, and this is merely an exception provided therein. But, Sir, there is a smaller object achieved by clause 5 to which I must draw attention. This is in virtue and in pursuance of a recommendation of the Sadler Commission itself. They have recommended the insertion of a clause to this effect, and they have further said that there shall be no religious or other tests provided, no restriction on the followers of any particular religion for receiving the benefits or enjoying any positions of this University. That again seems to show that there was in the mind of somebody or other a suspicion that things would be otherwise. That, however, is comparatively a small matter. The insistence on religious tests, however carefully safeguarded as a general rule, is admitted in respect of certain matters. One of them is when any particular benefaction adopted by the University requires such a test, that is a religious test, and that is made a condition thereof by any testamentary or other instrument creating such benefaction. This is a necessary exception. Obviously it would be very desirable to allow Hindus and Mahomedans to found scholarships or studentships for the benefit of people belonging to their own communities. It is, therefore, necessary to provide for this exception. But the exception itself, as proposed by the Sadler Commission, should be safeguarded in an important particular, and that safeguard I do not find in the Bill. It is possible to supply the omission which, in my opinion is unfortunate; it is possible to supply the omission by statute later on and that is why I make this suggestion at the present moment. The Sadler Commission say: "We are of opinion that the only benefactions in which there should be limitations of any kind to particular communities are benefactions for scholarships or bursaries, etc., or the provision of religious teaching and that the University should discourage benefactions with racial or religious limitations of any other character." For no other purpose should the religious tests be admitted. It is not, however, made clear in the Bill.

#### COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Now, my gratification is quite as great as that of my friend Mr. Rajdi, that questions of communal representation have been settled by mutual accommodation. I am not however, Sir, going to approve of the result of the compromise. I am only expressing my gratification at the fact that a compromise has been arrived at by mutual agreement, for, in my judgment, in all these matters it is much better to arrive even at a wrong solution by mutual accommodation of

the parties interested than that we should go on wrangling, and finally allow third parties to arrive, it may be, at the right solution. I must now state why I am not quite pleased with the result of this compromise. I said the other day, in speaking at an earlier stage of this Bill, that I would admit the principle of communal representation into the constitution of the Dacca University as an inevitable necessity. I only pleaded that day for the introduction, along with this inevitable necessity, of suitable correctives thereto. The amendments of the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and others were calculated to supply correctives. In so far as the correctives have been ruled out by the compromise, I consider that the compromise is unfortunate. But there is another aspect of the case which somewhat travels beyond the region of the Dacca University. The Dacca University has been framed largely on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, and it is understood all over India that the recommendations of the Sadler Commission ought to be considered as a sort of inspiration not only for the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, but for Universities all over India. Already every University, or every Government has appointed a Committee for the consideration of what changes would be appropriate in pursuance of the recommendations of the Sadler Report, and in the University of the Punjab at all events, I am informed that amongst the changes contemplated, one is the introduction of communal representation of the Dacca model. I am, therefore, Sir, bound to draw the attention of this Council and of the country to one of the very undesirable consequences of our doing wrong in one place under pressure of local circumstances. We have yielded to the necessity of the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal. The inhabitants of the Punjab, situated similarly, are asking for the same thing, and it will be very difficult indeed to resist the extension of this principle or even to demand that the correctives thereto suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee should have admission into the new constitution of the Punjab University. I fear that elsewhere too an opening will be sought to be made for this separation, and it is therefore necessary that, in giving my assent to the passing of this motion, I should, on behalf of the Madras University with which I have been connected, state that when the principle of communal representation is sought to be introduced there, I should consider myself at all events free to combat it. Of all the sad features attendant on the introduction of this principle, one, Sir, deserves prominent notice. The Muhammadan community, the Indian Christian community and other communities in a minority which consider their interests imperilled by being mixed up with the interests of a large and preponderant majority, these communities ask for separate representation, and separate representation is granted to them, because it is desirable that the wishes of considerable minorities should be respected and their alarms removed. But there is another principle which we ought not to forget in doing this. Let it be understood clearly that I do not object to this, but I am asking that, in doing so, we ought not to forget another principle of equal importance. Every individual, to whatsoever community he belongs, has the right to judge where he actually shall belong for the purposes of general election. If a Muhammadan or an Indian Christian, for example, felt that he was an Indian before being a Muhammadan or an Indian Christian, and that he would like to belong to the general community for the purposes of election, he ought to be free to do so. We now deprive him of the opportunity of belonging to the general community. I know many Muhammadans, I know many Indian Christians, who deplore this communal representation and would, if the laws of the land only allowed it, choose to belong to the general electorate in preference to their own communal electorates. I will not name any Muhammadan, because I have not taken their consent. I have, however, the liberty to name from amongst the Indian Christian community two or three people. One of them must be known to all here, namely Principal Rudra of St. Stephen's College. He would be glad to belong to the general electorate in preference to his own community. So would Dr. Datta, well-known to workers of

the Y. M. C. A. on the battle-fronts. So would Mr. K. T. Paul, General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in India. Now, what is to become of all these people? Why should they not be allowed to choose to belong to general electorates in preference to their own electorates? It seems to me that, in not permitting this option, the principle of communal representation is admitted without a necessary corrective element.

I must also draw the attention of this Council to another point, however small, which fills me with grief. In the course of to-day's discussion, this cause of my grief becomes prominent. The Education Member himself moved two amendments, both of which had the object of removing from the constitution of the Dacca University the one election in which Hindus and Mahomedans would have co-operated together. He explained it to us by saying that in the course of the Select Committee's proceedings, they decided that Hindus and Mahomedans belonging to the Court should vote in separate compartments, that each community should have two representatives elected to the Council, and that therefore it was inconsistent with the statute, where this matter finds embodiment, to have in the Act another provision of a different tenor.

It appears to me there is nothing inconsistent in that. What does it matter if in the statutes there was provision for Hindus and Mahomedans voting separately. That is not the highest type of voting; that is not the ideal of co-operation in a seat of learning. It would not have been inconsistent at all if at the same time the Bill itself had retained a provision for one seat at least being filled up by a mixed election. What need was there for removing this? Besides, Sir, if the Act and the statutes were mutually inconsistent, I should have thought that the proper course was to bring the statutes in conformity with the Bill and not to bring down the Bill so as to be in conformity with an inferior type of provision made in the statutes. If even by mistake a provision for enabling Hindu graduates and Musalman graduates to sit and vote together once in a way, if even by mistake a provision of that kind had crept into the Bill, I deplore the anxiety of the Education Minister to pull it out and to insist on having it pulled out. Could not one election out of five elections be marked by harmonious co-operation of Hindu and Muslim graduates sitting together in one session? Was that too much?

#### GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

Now, Sir, in my earlier speech on the Bill, I referred to the tightness of the control to be exercised by Government over the affairs of the University. I am afraid my complaint does not lose, by the changes made either by the Select Committee or in the course of these discussions, any particle of its original force. The control of Government is to be seen everywhere on the face of the Bill. The Chancellor appoints the Vice-Chancellor; he appoints also a certain number of persons to the Court and to the Executive Council; he appoints or takes part in the appointment of professors. Besides, his consent is necessary to the passing of statutes; his veto may be placed on the ordinances. Everywhere his hand is visible. Now, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi in speaking to one of the propositions before us to-day made a somewhat subtle distinction between the Chancellor and the Governor of the local province. I myself am subtle enough to understand that there is a difference, but it is a difference without any substance in it. The Chancellor no doubt belongs, as the highest official, to the University. But, Sir, he never takes part in any of the proceedings except at the formal function of a Convocation. He really stands outside, a kind of appellate authority on all questions, in the first place of capital importance, and in the second place on all questions in dispute between authorities. Besides, how does the Chancellor exercise his all-important powers in the affairs of the University? He does not possess personal knowledge of many of these matters. He relies on either the Vice-Chancellor or on the Director of Public Instruction for detailed advice regarding University matters. Now, the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction are up to the neck in all affairs of the University. They have a previous voice and a voice of great power

in preparing affairs belonging to the University, and at the last stage when matters come up on appeal to the Chancellor they still have the opportunity regularly provided for them of influencing the final decision. Am I then wrong in saying that it is the local Government, that is the Governor of Bengal really, that would exercise all the powers of the Chancellor? The distinction, then, Sir, made by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi seems to me not to take away at all from the control to be exercised over this University by the Government of Bengal. Now, I am one of those who believe that, although Government would probably supply nine-tenths of the funds necessary for the carrying on of this University, nevertheless Government would be doing the right thing, would be doing nothing unusual, would be doing nothing out of conformity with the practice of the best Governments in the world, if at the same time that they gave funds, they also gave a free hand to those who expended those funds. It is not always, it is not in every department of administration, that the supplying of funds carries with it the power to determine policy or to control detailed action. In affairs at all events concerning the University, it would have been wise if our Bill had provided that the Government's control should be as little as possible. Take, Sir, the most recent instance in England. The other day two very influential committees were appointed in connection with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which both wanted assistance out of the funds that may be voted by Parliament. Two committees have been appointed; but Mr. Fisher, in mentioning the appointment of these committees, took care to add that nothing would be done to take away from the complete independence in all internal matters which the Universities had hitherto enjoyed, notwithstanding the fact that Government intended to subsidise them largely. The Sadler Commission allude in many places to the idea of University autonomy. They quote eminent authorities, English, American and Indian, in support of this idea of University autonomy. They themselves commend it. Having, however, admitted in theory this idea of University autonomy, the Sadler Commission proceed to qualify it in an extraordinary way in the case of the Dacca University by a peculiar consideration that I shall now bring before the Council. I read Sir, from their Report.

The Vice-President:—I don't know whether the Hon'ble Member would like me to adjourn now. We must adjourn very shortly.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri:—Is it usual, Sir, to adjourn in the middle of a speech?

The Vice-President:—We usually adjourn at fixed periods. I will, however, go on if the Hon'ble Member thinks he will finish by half past five.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sastri:—I will, and you may ask me to sit down even if I happen to be in the middle of a sentence at half past five.

On page 153, we read these somewhat startling statements. "This suggests a general consideration which is of importance. We have referred elsewhere to a certain popular suspicion of Government control over education. The Moslem community does not appear to share in this suspicion. On the contrary it still looks with confidence to the Government and appears reluctant to entrust its destinies to any popularly constituted body." The statement made by my Hon'ble colleague, Nawab Syed Ali Chaudhury, is quoted in support of it. I will only read one or two sentences. "Muhammadans are afraid that the special facilities which now exist in secondary education will no longer exist, if secondary education be entrusted to a board. From the experience of the University of Calcutta, Muhammadans will be afraid that the advantages and special facilities which they now enjoy and which they expect to get in future, will all be set aside by the board, should it unfortunately be created." Now, Sir, that seems to me to mark the state of feeling which, I would hope and hope with all my heart, is peculiar to the Muhammadan community in Eastern Bengal. I cannot think that this feeling would be shared by Muhammadans in any other province.

## APPOINTMENT OF PROFESSORS.

Now, I come to my last point, which was also my point in my former speech with reference to the board of selection in England. My criticism on that occasion has caused a few changes in the report of the Select Committee. I gladly acknowledge the changes as going some way to meet my point, but the principal feature of my point has been altogether missed. I objected to the provision that one-third of the professorships and readerships in this University should necessarily be filled up by appointments in England.

Is this, Sir, one of those numerous public services with which the Public Services Commission dealt? Was it necessary that a racial proportion should be struck in the service of the University of Dacca? My Hon'ble friend Mr. Banerjee contended that one-third might be too high. The only way in which my Hon. friend Mr. Shafi could meet him was by saying, "I have now struck out the readerships; you ought now to be satisfied," which means . . .

Mr. Shafi:—A word of explanation, Sir. I said that in our judgment, it was a suitable proportion. That was only a side remark.

Mr. Sastri:—It was a side remark but it indicates clearly the origin of this provision. It is to provide that a certain suitable proportion should belong to the Europeans. I would ask, why is this necessary at all in the case of the University of Dacca? We are quite prepared, and I am perfectly certain the Academic Council, every time a vacancy occurred, would decide whether it would want recruitment to be made in England or whether it would want recruitment to be made in India. I am perfectly certain myself that if I were there, I would go to England for recruitment in several cases. Wherever there was such a need, whenever there were technical attainments to be taken into consideration, wherever there was scientific knowledge wanted, I am perfectly certain that no responsible University authority would have been backward in choosing their professors from any part of the world.

How can it be necessary to strike a proportion for which no justification can be found but this one justification? How far it is possible to go in making that provision is a mere matter of negotiation. There is no principle involved in it. It will work out very badly for the University in this way. How are you going to provide what that one-third should do? What professorships will you include in this one-third, if the number of professorships that must be recruited in England come up only to one quarter? The remaining one-sixth must be put into this category merely to satisfy the statutory proportion.

Besides, Sir, supposing when a vacancy occurs, the most suitable person in the world was to be found in the Calcutta University, in the Benares University, or in the Allahabad University; this provision would make it obligatory on the part of the University to go to England to find a man—and possibly to find a misfit. Of all the provisions in this Bill, I regard this as the most ill-judged and unnecessary. Of course a certain amount of justification could be pleaded in its favour by quoting the report of the Sadler Commission, and it is very interesting indeed this quotation—I cannot withhold from the Council the origin of this provision. It is most interesting, and I would ask the most earnest attention of the Council to these passages. "From the point of view both of teachers and of the University, we think, therefore, that the system of appointments to specific posts which we propose is more advantageous than the service system. But we are aware that the abandonment of that system may raise some misgivings in the minds of the Muslim community. The community feel that if Dacca is to exercise the attraction for Muslim students which it is intended to exercise, the Muslim and European teachers must not be altogether outnumbered, as they are both in Calcutta and in the existing Dacca College, by the Hindu teachers; and some influential Musalmans, at any rate, are inclined to think that it is only by the direct intervention of Government that such a proportion can be secured." So that is the object. Hindu teachers may be outnumbered in this way; but Musalman teachers must not be outnumbered. Now,

the Commission go on to speak merely of 'a certain number of posts, which might be filled by the Secretary of State acting on the advice of a special committee in England. The certain number of posts, I daresay, is to be arrived at after careful examination of the professorships to be instituted in the University. If, on going through the list of professorships for which the University will have to recruit, they arrive at the figure five or the figure six, as the number for which recruitment might be thought suitable in England, it must stop there. How has this fractional proportion of one-third been arrived at? I do not see any justification for that in the report of the Sadler Commission. It is only 'a certain number' of posts that they have mentioned. Now, Sir, it seems to me that the appointment of professors is the most important duty of the University, for they constitute the very life and soul of the University. It is their character that is going to be impressed on the University. However admirable our constitution may be, if the professors are not chosen by appropriate methods, the University is not going to function on a high level. I should have been better pleased if more suitable provisions had been made for the appointment of professors in this University. I cannot believe, Sir, that the absolute fixation of a proportion, in the words of the Bill, not less than one-third, to be filled in England. I cannot believe that that absolute fixation of one-third is beneficial to the University.

I have spoken with some feeling as to some of the drawbacks which disfigure in my judgment the Bill that we are about to pass. Nevertheless, as I said before, there are weighty considerations proceeding from the fact that we are after all organising a big University after a new type, proceeding also from the circumstance that a large and influential community are bent on having a University of some sort; it is these considerations that impel me to vote in favour of this Bill. I gladly do so.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

ONE after another three decisions were delivered in the Court of King's Bench in England during the past three months which have been rightly regarded by Englishmen as striking severe blows at the bureaucracy. During the war, the legislature conferred wide powers upon the executive under the Defence of the Realm Act to provide for the safety of the country, and the people submitted to the restrictions cheerfully. Now, however, the hostilities have ceased, the nation has justly become impatient of being "regulated" out of their cherished liberties. In the first of the cases a decision was obtained that a Proclamation prohibiting imports was illegal, and the decision was based partly on the view that Parliament could never have anticipated that the statute in question would give the executive the power that it claimed. In the second, the regulation affording immunity to munitions workers from proceedings for ejection and holding that it was a criminal offence on their part to enter the courts for a legal remedy without the sanction of the Minister of Munitions was declared invalid. In the third case, the regulation under which the Admiralty took from the suppliants a quantity of rum and offered in payment a sum much less than the market price was pronounced *ultra vires* by the King's Bench. As the *Times* says: "During hostilities the nation, with the generosity of patriotism, permitted a reversion towards Ministerial, if not Royal, absolutism. We are now at peace, and it may be regarded as a favourable omen that the people have grown impatient of the high-handed edicts which have issued from the various Departments of State without any considered Parliamentary sanction." All these decisions, it is evident, have a great moral for India.

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