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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE telegrams we have been vouchsafed since last week, when we wrote on the British Elections, have shed some further light on what has been at best a rather obscure situation. The English weekly papers of end of September (just to hand) all speak of "the odds against a general election in autumn steadily lengthening": yet within a few days, i. e. with the meeting of Parliament, the position seems to have changed completely. How and why? Putting two and two together one is almost forced to see the hand of Mr. George behind the whole manoeuvre. His sudden, fierce, melodramatic denunciation of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, in the face of the sober support given to it by such eminently sane sections of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, as represented by the *Manchester Guardian* and *Spectator*, betokened to all who know anything at all of the political game in England the preparation of some new move on the arch-intriguer's part. How great the tension created by this anti-Soviet stunt became inside the Liberal party, is evidenced by the fact that Mr. Asquith after much waiting and seeing in the end felt compelled to join a feeble trickle to the torrent in spite rushing headlong from the Welsh hills. Meanwhile Mr. Churchill has rejoined the Conservative party as an "Anti-socialist" candidate and Lord Birkenhead (né Smith) of course has joined the pack, which is in full cry, as we write. The manoeuvre has become transparent: As the Liberals under Mr. Asquith have failed during the last six months to tip the balance of power as auxiliaries of the Labour Party, Mr. George is seizing the opportunity for trying to be more successful by making the Liberals auxiliaries of the Conservatives. Everybody expects somewhat of an increase (but not more) for the

Labour Party especially at the expense of the Liberal Party, therefore the calculation is that since when the new House meets Labour will still be in a minority, it will be possible to down it by a joint Conservative-Liberal vote of want of confidence. The price of Liberal support of course being to make Mr. George the power behind, if not before, Mr. Baldwin. The manoeuvre is just the sort of chicane one would expect from such a quarter; unfortunately for Mr. George if the gaff should be blown before election day and voters come to know that the real issue of the fight is not the alternative of Mr. Baldwin to Mr. MacDonald, but of the old Georgian Coalition gang to the present Government, then we for one must say we have sufficient faith in British democracy to believe that the chances are quite in favour of even a landslide, if only to retain a government of statesmanship and common decency, and to rule out the ghastly risk of the helm getting once more into the hands of the Georges, the Churchills, the Smiths and all the other political adventurers of that ilk.

* * *

Mr. Fazlul
Huq's Evidence.

THERE is at least one person who claims to have grown wise in recent years—Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal ex-Minister. Four years ago he was a stalwart Nationalist, who condemned diarchy because he wanted full provincial autonomy. But very soon his political education began, and now he is quite convinced that the British Parliament made a great mistake in August 1917 to declare the goal of British policy in India to be the conferment of responsible government on its people. He is now convinced that representative institutions cannot flourish in this soil, for which the only suitable form of government is strong personal rule. He would very much like to go back upon the reforms, but as he is good enough to recognise that such a course is not practicable, he would see that no change was made in Rules &c. and the *status quo* was strictly maintained. However, he relaxed his terrible resolve to a slight extent at Sir Muhamad Shaf's persuasion and conceded that much harm might not result from the transfer of land revenue and justice. Nay, he went so far as to admit that if more subjects were transferred, an additional Minister might be appointed and the Ministry rendered more stable in consequence. Mr. Huq's political evolution is no doubt exceedingly interesting, but his evi-

dence is hardly likely to help the Reforms Enquiry Committee.

* * * *

CONFUSION and division were bound to occur in the Non-Brahmin party of Madras, as it was based on the jealousy of Brahmins and not on political principles. Not only did a good number of the rank and file vote for Swarajists and others at the last Council elections, but in the Council itself, after the Ministers were appointed, a number of the more progressive supporters of the old party joined the opposition and moved a vote of no confidence in the Ministers, which was defeated only on account of the support of the official members. The cleavage became wider in the beginning of the month in connection with seventh session of the Non-Brahmin Federation. Sir K. V. Reddi, Minister in the old Council, had been offered the presidentship of this conference, but when Sir P. Theogaroya Chetty, the leader of the party, was informed by him of his views on certain matters, a safer president was chosen on the eve of the conference. This led to Sir K. V. Reddi and his followers joining the Anti-Ministerialists and keeping away from the conference.

As was to be expected there were two views in the conference about the seceders, but it was not expected that the chairman of the reception committee and the president would be their respective spokesmen. The former plainly told the conference that they could no longer exist as a party on the old lines and that they should re-organise themselves on principles, giving up the basis of birth, his own suggestion being that they should become a party of conservatives, admitting Brahmins, Europeans and all others of conservative views. The president, however, took a less serious view of the schism, thought that its causes were comparatively trivial and was confident of unity being restored easily. That he was much mistaken was proved by subsequent events. The first resolution passed by the conference was an invitation to the seceders to join the conference. The Anti-Ministerialists definitely refused. Sir K. V. Reddi and some others attended a meeting of the subjects committee and pressed for the postponement of the conference to December. But as the proposal could not be accepted in its entirety, they withdrew in a body. The fact is that the party can no longer be held together on the hatred of Brahmins, as was truly pointed out by the chairman of the reception committee, though it was possible before the Non-Brahmins had enjoyed political power for some time. Now the better elements in the party are ashamed of its communal and class nepotism and want to base it on political principles. For some time more there will no doubt be pathetic attempts at unity but they are bound to fail.

* * * *
THE tenth session of the Bombay Presidency Muslim Educational

Amartying 1

Conference, which assembled in Poona on Saturday last and which was opened by His Excellency the Governor, is reported to have adopted the following resolution, which, we have no doubt, will be read with amazement throughout the Presidency:—

"It is the fixed conviction of this Conference that Mussalmans being a minority community, stand to gain little by the transfer of the control of Primary Education to Local Bodies, under the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 as it stands at present, and that especially in view of the deficiency of educated and well informed Muhammadans in rural areas who can capably and effectively represent Muhammadan interests, this Conference considers the enforcement of the said Act to be positively harmful to the welfare of that community. This Conference therefore urges that the said Act should not come into operation until adequate provision is made to safeguard the interests of Muhammadans in the way of widening the basis of representation of Muhammadans on the School Board of each local authority and suggests that the post of a Muhammadan Inspecting Officer should be maintained on the Government Inspecting Staff who should be given full latitude in respect of the administration of Urdu schools."

The next resolution is:—

"After due deliberation, this Conference is of opinion that the appointment of a Muhammadan Minister of Education is a 'sine qua non' for the educational progress of the Muslim community, especially in this transition stage and urges upon the attention of Government the necessity of taking steps in this direction at the proper time"

* * *

HOSTILITY to the Education Act of 1923 was a prominent feature of the address of the chairman of the reception committee. The Governor was present when it was delivered and made a pointed reference to it in his speech. He did not think that the safeguards provided in the Act were so inadequate as some of them imagined, and said further: "In any case, it is clear that the worst possible attitude to adopt towards any piece of fresh legislation is to condemn it without giving it a trial. No doubt amendments may in the future be necessary—for the best of laws require amendment from time to time—but you will obviously be in a much stronger position to propose suitable amendments if you discover defects in the Act by actual experiment than if you never try to work it at all." These observations, however, had absolutely no effect on the Conference, as is clear from the resolution quoted above. The resolution itself is conceived most illogically. It does not ask for Muhammadan education being placed outside the scope of the Act—a demand which we could understand though not appreciate—but asks that the Act itself shall not be put in force. It says that capable and well informed Muhammadan representatives are not available in rural areas and yet wants Muhammadan representation to be widened on every School Board. It does not say what in its opinion is adequate representation of Muhammadans, but since it expresses so little confidence in non-Muslim members of boards, one would think that adequate representation meant the majority of representatives being Muhammadans. The demand for the appointment of a Muhammadan as Educa-

tion Minister is particularly modest at the present time when two out of the three Ministers are Muhammadans—and both of them took an active part in the Conference. Obviously its message to non-Muslims is that they exist for the convenience of Muslims. The Conference was not actuated by the spirit of Bombay Presidency but by that of Hyderabad State!

SIR A. P. PATRO, the Education Minister of Madras, is to be congratulated on steadily pushing on primary education in the Presidency. He has adopted a programme of providing within five years every village with a population of 500 and over, with at least one recognised school. The number of such villages still unprovided with a recognised school is close on 6000. Last week the Minister presented a supplementary demand for Rs 1,60,000 for enabling such Taluka Boards as had levied a special education cess to open new schools during the current year. He said that the grant would enable 838 new schools being opened before the 1st of November next at a cost of Rs 300 each. In the discussion it was pointed-out that money was being provided for the starting of new board schools, while existing aided ones were allowed to starve on account of the grant-in-aid being insufficient. The Minister replied that their difficulties were not overlooked, but as the revision of the grant-in-aid rules will naturally take time, the Council should in the meantime help rural boards that had shown their keenness for the expansion of education by taxing themselves. A representative of the depressed classes brought to his notice that admission was denied to Panchama children in certain board and aided schools. The Minister promised that Government would deal drastically with boards which countenanced such a practice and would withdraw grants from all institutions that denied admission to Panchamas. The supplementary demand was of course granted.

Flood Relief. FROM the statements of Government members and speeches of others in the interesting debate on flood relief that took place recently in the Madras Council, it is satisfactory to learn that almost every requirement of the situation is being attended to, there being perfect understanding and co-operation between the official and non-official agencies. Government's gratitude for and appreciation of non-official aid was prominently expressed. As the Government had been blamed for not having asked for adequate help from the Central Government, Sir Muhammad Habibulla informed the Council that they proposed applying for a free grant and also for a contribution from the Poor Trust Fund, now presided over by Sir B. N. Sarma. The only controversial point of any importance was the suggestion that the Central Government should be asked to remit one crore from the provincial contribution of Madras in view of the calamity. The relief obtained by Bengal some years ago under this head on account of a similar but less widespread calamity was urged in support of the proposal. Sir Muhammad, however, pointed out with considerable force that on that occasion Madras had protested against the remission as *ultra vires* and could not now with any consistency apply for remission. Moreover, other provinces had also suffered more recently from floods and the strong case which Madras had for the reduction of its provincial contribution would only be weakened by asking for it on this account.

THE CLAIMS OF MOSLEMS.

THE Lucknow compact between Hindus and Moslems is now attacked from both sides. Which way it will be finally modified, it is now difficult to tell. It deals with the relative strength of the parties in the Legislative Councils. The Mahomedans claim, however, that the principle of communal representation must be extended to local bodies, to educational managements and to the public services. In the United Provinces the principle has been conceded in the case of local bodies, while among educational institutions, the Dacca University is the first to embody it. These extensions were resisted in the name of the general community; but the poison of separatism had got into the body politic and was wreaking full havoc. The recent Khilafat agitation to which the highly romantic nature of Mr. Gandhi lent the unjustifiable support of his Hindu followers, has encouraged the idea that the prejudices and pretensions of the Maulvi-ridden sections of the Mahomedan community ought to have weight in determining the shape and features of the Indian constitution. An attempt was made recently to secure for the followers of Islam a certain proportion of public offices. From all sides, therefore, the pressure of this community for special privileges is at this moment particularly strong. The fact that the Swaraj movement has gained great momentum has given extra stimulus to separatist tendencies; and one hears the familiar doctrine: "We will oppose Home Rule unless our special claims are conceded to the full." Among Congress leaders, the great majority are doubtless grieved at this exhibition of obstructive strategy; but owing to a morbid nervousness, intensified by the striking character of the proceedings of the Unity Conference in Delhi, candid speech is now at a terrible discount; and no Congress notables have ventured to appraise and criticise Moslem claims in a responsible spirit. It is not unlikely that this excessive delicacy will be misinterpreted as arising from a consciousness of the weakness of the national case; and it is only just and fair to our Mahomedan co-citizens that we should take up the discussion in earnest and indicate our point of view without equivocation.

The name of Mr. Gokhale has frequently been invoked on the Moslem side of this controversy. His practical spirit of compromise and balanced view of national advance came into full play in adjusting the communal differences that began in 1906, before the Morley-Minto reforms, and went on till 1911 when they had been some time in operation. When Hindu leaders declaimed with vehemence against the discriminations made in favour of Mahomedans by the Regulations and against the superior political importance claimed on their behalf, he pleaded with all the earnestness of his nature that the reforms were worth having at all costs and that the goodwill of all communities

was essential for their success. [A few marks of partiality, a few extra seats, he argued, did not matter much. The character and public spirit of our representatives, not their number, the spirit in which they worked together in the Councils, not the way through which they came there, were the important things to consider from the standpoint of the country's welfare. His efforts at producing some amount of harmony between the communities were rewarded with success at the time; and he was hailed by the Mahomedan community both as a peace-maker and a champion. Nothing however that he has said or written on the subject of Muslim claims will countenance the demands now put forward on their behalf. His advocacy of their position in the Morley-Minto scheme had strict reference to the limited character of popular rights under it. The people of the country were admitted for the first time to partial association in the work of administration, but were still far from enjoying any participation therein. Nice adjustments of relative strength would signify only when the Government became ours. He allowed the importance of the Mahomedan community, but not their excessive importance. He deplored the unjust discriminations in their favour, but was prepared to overlook them. Separate electorates for them he would have preferred in addition and as supplemental to general electorates. But the Secretary of State having decided on complete separation, he counselled his Hindu brethren to acquiesce. It was submission on his part in a cheerful and hopeful spirit to a settled fact, not a hearty welcome of a salutary principle. It is not doubtful what he would have said to an extension of this separatist plan all through the national life. A perusal of his speech in the Bombay Legislative Council on the Mofussil Municipalities Bill makes the point absolutely clear. He said:—

"My next objection to this provision is that it tends to defeat the most important object of local self-government. We value local self-government not only for the fact that local work is thereby better done, but also for the fact that it teaches men of different castes and creeds who have long been kept more or less apart to work together for a common purpose. There are, in all conscience, causes for differences enough among the different sections in this land; and I submit, my Lord, that the legislature should not, in the best interests of the country, without the very strongest reasons, give any statutory recognition to these differences. There is nothing in the nature of local self-government which implies any conflict between the interests of one section and another. . . . Then, my Lord, if different sections are to be represented, why talk of the Hindu community as a whole by itself? There are so many castes and sections of this community, and some of them stand so wide apart from one another that it will be necessary to recognise their differences. And then where are the Government going to stop?"

If this was his attitude towards a proposal for separate elections in the case of local bodies, there is no reason whatever to suppose that he would be less opposed to a similar proposal in the case of an educational body like the University.

Himself an educationist of high ideals, devoted to the cultivation of the character of the young and believing with the fervour of his master Banade in the up-rearing of an Indian nationality, he would have been grieved to the very depths of his being if he had lived to see how Sir Mahommed Shafi allowed the poison to corrode our educational system.

On the question of a proportional distribution of the services, we confess we cannot share the unconcern of those who loftily dismiss the question as one of loaves and fishes of office. The integrity and efficiency of our services in all but the lowest ranks is one of the greatest assets we have; and we owe it almost entirely to the great example set by the Indian Civil Service and the high standard exacted by them in the subordinate services. Our large rural population and even the bulk of our urban population have, through long ages, looked up with awe and fear to the representatives of Government with whom they are brought into direct contact; and if they are in future to grow up in the exercise of civic spirit and maintain their rights of citizenship, an essential condition is that the holders of administrative power among them should be generally men who deserve love and trust and honour. To divide the services among the communities in India in agreed proportions is the last step which would commend itself to one interested in the national welfare. When any community attains undue preponderance in any great branch of the public service, correctives must certainly be devised. Constant and careful watching of the condition of the services with a view to this negative result is a duty of the Government which Sir Malcolm Hailey has recently recognised. Perhaps the Public Services Commission, when it is appointed under the Government of India Act, is the body best fitted to discharge this delicate function in the case of both provincial and all-India services.

OPIUM POLICY.

THE ANSWERER ANSWERED.

II

4. *League Policy.*—The "story of [Mauritius]" leads one naturally to the charge made again and again by Mr. Andrews that "there is not a shadow of a sign of the Government of India trying honestly and sincerely to carry out, both in spirit and in letter, the Hague Convention resolutions, to which it was a signatory" (p. 378). Now the International Opium Convention of 1912 (to give Mr. Andrews' "Hague Convention resolutions" the correct title), was the result of international conferences which, starting in December 1911 at the Hague, continued with breaks until June 1914, when the War suspended action of this kind altogether. Mr. G. G. Dixon in his "Truth about Indian Opium" argues that this Convention asked for no further

control, than the Indian Government was then already actually exercising over the traffic in opium; and it certainly is a fact that it is the Government of India, which, since 1915, has been trying to induce other governments to deal directly with it as regards opium and thus to eliminate the private trader altogether. But we may safely leave out these and similar questions, which are rapidly becoming of merely antiquarian interest, and concentrate on the present position, i. e., the rôle played by India, since the League of Nations came into being and took over the international control of the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. In fact international adherence to the Hague Convention only became effective after the termination of the War.

What then has been the attitude of the Indian Government since 1920? The Opium Advisory Committee of the League, set up by the First League Assembly in 1920, devised a system of Import Certificates, which obtained the force of a "Recommendation" by the Assembly on September 19th, 1922. The Indian Government, so far from opposing this system—the idea for which, by the way, goes back to the British member of the Committee, Sir Malcolm Delavigne—introduced it as from January 1st, 1923, i. e. within 100 days of the League recommending it: in fact, only six countries were able to apply it even sooner than India.

What this means will become clearer when we turn to the 4th Session of the Advisory Committee (January 1923), when we find the Committee confronted by the fact that the whole of Latin America, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Russia and Switzerland were then still outside the Convention altogether, whilst in addition France, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Hungary had not signified the adoption of the League's Import Certificate system. As a consequence the idea of boycotting all countries producing opium, except those effectively conforming to the League system, was actually put forward and the consequence accepted that India would thereby be given a virtual monopoly! Could a more convincing certificate for India's *bona fides* be imagined?

Indeed there can be no doubt that it is in India as nowhere else that "the Government controls the production, distribution, sale, possession—every possible practical question which could arise in connection with opium—and had done so for over 60 years, during which time it had built up a complicated and highly efficient administrative system," to use the words of Mr. John Campbell at the Fifth Session of the Advisory Committee (May 25th, 1923). As regards the Import Certificate system, the Government of India has been carrying it out with all the efficiency of accumulated experience and Mr. Campbell (on the 29th May) on behalf of the Government of India "gave an absolute guarantee that no quantity in excess

of the amount demanded and covered by a Government certificate would leave the shores of India; and he was in a position to guarantee further that any reduction, even extending to actual prohibition, which the consuming countries might wish to impose would be completely accepted by the Government of India. But the Government of India's argument was now, as it always had been, that it was impossible for it to control consumption in a consuming country." Now we think that nobody can read a solemn declaration like that and say that the Government of India did not mean it. Leastways, such devoted anti-opium workers as Sir John Jordan and Mrs. Hamilton Wright made no such mistake. The former said that "in his opinion the attitude of the Government of India was perfectly justified"; the latter that "the attitude of the Indian Government was admirable" (Meeting of May 30th). The simple truth is, that the facts were too much for Mrs. Hamilton Wright and Sir John Jordan: we are therefore not without hopes, that they will prove too much for Mr. Andrews also.

Mr. Andrews indeed says that in 1913-14 only 9970 chests were sold but that in 1918-19 the number rose to 13,767; that in 1913-14 the export receipts were Rs. 1.92 crores, but in 1923-24 they amounted to Rs. 3.23 crores. In thus arguing Mr. Andrews has made serious and surprising mistakes. Firstly the Hague Convention, though passed in 1912-13, did not come into force until 1920, as already explained. Secondly, the export figure for 1913-14 was not normal, as a comparison of it with previous and subsequent years shows:

Year	Total export (Chests)
1911-12	26,860
1912-13	17,890
1913-14	9,070
1914-15	11,598
1915-16	12,660

The excessive quantities imported in the two preceding years obviously reduced the demand in 1913-14, the figure for which should not therefore be taken for comparison. After 1920, when the Hague Convention came into force, there has been considerable reduction, a fact which is admitted by Mr. Andrews. As to increase in receipts it is difficult to see how the Government of India can at all be blamed for it. The increase is due to rise in prices owing partly to post-war conditions and partly to the reduction of supply.

Again, the pernicious effects resulting from opium eating and opium smoking are not to the point here. The fact to be faced is that the Hague Convention does not "outlaw" opium smoking; that therefore the Government of India, unless it wishes to set up as the conscience-keeper of the whole Far East, is justified in supplying opium (against governmental import certificates,) though knowing that it will be used abroad for smoking: indeed if Mr. Andrews' au-

thorities are right in rating the smoking of opium as less dangerous than the eating, the Indian Government can certainly have no compunction in exporting opium for smoking, as long as public opinion in India winks at the habitual eating of opium.

As a matter of fact, the Government of India is carrying out—both in letter and in spirit—every international stipulation it has entered into. We say "in spirit" because we have in mind the attitude taken by it over the Indian opium exported to Macao, the facts of which came out at the same Session (May 29th.) Under an Indo-Macassar Agreement, which terminated in 1918, India had supplied Macao yearly with 500 chests of opium, 240 for internal consumption, 260 for re-export. In the said year the Indian Government denounced the Agreement and refused to supply any further opium for "re-export" as incompatible with the spirit of the Hague Convention, though of course the Portuguese Government was willing to supply all the import certificates needed. Negotiations dragged on, but the latest official information is that a total annual maximum of 300 chests has now at last been agreed to.

But Mr. Andrews is not satisfied with this. Apparently he would like the Government of India to say: Let who will make money out of opium: we at least will have no more to do with it. We personally are quite in agreement with him that this would be the way of perfection, which we would much like our country to tread. But this does not make us forget the difference between a counsel and a precept. It is of precept, binding on all men, that a man make no evil use of his money; it is of counsel, binding on no one, to give away all one's money to the poor. A precept tells us the difference between good and evil; a counsel, between good and better. The Government of India's opium policy could no doubt be *better*; but from that it does not follow, as Mr. Andrews' curious logic seems to imply, that its present policy is evil. All the facts we have come across have convinced us, somewhat to our surprise, (in view of all the contrary propaganda) that this policy is *good*, as far as it goes. To make it better, Mr. Andrews would apparently have this Government tell all the indenting Governments of the world, that we cannot trust the genuineness of their certificates, that they are all rogues, that we alone are competent judges of what is good for their people and that, unless we can be satisfied as to the ultimate use made of our opium, we refuse to supply it to them. It seems a curious conception of international diplomatic usage and we for one are not sanguine as to its efficacy.

We agree with Mr. Andrews that the most perfect plan, the plan we all must seriously work for, would be for India to close down its opium export trade altogether: but to effect this, we realize unfortunately that it is not enough to inveigh vehemently against a Satanic Government, but that it

will be necessary to persuade the members of the two Central Legislative Chambers in India to cut out all opium revenue from the next and all succeeding budgets. Will not Mr. Andrews give this method a trial? Or does he have an uneasy suspicion that the millowners of Bombay, the zemindars of Bengal and all the other rich people in India may perhaps be even less eager for increased taxation of themselves to make up this loss of opium revenue, than a humdrum Bureaucracy would be to follow counsels of perfection?

SWARAJIST GENEROSITY.

AFTER their performance in connexion with the President's Salary Bill, the Government cannot accuse the Swarajists of Bombay Presidency of an unduly parsimonious spirit. They have shown how eminently capable they are of taking "large" views of questions; in fact they go one better than Government itself in sanctioning bloated salaries to their public servants. The Madras Government proposed a salary of Rs. 2000 for the President of the Legislative Council and obtained the Council's sanction to that proposal too. But the Bombay Swarajists insist upon a salary of Rs. 3000 for their Council President; and when a Liberal member, Mr. R. G. Pradhan, moved an amendment for its reduction to Rs. 2000, thus bringing it into line with Madras, the Swaraj party outvoted the amendment, uniting their voices for the nonce with the Government of Bombay on this matter. Strict non-co-operators as they are, pledged to unadulterated obstruction, they must vote with the Government on questions of big salaries. When the Ministers happen to be Liberals or non-Brahmans, the Swarajists are often found to be grousing at the inflated scale at which they are paid—indeed one of their members went so far to suggest that the Ministers' salaries should be only Rs. 1000, each and added that if they clad themselves in *khaddar* this amount ought to satisfy. The Swaraj party was reminded of this utterance when the question of the determination of President's salary was under discussion, but the Leader of the party thought it too niggardly to bring down the President's salary to Rs. 2000, declaring that to reduce the salary in this way was to lower the dignity of the President's office.

Thus on matters of prestige Swarajists' ideas bear such a family resemblance to the ideas entertained by the bureaucracy, but perhaps the Swarajists are in favour of paying Rs. 1000 to Ministers because the latter are whole-time servants and conceivably a larger allowance (Rs. 3000) must be made to the President because he is called upon to put in a day's work for some four months in the year! In no other way can be explained the insistence which Mr. Jayakar placed upon the deletion of a clause, added by the Select Committee at the instance of the Government, which, if carried, would have precluded the President, while drawing this high salary, from engaging in private business in

his spare time or taking an active part in politics. An amendment was moved by a private member to the effect that if the President did not give his whole time to the Council, his salary should be Rs. 1500 instead of Rs. 3000. But the Swaraj party was for Rs. 3000 without any limiting conditions. In thus standing out against all these proposals, the party not only showed itself against economy but also betrayed a sad lack of appreciation of the President's duties. It is in any case a salutary principle that the President should hold himself aloof from party politics and should not engage in trade &c. on his own account. Mr. Jayakar argued that it should be enough if the President looked upon the Council as the first call on his attention. But it is not enough that he should discharge the duty of conducting Council meetings; the Council must be the first and the last call on his attention. He must not be free, as Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed put it, to engage, e. g., in cotton speculation or to practise in law courts on off-days or in hours that he could snatch from Council work.

THE LATE DR. MILLER.*

IN the history of education in Madras there is no nobler chapter than the biography of Dr. Miller. The annals of missionary philanthropy can show no brighter name, unless it be those of the martyrs like John Williams, Allen Gardiner, Dr. Paton, Bishop Patteson, James Chalmers or Bishop Hannington, who, warring with the devil himself in inhospitable lands—in Uganda or Terra del Fuego or Melanesia or Bechuanaland—died heroically in the struggle. The monograph on Dr. Miller from the pen of Mr. O. Kandaswamy Chettiyar of the Madras Christian College is not therefore a fragile monument of pith and rush which one mediocrity filled with Boswellian hero-worship erects in memory of another who deserves to be forgotten.

It is now well upwards of half a century since Dr. Miller came to a Madras bound by dogmatic slumber, and saw it awake under his tireless labours, into a broader day, during the fruitful years in which the Christian College grew apace and developed its multiform activities. Descended of the ancient Norse Vikings and proud of his ancestry, he brought to this "languorous land of the lotus" the boundless energy of the 'seawolves' to quicken the springs of the moral life and light the lamp of culture among a people just winking as if to awake from mediæval torpor. Arrived in India, the young missionary of 1862 had to begin his work amidst difficulties and against odds of a nature that it would tax our imagination to envisage. Dr. Miller had to combat prejudices, disarm suspicions, and overcome opposition often coming from startlingly strange quarters,—from Europeans, official and non-official, contemptuous of

Missionary labours in education, from a Government apathetic, if not hostile, to aided institutions, from Hindus only too ready at first to fancy that his labours masked a covert design to proselytize, and from narrow-headed brother-missionaries guilty of *arrière pensées* in this regard. Religion, in the highest sense of the word, purged of ceremonial and theology, stripped of the rags of the Levite, religion viewed as animating the highest impulses in man, prompting him to live in hourly service to his fellowmen, glowed in Dr. Miller's soul as a living Light-Fountain. Life was a sacrament to him, and self-forgetting duty partook of the character of prayer. This was the spiritual dynamic of the man; but allied to and enthusing it everyday was the vision, born of a profound study of history and philosophy, that the history of the nations presented the picture of "an onward advancing melody" (to use Lotze's phrase), through which the purpose of God unfolds itself from age to age. Every nation has, and had, its characteristic note to contribute toward swelling the orchestral harmony of the nations which would one day be yoked together in mutual service. In this moving economy of history he accorded the highest place to India, and he believed, to quote his own words, that conditions will emerge in India "to make her a leader in the march of mankind towards its appointed goal." This was the burden of many a sermon he preached in the College church. To say that Dr. Miller cherished this aspiration for us is to say everything else about him, that he transcended in spirit and action all barriers of colour, creed and race, and loved Indians as his brethren, that he was singularly tender to human suffering with a tenderness that often made his heart exceeding sick for the sight it saw. He was "human at the red-ripe of the heart."

The biographer tells us of the many great little acts of kindness and love which filled the life of this venerable teacher of South India: how once, on hearing from a boy, in explanation of his coming late to the class, that there was no rice in the house and that it had to be fetched with great difficulty, the good man was moved to tears and said with a lump in his throat: "God help you, my boy"; how seldom he drew his full salary as he had to pay in part the fees of many a poor student; how he spent long sleepless nights of racking anxiety when any of his students was seriously ill; and how at all times he was to his students their best friend and guide. In sheer munificence, however, he was overshadowed by his brother, Dr. Alexander Miller, whose generosity in endowing prizes, studentships and scholarships, and in financing the many libraries attached to the College and its hostels knew no limit except that of his purse. Further down, the biographer tells with touching devotion and affection how once Dr. Miller was moved beyond the power of speech when a boy on the edge of his teens was caught in the act of copying at the Middle

* Dr. William Miller. By Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswamy Chetty. Christian Literature Society, Madras.

School examination. The act so wrung Dr. Miller's heart and ploughed on his face such wrinkles of pain when speaking of the act that it made "many another boy think of dishonesty as a wound inflicted upon a good man." If any teacher in school or college, resolved on hitching his waggon to a star, were to covet this worthy professor's spirit, he would certainly not be deemed guilty of breaking the tenth commandment.

But it is not the Christian College, once tiny like the seed of a banyan, tinier than the spawn of fish, (to quote the words of the Tamil poetess' simile,) now grown into columned and cloistered shades under which thousands of ardent souls draw knowledge and inspiration; nor either Dr. Miller's labours in the Legislative Council or in the University Commissions; nor his princely bequest of £20,000, to the Christian College, nor again his lidless watchfulness of the interests and his unquenchable solicitude for the welfare of his numberless students; none of these, by themselves or in combination, could altogether explain the wonderful hold he still retains on the hearts of thousands in Madras: it was the man himself,—that inner unanalysable personality which bound together like a golden chord so much charity, faith, tact and worldly sagacity wedded to transparent simplicity of nature, such radiating vitality and charm, and industry so masterful that it tyrannized the flesh in bidding it do the commands of the prayerful spirit within. To learn that he used to value examination papers even when he had a temperature of 103°, and that, on being questioned about his reckless defiance of hygienic law, he answered: "What else is a man to do but work?" makes us think of that formidable brother-Scott, Thomas Carlyle, and Miller's own great kinsman, Gladstone. They are all of the same tribe—that of the Emperor Vespasian who, on the point of death, asked his servants to lift him up on his legs, saying: "An emperor must die standing." No lines could tell us more vividly of the high-strung energies which the revered doctor harnessed to the service of the call he heard within him than those which he used to quote from Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*:

"Know thou most mighty of man, that the Norns shall order all

And yet without thine helping shall no whit of their will befall."

Yes, very few in India and few even in England can be more truly said to have lived for the sake of their work. This gives us only a facet-gleam of the quenchless Viking-spark which spent itself in kindling many moral forces in South India. To read his profound studies of Shakespeare's plays and ponder over the lessons he drew for contemporary India would light us into the depths of his abiding love for our land, chasten us with his political wisdom, and exalt us with moral earnestness as not many literary writings would. As products of ripe Shakespearian scholarship, they are a no mean

legacy of one who saw in Shakespeare a sort of secular Bible. Limitation of space forbids our dwelling on the character of their contents. We feel the inmost throb of the man when we read how during the war he pared his expenditure to the quick as "he could not bear to spend and to abound when so many were starving and suffering." His heart was lacerated then with thinking of that blood-bath of the nations and of the political and moral issues from which it sprang.

After departing our shores in 1907, in his pen- sive days in Scotland, India was still the dream of his sleeping and waking moments. Our political and social struggles and aspirations engaged his thoughts night and day to the last hours of his life; our achievements gladdened and our failures saddened him, as indeed our follies distressed him. During the last seventeen years of his life, a lonely man gone blind like Milton, he nursed in silence a transcendent and transfiguring love of India.

Contemplating such a life and assessing its value, let us, heeding the warning of Rabli Ben Ezra, not pass sentence on the vulgar mass called "work", but let us credit "all instincts immature, all purposes unsure and thoughts hardly to be packed into a narrow act" to make up his main account, seeing that "all he could never be, all men ignored in him, this he was worth to God." As a great lover of India Dr. Miller's place is by the side of Wedderburn, Hume, Cotton, Nivedita and Mrs. Besant,—children of Britain, who, over-leaping the barriers of race, have rendered her name dearer to us than it would have been had we to do only with Anglo-Indian businessmen and sun-dried buroaucrats who hold sullenly aloof from Indians and look on their legitimate aspirations with cold, Gorgon-eyes. As a teacher who roused the dormant minds and energized the lethargic spirits of hundreds of students prone to listless drifting, he takes rank with Dr. Arnold of Rugby, Prof. T. H. Green, Prin. Porter, Prin. Wordsworth, Prof. T. Gopal Rao, and Prof. Ranganada Mudaliar. As veteran missionary educationists whose names are writ large in the Colleges they cradled and fostered, and reared to manhood stature, Dr. Miller, Dr. Alexander Duff of Calcutta, and Prin. Wilson of Bombay form an illustrious trio. It is not often that Britain sends to India such good Samaritans to whom the distinctions of race have no meaning, and of whom, in the immortal words of Pericles, the whole world is the monument. Dr. Miller endeavoured momentarily to express the Christ in him through thought, word, and deed; therein was his greatness. "Not everyone who saith unto me, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." To those who would sift, like the fabled swan, the moral value of his life, rejecting its spiritual, there is a residuum not less ennobling. Poor indeed must be the man to whom it does not convey the message best expressed in the words of the Roman

post, Cæcilius: "Homo homini deus est, si suum officium sciat." "If each for each be all he can, A very God is man to man."

Of one who is to the literate world of Madras a *clarum et venerabile nomen*, of a professor so honoured and loved, any biography, however fragmentary, any reminiscence, however random, would be welcome; but the little book under review, written in such an elegant and urbane style, is a fitting tribute of gratitude, reverence, and affection—for it is to be judged as such and not as laying claim to the weight and rank of a "three-decker" biography.

R. SADASIWA AIYAR.

THE CLASS ROOM REPUBLIC.

A GOOD teacher's first duty is to form the character of his boys. He must bear in mind that real character forming can go on from within. Character is made of the habits formed by exercises of self-control.

The teacher can guide, persuade, advise; and the boy by his own volition may act and start the habit, but unless the act of will is entirely his own, there is no formation of character.

The pupil must be led to reason out the matter for himself, then to make his choice for good before he can be said to have developed his character.

In doing this important duty, let the teacher not be the arbiter of good conduct, the only fount of rule, and the sole judge of right and wrong. Let the teacher delegate his disciplinary powers to the boys themselves. They will gain thereby and he will gain also. Let the boys govern themselves, finding a wholesome and salutary outlet for their activity. By so doing their character will be developed, and developed by real self-control, with an awakening of the sense of responsibility. The boys have many qualities to fit them for governing themselves.

The boys have the first great qualification of a ruler—a very keen sense of justice. Nothing stirs them so much as an apparent injustice. To their sense of justice we may add their inborn natural hatred of pretence and hypocrisy and their courage and love of risk. Akin to this and arising out of it is the boy's capacity for hero-worship. Finally boys are trusting, and their trust once given and not deceived, they are intensely loyal.

In order to profit by these qualities Mr. Craddock, M. A. made an experiment described briefly as follows:—

THE ABDICATION.

The school in which the experiment was conducted is of the day secondary type. The election by the class of a Cricket Committee gave Mr. Craddock the opportunity he sought. He suggested to his boys that if the cricket of the form, could be managed by a committee, why could not all

form matters be conducted on the same lines? Mr. Craddock declared that in future he should restrict his activities to actual teaching. The discipline of the class both inside and outside should be in the hands of the Committee elected by the boys themselves. This Committee should be empowered to punish and to reward and should be held responsible to the class itself; that the homework was well and punctually performed, that sports were properly conducted, that the room was kept in order, etc., etc. The Committee would decide what home-work should be done. In a word, Mr. Craddock renounced all his offices except that of instructor, abdicating in all matters in favour of the boys themselves. The duties of the Committee were readily defined; it would do everything that falls within the teacher's province except his actual teaching. Thus the Class Room Republic was formed. The executive got to work at once. The same Committee held office for the ensuing term. It was a great success. The teacher never found evidence of anything like a challenge directed against its authority. Such punishments as it inflicted were done with exemplary promptitude and punishments dwindled almost to vanishing point.

The entire work of discipline and management was done by the Committee. The teacher had to do his teaching only, uninterrupted by the necessity of employing disciplinary measures.

A few hints as regards the election of the Committee, to carry on the work of the class room republic must necessarily be given here.

Ask the boys to elect the five boys (or any convenient number) who can be best trusted to rule. The choice of the class must be entirely free and unhampered.

Then should follow a very careful statement of duties and privileges of the office. Let the teacher define his own position. He will be in future, merely the instructor, the fount of knowledge. He has a claim to the respect and friendship of the class by reason of his superior knowledge, but he renounces all claim to their obedience and in future will give no orders. He will advise but not command, suggest but not enforce.

Now all the privileges he renounces are vested in the Committee. All disciplinary powers should be vested in the Committee. Conduct in the class room and in going in and out of it should be its care. The infliction of punishment, the granting of rewards should be in its hands. Detentions, impositions, stoppage of organised games, will be the means usually adopted to punish neglect of rules and work—and all these things will be not only imposed by the Class Committee but also supervised by one or more of its members. It will insist upon personal cleanliness, tidiness, regular and punctual attendance, and strict attention to all rules and regulations governing the school as a whole.

Before passing on to consider the general advantages of the system proposed, it is important to

study the attitude of the teacher who is determined to give it a trial, for the success or failure of the experiment will turn upon his attitude from the very commencement.

First and foremost he must have a real faith in the good intentions and right-mindedness of the boys as a class. He must be careful that no word or deed of his creates the impression that the faith is unreal. Then the teacher's renunciation of the privileges he has hitherto enjoyed, must be complete and absolute. He must make no proviso; there must be nothing conditional about his abdication. He must keep himself alert at all times to give the advice and counsel that his class will seek at every instant. He must be willing to keep his knowledge up to date, and lastly he need not prepare himself for disappointment, if only his attitude towards his experiment be right.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THE SYSTEM.

The moral value of the system is so obvious that little need be said. By it the boy learns to obey his own higher self. Secondly, a boy brought up on these lines learns to obey as well as command an equal. This willingness to obey an equal is at the bottom of all organised progressive civic development and is of incalculable value to any community of individuals. Thirdly, the members of the Committee learn the hardest task of all: to work for the community, to shoulder its responsibilities, to suffer in some way or other for its wrong doing—and all without fee or reward. Fourthly, the value of this system as supplying legitimate outlets for the boy's activities is enormous. The innumerable tasks which fall to him, will do much to prevent that activity manifesting itself in misconduct. In practice it appears that the boy has not the time to be naughty. Fifthly, left with the task of organising class activities, the boy feels keenly the difficulties, and will welcome any suggestion that the master out of his experience can make, and a new bond of sympathy is forged between teacher and taught. Finally, the teacher, freed from the need of maintaining discipline can give his whole time and mind to the business of teaching.

THE SCHOOL REPUBLIC.

As far we can see there is no valid reason why the scheme thus outlined could not be applied to a larger unit than the class or form. There is everything to be gained by its extension to a whole school.

The school would elect its Committee and the Committee would from among its members elect the perfects, who would act, not as individuals, but as a body, sitting as a court of jurisdiction and appeal. All matters affecting class-discipline would be dealt with by the class Committee and all matters affecting the school as a whole, by the prefectural Committee. Such a scheme would work as well as the self-governing class works.

Mr. Craddock's self-governing form expressed the desire to establish a court of justice. The

court was established as a really practical debating society rather than as a judicial necessity.

The court in session consists of two judges, six jurymen drawn from a roster, a public prosecutor and a clerk. All offices are to be filled by election. The chief advantage of the court is educational. As a means of providing exercise in speaking, in diction and the sifting of evidence it is invaluable. It is all to the good, that the boys should, at an early age, learn something of the conduct of public business, a thing of which so many of us, grown-ups, are woefully ignorant.

M. H. SYED.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 4.

PARLIAMENT opened its Autumn session on Tuesday when the Prime Minister read the second reading of the Irish Boundary Confirmation of Agreement Bill. Previous to this, however, a lively period was experienced at question time over the withdrawal of the prosecution of the Communist Editor of the *Workers' Weekly*. This moment had been waited for by many people, for the report has been about that the charge against Mr. Campbell was withdrawn because of political pressure from somewhere. The Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Hastings, had a rough time in which he was severely questioned as to his attitude at the time of the prosecution and its subsequent withdrawal, and his answer that Mr. Campbell was not the writer of the article complained of, and further that he did not wish to give the Communists the joy of being able to make a martyr of one of their exponents, did not do much to satisfy his questioners. A moment was reached when it looked as though Liberals and Conservatives would unite on the issue and the Government be defeated. But the moment and the crisis passed on the suggestion of the Prime Minister that a day should be devoted next week to a full discussion of the Attorney-General's proceedings in connection with this affair. The Liberals have decided to support the proposed Conservative vote of censure on the Attorney-General, which will place the Government in a very embarrassing position. It will either have to yield up Sir Patrick Hastings or take the consequences. But that is not the greatest danger to the present Government's holding of power. The Liberals have decided by an overwhelming majority to move the rejection of the Soviet Treaty. Mr. Asquith has prepared the motion for rejection mainly on the ground that in the terms of the Treaty the British taxpayer would be made liable for further loans to the Russian state. It seems to be generally felt that if Russia needs a purely business loan, she could go to the ordinary business channels to procure it, providing she has sufficient security to offer for it.

In moving the second reading of the Irish Boundary Bill, the Prime Minister has called forth

a tribute of praise from all parties who agree that he treated the Bill in the only way that it could be treated with advantage to Britain and Ireland. He begged the House to continue during the debate on the Bill the tradition by which, since the end of 1921, no division on a measure dealing with the Government of Ireland has been taken on party lines. The main point at issue is whether clause 12 of the Act of 1921 left the whole question of the boundary between Northern Ireland and the Free State entirely open, or whether the clause referred only to the rectification of the boundary in matters of detail. The Free State contends the former and Ulster with a fairly large number of responsible statesmen on this side contend the latter. They consider the boundary line was settled and will not admit of any vital discussion on the matter. The Prime Minister still hopes the question can be settled by consent and stated yesterday in the House that neither he himself nor the Secretary for the Colonies will neglect any chance of getting an agreement through if it be at all possible.

Should no agreement be arrived at and the House decides to set up a Commission of its own choosing to arrange the boundary line, we shall be in the position of having to enforce the Commissioner's findings, which would be a very difficult and delicate matter both in the Free State and Ulster. Both people declare they would resist by force any attempt to alter their present geographical position.

Uneasiness is being expressed at the lack of knowledge of what is transpiring between the Prime Minister and Zaghul Pasha. Private conversations of some kind seem to be going on and a rumour is afloat that the Egyptian Prime Minister has telegraphed to Cairo that negotiations are to be begun next Friday when he meets again the Foreign Secretary. The fact that Zaghul Pasha states that he is looking forward to this meeting rouses fears for Mr. MacDonald's actions. Secret negotiations of any kind have been so severely condemned from Labour platforms in the past that it is rather a turning of the tables to have Conservative papers speaking of Egypt and the Sudan being the subject of secret conversations, and warning their readers of the possible danger of these conversations being developed into secret negotiations.

The announcement of the sudden resignation of the High Commissioner for India has not called forth much comment, though it certainly came to most people as a great surprise. The usual statement that he has resigned because of ill-health is accepted as the official reason but that is all, for there has not hitherto been any question of his inability to perform the duties of his office on account of health. Those people interested in Indian affairs in this country are asking what is behind the resignation and what is the real reason for it. The suggestion made by some Indian papers and telegraphed here, that Sir Dadiba

Dalal had to resign owing to not being supported by the European members of his staff was not a pleasant one and was accordingly resented.

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