

THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.—Office : Servants of India Society's Home, Poona (D. G.).

VOL. X, No. 33.

POONA—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1927.

{ INDIAN SUB-SN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN " " 10s.6d.

NOTICE.

On account of the Dewali holidays having fallen on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday this year, we go to press on Monday this week instead of on Wednesday as usual.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	457
ARTICLES :—	
Mr. Sachidanand Sinha on Diarchy.	459
Rural Organisation and Development. By Gundappa S. Kurpad.	460
After the Assembly.	463
REVIEWS :—	
Political Science. By Prof. A. R. Wadia, M. A.	464
Religion in the making. By K. C. Gupta, M. A.	465
Fresh Light on Maratha History. By Prof. V. N. Kumbhare, M. A.	466
Co-operative Finance. By V. C. Rangaswami,	467
BOOKS RECEIVED	468

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

DR. ANSARI, the President-elect of the Congress has condemned in the strongest language the cold-blooded murders that have recently been reported from the Punjab and the United Provinces and he has called on the Muslims in these provinces to condemn such acts unequivocally. The miscreant should know in clearest terms that his community is not behind him. Dr. Ansari further admits that the leaders have no power over the masses on account of divisions among themselves. The most important thing Dr. Ansari says is that the time for words and resolutions is passed and only genuine actions could count now. That is what all of us have come to realize during the last few months. Dr. Ansari is in favour of continuing the work for promoting unity started in Simla. It is curious that a leader of Lala Lajpatrai's eminence should think that it is no use meeting at unity-conferences while communal murders are a daily happening. On the other hand, as Dr. Ansari said, these misguided actions should urge them to expedite the work of promoting unity. A conference has been already called at Calcutta by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. His Excellency the Viceroy has also again offered his mediation in the interests of Hindu-Muslim unity. It would be most convenient therefore if the several unity-conferences are merged into a single one under the presidency of the Viceroy. So far as administrative measures are likely to be suggested, his advice is sure to be valuable, coming as it does from one who is thoroughly conversant with the difficulties of executive government. As a matter of fact a Bill, has been drafted by Mr. Kedar, M. L. C. which will

be introduced in the C. P. Legislative Council during the next session. This bill provides that a dispute about music shall be referred to a competent court and after a decision has been given by this court, no Magistrate or police officer shall prevent or regulate the use of music except in accordance with such a decision. With such questions cropping up, a unity conference must proceed very cautiously. We have no particular antipathy against the Calcutta Conference; all we wish to emphasize is that scattered efforts and diversion of energy in various quarters are likely to do harm by want of concentration on one supreme effort.

* * *

MR. R. G. PRADHAN moved two important resolutions, one requesting the Governor to appoint immediately Standing Committees of the Legislative Council as recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in paragraph 10 of their report; the other asking for the appointment of Council Secretaries as provided under section 52 of the Government of India Act. Sir Chunital Mehta's opinion is that the Council did not want the committees, as the members of the committees would not be prepared to express their views on matters placed before them. His experience about Secretaryships was that they could not find a single member who would accept one and the Council members were found to be equally apathetic. It is curious that very few members evinced any interest in the resolutions. In fact the whole debate appears extremely languid. In suggesting the appointment of Standing Committees and Council Secretaries the object of the Joint Committee was to initiate a batch of persons every year in the details of practical administration and to make them more and more responsible instead of remaining merely hostile critics of the administration. The difficulty however is to secure members who would have the necessary leisure along with ability to serve on such committees. The double coincidence would be wanting; those having leisure may be mediocre and those with outstanding abilities will generally be found to be without leisure. Similarly very few persons would be found willing to work as Council Secretaries in an honorary capacity or for a bare living wage. The doubts raised about the independence of such secretaries and freedom from pressure exerted by the Executive Councillors and Ministers cannot be said to be entirely groundless and this array of subservient secretaries would be worse than having none at all. In spite of these difficulties however, we think that the resolutions deserved to have been supported by the Council, on the question of merits alone. There is one thing however which militates against supporting Mr. Pradhan's resolutions and it is that they are too late in the day, when the ten years' period, at the expiration of which a Statutory Commission is to review the working of the Act of 1919, is almost drawing to its

close. One might as well ask why was this demand not made earlier? The answer probably would be that the mover was waiting and waiting for the Government to do something of their own accord and it was only when his patience was exhausted that a formal resolution was brought forward.

AMONG Indian provinces the United Provinces alone seem to boast of a provincial department of stores purchase. For this the province has to be grateful to the first Minister in charge of Industries, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. The Department was created in 1921; but owing to the opposition of the reserved half of the U. P. Government, had for some time to confine its activities only to the Transferred half. As time passed, however, its utility as a satisfactory agency of purchase came to be appreciated even by the Reserved half with the result that it was subsequently entrusted with the purchase of all stores required for the U. P. Government. The first annual administration report of this Department has recently been issued, from which it appears that purchases of the value of nearly as Rs. 25¼ lakhs were made by it, while its expenditure came to about Rs. 30,000, which gives an incidence of 1.15 per cent. This compares favourably with the corresponding proportion in the case of the Indian Stores Department of the Government of India which last year purchased Rs. 398 lakhs worth of stores and the expenditure on account of whose maintenance came to about Rs. 15½ lakhs. The Government can do much for the encouragement of indigenous industries, if it made it a point to purchase swadeshi goods whenever possible. The policy of the U. P. Stores Purchase Department is of course to give preference to Indian articles, which, we are glad to find, is clearly embodied in the departmental manual. In regard to the purchases to be made by the Department, this point of view seems to have been steadily kept in view and 60 per cent. of the total value of stores purchased by it last year was spent on the purchase of articles of Indian make. It is a well recognised business principle that the larger the order, the more favourable are the terms one can exact. Looked at from this point of view, the U. P. Government's offer to local bodies and co-operative societies to make purchases for them has everything to be said in its favour; and it is a great pity that during the last year they showed a disinclination to place their orders through this Department.

IT was recently reported in the press that the Mysore Government were contemplating a revision of the Press Act now in force in the State and that the necessary legislation would be introduced in the session of the Legislative Council which has just been concluded. We are informed however that the draft of such a bill has not yet been prepared. The present Press Regulation of the State dates back to the year 1908 and was enacted when Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, who subsequently occupied the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress, was Dewan of Mysore. This regulation prohibits the publication of "a newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments upon public news" without the written permission of the Mysore Government. But even when this permission is secured, one cannot be sure how long it will hold good. For the Regulation vests the Government with the power of withdrawing it at any time they may think proper and apparently without giving reasons. The penalties for the publication of any unauthorised newspaper or periodical will, at the discretion of the Mysore Government, be expulsion from Mysore

Mysore Press Act.

within a week, prohibition to enter Mysore territory without the permission of the Mysore Government and forfeiture of the press and other material used in its production. Disobedience in this respect makes the offender liable to forcible expulsion. We had recently an occasion to criticise the Press Act in Janjira State for its harshness; and though the Mysore Press Act is certainly not so bad as the one in Janjira, it is by no means such a one as would encourage the growth of independent organs of public opinion in Mysore. The date of the Press regulation now in force suggests the inference that Mysore merely followed the example of the Government of India in tightening its hold on the Press. The Indian Press Act has since undergone thorough revision and it is to be hoped that the Mysore Press Act will also be revised without delay and in such a manner that its existence on the statute book may not act as a deterrent to the birth of independent journalism, which is the effect it is bound to produce at present.

THE address of Bishop Barnes at St. Paul's Cathedral was interrupted by the Rector of the City Church denouncing Dr. Barnes for his false teaching and demanding that he should be outcast from the Church till he recanted his errors. Some four hundred persons of the congregation walked out in sympathy with the Rector. Dr. Barnes had previously asserted that transubstantiation was a relic of primitive magic of which they ought to be ashamed. In a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey Dr. Barnes referred to the recent discussion on Darwinism and pleaded that those who valued religion should welcome new truths even if they antagonised some of the dogmas of the Church. He asserted that Darwin's theory had stood the test of more than half a century of critical examination and that Christ's teaching was unaffected by the doctrine of evolution. Superstition and ignorant fanaticism, he said, are doing harm to the true religion of the Spirit of Christ. Sir Arthur Keith as a scientific man is frankly delighted at the line taken by Dr. Barnes and says that it is through leaders of the Church like him that science will permeate and influence human nature. This outspokenness of Dr. Barnes seems likely to lead to curious developments and it is to be seen what judgment the Church as a whole in England passes on the attitude taken by Dr. Barnes. Dr. Barnes has addressed an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury denying that his teaching is false and heretical. Philosophically Dr. Barnes' position is not to be easily shaken because as he says "if there be a God behind Nature, He can show his creative activity, through the process of evolution just as definitely as by special creation." The fact is that man feels that his *amour propre* is wounded when he is connected with a lower being instead of being connected with gods and angels. That is why Disraeli long ago clinched the argument by saying that he prefers relationship with an angel than with an anthropoid ape. Our interest in this problem lies in observing how England which is saturated with the teachings of modern science and the spirit of rationalism solves this problem of the reconciliation of science and religion. We have our own problems about dogmas and superstitions and are certain to derive some benefit from the ways in which these are tackled in the West. In any case whatever may be the consequences, Sir Arthur Keith cannot be blamed for announcing what he thought to be the truth.

Dr. Barnes' Championship of Evolution.

AN interesting constitutional question was raised in the Irish Parliament some time ago, viz. whether members of the Senate should be made eligible for admis-

Senators and Cabinet.

sion into the Cabinet. The device of Extern Ministers is being tried in Ireland, and any one, whether he is a member of the lower or upper House of Parliament or of neither, can be an Extern Minister, but such Extern Ministers, who are nominated by the lower House (Dáil), are not members of the Cabinet or Executive Council, as it is called in Ireland. Apart from this, however, there is a definite bar in the Irish constitution against the eligibility of Senators for membership of the Executive Council. This rule goes against the constitutional practice of, we believe, all other States having second chambers, for in every country except in the United States where the Executive is entirely divorced from the Legislature, members of the second chamber are eligible for office. But the constitution of the Irish Free State's senate is very peculiar. It consists of 60 members 31 of whom alone are elected, 27 being nominated and 2 co-opted. The elected members again are elected on a very narrow franchise. The Senator who secured the highest number of votes in the last election could poll only 14,000 votes in the whole State, while some members of the Dáil secured upwards of 20,000 votes in a single constituency. The functions too of the Senate were meant to be quite different from those of the Dáil. The Senate was invested, and was intended to be invested, with powers of revision, powers of criticism, powers of suggestion and—as a maximum—powers of delay; but it was never intended to share in executive responsibility.

* * *

It will be remembered that in recent discussions relating to the reform of the Bombay University, the proposal for an elected Vice-Chancellor was found too radical by some of our so-called popular representatives. What may be their shock if they were told that in tiny Portugal with less than one-third of Bombay's population but with three times as many Universities, even the Chancellor himself is elected! The Universities there depend more largely than here on Government assistance, but enjoy complete freedom from Government's interference in the management of their affairs, the Education Minister being empowered to nominate not more than four persons on their governing bodies. The university professors are Government servants only in name; for they do not owe their appointment to the Government. They are selected by the faculties concerned, after which their names are submitted, apparently as a matter of more or less formality, to the Minister of Education. They are of course paid by the Portuguese Government which can however in no way exercise any sort of control over them. So much so is this the case that the Government are allowed no hand even in the granting of leave to or transferring any University professor. Nor has he to depend upon their sweet will for his promotion. This in Portuguese Universities depends upon success in the qualifying examinations and cannot be questioned by the Government. In disciplinary matters affecting students as well, the voice of the University is allowed supremacy. In 1925 a lady student is reported to have slapped a teacher; but the Minister of Education was nothing more than an interested spectator. About a year ago, the constitution of the three Universities was by a new law made uniform with the result that the small nominated element that existed there before their reorganisation has also disappeared and those engaged in the actual work of teaching have been given unfettered academic liberty. And let it not be forgotten that Portugal is at present under a military dictatorship. What a contrast between advanced Bombay under a civil Government and Portugal under a military one.

* * *

MR. SACHIDANAND SINHA ON DIARCHY.

WHILE diarchy is condemned in the strongest terms on the one hand, and eulogised as the acme of political wisdom on the other hand it is worth while examining what a practical administrator like Mr. Sinha has to say on this at present all-absorbing topic. In a paper read before the East India Association Mr. Sinha sets forth the conclusions he has arrived at after examining the practical working of diarchy.

In his opinion Section 84—A making provision for the appointment of a Royal Commission is the most important section of the Act of 1919. Our future political destiny will depend on the recommendations of this Commission and he expresses the hope that the Commission when appointed will command the confidence of all classes in India. The peculiarity of the system before the new Act was that the Civil Service was not only an administration but it was also a Government. He quotes a pertinent passage from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's "Government of India" which shows how the Service has become a machine, a thing apart from the organic life of India and consequently a bad, unhealthy Government. Under the Morley-Minto reforms the elected members could influence the Government but could not control it. No sensible Indian could withhold his appreciation of the great work done by the Civil Service in evolving a stable system of administration. But looking to the economic condition of the people, their staying power in the midst of famine and disease, and above all to the share they have in directing the policy of the Government it is the universal opinion of educated Indians that the administration has not been sufficiently responsive to the governed. The anxiety of the British statesmen to make it so led to the memorable declaration of August 1917.

The new system tried to correct the defects of the old system by transferring part of the administration to the Ministers responsible to the provincial legislatures. Public opinion, according to Mr. Sinha, is unanimous that diarchy has few merits and its demerits are so great as to render it practically useless as a means for fitting Indians to develop self-governing institutions. At this point Mr. Sinha quotes opinions on diarchy. Lord Birkenhead regarded this system as a kind of pedantic and hidebound constitution. Lord Curzon abominated the system. Lord Ronaldshay compared it to the two faced Janus and said that it was a complicated constitutional machine and admittedly a makeshift. Sir William Marris said that diarchy was a cumbrous, complex, confused system having no logical basis. Sir Henry Wheeler said that very little can be done to smooth the working of diarchy. Sir Ali Imam said once that although a Minister is supposed to be responsible to the legislature he has generally to carry out the orders of the Governor. The principle underlying diarchy is that it is practicable to divide a government vertically and to place the divisions under two executive units each responsible to a different

sovereign power. But history and political experience point to the conclusion that a government must be an organic unity. The theory itself on which diarchy was based being politically unsound, it is not surprising that the new system has been a potent cause of bitterness and strife between the Government and politically-minded Indians. Mr. Sinha has hit upon the great weakness of diarchy as it has been worked, when he says that the Governors have so far preferred to choose safe rather than strong men. According to Mr. Sinha, the Minister has no individuality of his own but is merely a mandatory of the Governor. The Ministers occupy in popular estimation an inferior status; while the Executive Councillors take official precedence over the Ministers. In spite of Section 52 of the Act of 1919, joint ministerial responsibility has been evaded by the Governors and in framing rules of executive business the Governors decided to deal separately with each Minister. "When it is kept in view that the principle of joint ministerial responsibility is the bedrock of responsible government, so much so that it finds a distinct place in every constitution established during the last two centuries its practical absence from the Indian constitution is obviously a grave and serious defect." Another defect is the arbitrary and illogical division of subjects between the reserved and transferred halves. The Finance Department being reserved, all schemes of Ministers depend on the grace of this Department.

With regard to the Executive Council, Mr. Sinha rightly says that it has not attracted the attention it deserves. In the appointment of the Indian members on the Executive Council there is no necessity to choose men who may be expected to enjoy the confidence of the legislature for a fair measure of ability and reputation for character; and frequently the choice of such a member is not in accordance with the wishes of the Indian public. The greatest defect in the constitution of the Reserved half is that the Governor-in-Council is expected to do his work successfully, with $\frac{3}{4}$ of the members of the legislature normally constituting the opposition! The result is a good deal of manipulation and consequent demoralization both in the reserved part and the habitual supporters of it. The powers of the Governor are large and extensive. The Ministers are daily overruled on account of the power of making rules for the transaction of executive business being vested in the Governor. Although the law treats the Governor as a constitutional head of the administration, he is in reality a veritable autocrat whose acts cannot even be referred to in the legislature. Diarchy then has not appealed to Indian imagination and is not conducive to realizing the objects which its framers had in view. Progressive realization of responsible government in India through the medium of diarchy is therefore impossible to be achieved.

At one time Mr. Sinha believed that by transferring additional departments to the Ministers the problem might be solved; but now he is convinced that there is no *via media* between the present system and provincial autonomy. We are surprised

to find that Mr. Sinha quotes Sir Michael O'Dwyer as being in favour of provincial autonomy. We rubbed our eyes and on scanning the quotation we find that there is a big proviso and that is 'if and when an Indian nation has come into existence.' We are certain Sir Michael O'Dwyer opines that an Indian nation would not come into existence till the Greek Calends.

That Mr. Sinha has given us a masterly analysis of diarchy from the administrative point of view is undeniable. Although diarchy may have a number of inherent defects, we are inclined to think that it has been made more unworkable and intricate by the way in which Governors have taken liberties with the Act of 1919, at times tampering with the Instrument of Instructions, at other times interpreting instructions in a pettifogging spirit. How the fourth clause about "encouraging the habit of joint deliberation between yourself, your Councillors, and your Ministers" has been obeyed by Governors is made clear by several witnesses before the Muddiman Committee. The relation between the Ministers and his followers ought to be studied by the Governor, according to clause sixth of the Instrument of Instructions; what we find in actual practice is that after the Ministers are once installed, the Governors are supercilious about the opinions of the several parties in the Council and at times there is no correspondence between the views of the Ministers and the views of the majority of the Council whom the Ministers are supposed to represent. A Minister with an individual responsibility cannot be said to represent anybody.

RURAL ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

THE question of the improvement of the rural parts generally is engaging the attention of a gradually increasing number of people and is bound to become an issue of the first magnitude in the near future. As is perhaps inevitable, the discussion of the subject has tended to be more or less of an academic nature, often conducted by armchair critics who have but a superficial knowledge of village life and agriculture, and who treat the subject something in the nature of one of many hobbies. In all these discussions, the term "Rural Reconstruction" is in the forefront. It is a little unfortunate that this word should have come to be used so frequently. "Reconstruction" usually connotes that the old structure is practically extinct and that a new and exact counterpart is erected on the old ruins. Obviously this is not representative of actual conditions in the rural parts at the present time. The old order of things has not died out, the villages are not quite in a decadent state and even if it were, we do not want to go back to ancient ways. The attempt must be to so organise the existing village conditions that *rural life will come into line with the present economic conditions*. This involves a good deal of organising and developing work, and it would therefore be more appropriate to call the work "Rural Organisation and Development."

Taking a general survey of things as they are at the present time, the work of Rural Development involves a consideration of Rural Sanitation, Rural Education, Rural Industries, and Rural Economics, and work has to be done along all these lines if the

result has to be harmonious. Work in this field is bound to be slow. In the first place, the rural folk are apt to look with distrust on attempts by outsiders to interfere with the mode of their life. To be most effective, the work will have to be done by somebody who is one of themselves. It is therefore of the utmost importance that workers in this field must live in villages and show by their own example how conditions can be bettered. Unless, therefore, we can find enthusiastic men who will be prepared to live in the villages, become one among the peasants, and conduct this work from there, work is bound to be very slow. There is an inherent distrust of the city man and his preachings, and the distrust is only increased if the man happens to be a Government officer. So that, the first essential in this work of Rural Development is a supply of young men, properly equipped for the work, who will settle down in villages, who are supported in their work from some source, and who are free from the taint of Government service.

Even a casual visitor to a village is struck with the necessity for improved sanitation. The village roads have to be properly laid out with hard surfaces and proper side drains, and all sewerage water from dwellings properly led through suitable drains out of the village site and utilised in a profitable manner. The backyards of houses, where dirt tends to accumulate, will have to receive attention, and arrangements will have to be made to see that the backyards are maintained clean. All this work requires not only an initial outlay but also a recurring expenditure for maintaining the roads and drains in proper condition. While carrying out this work, it may become necessary to interfere with some houses, and persuasion more than force or *zulum* is called for in all such cases. In certain extreme cases, it may be necessary to shift the whole village on to a new site, and this will require a good deal of tact and authority. In any case it is absolutely necessary to take the villagers with us if we want any scheme to be a success. The formation of "Village Panchayats" will help considerably in all such work. Another item closely connected with this question is that of a supply of pure drinking water. There are many villages which do not possess a good drinking water well, and many more where the wells are placed in very insanitary surroundings. The supply of pure drinking water should be the first care of every civilized Government, and all attempts should be made by village communities and workers to get the Government to help them in providing pure drinking water to all the villages. One other item closely related to the health of the village population is the existence of liquor shops in villages. If the abolition of all the village taverns is not considered to be a possibility, the least that could be done is to allow individual villages to decide for themselves whether they will have a tavern among themselves or not. Once this is granted, moral persuasion will have to be brought to bear on them for arriving at the right decision. For this work again, a man in the village itself will be more useful than an outsider. The provision of a spacious open space outside the village for purposes of recreation is a prime necessity. Such open spaces are found in many villages, but they are mostly either far away from the village site or given over to other purposes. There is no urgency for converting these village commons into parks—that can be left to be done slowly; but the provision of ample playgrounds for the children of the village is all important. Wherever Rural Development work is organised, comprehensive plans will have to be drawn up by the agency concerned in this work, and Government must take a prominent share in it, as it involves the task of coordinating this kind of work

in all the rural parts and work should be conducted strictly on the lines laid out, with such small deviations as may be considered necessary from time to time. This presupposes the existence of a competent body of men in close touch with the Government, and this body, while occupying itself with defining the general lines of work, should not attempt to interfere with the work that will be done by individual villages or groups of villages. The planting of groves, the cleaning of ponds round about the village site and arranging for the maintenance of the village in a sanitary condition, are all problems connected with Rural Sanitation.

The next problem is of Rural Education. Here we are concerned not only with imparting instruction in the three R's, but also with training boys to have a rural outlook. The instruction given to them has to be closely related to things agricultural, at every point. Nature study and outdoor classes must find an important place in the curriculum of studies and these must all be of a predominantly agricultural nature. The boys in the villages come mostly from the farmers' families, and their natural instinct for agriculture must be developed along proper lines. When the boys are old enough, they must be taught the various handicrafts that go along with agriculture, like rope-making, basket-weaving, smithy and carpentry work, handspinning and weaving, giving special importance to such of these as are particularly suited to the locality. Actual book learning or academic instruction should be reduced to the minimum and outdoor studies and work given greater importance. No elaborate building is necessary for such a school. An ordinary thatched shed open on three sides and with a dwarf wall all round would answer the purpose admirably. What should receive greater importance is the appointment of suitable men as teachers. The best available men will have to be attracted to these positions. While the emoluments offered should be decent enough, it is obvious that high salaries cannot be offered, and we must therefore have a supply of young men who will undertake this very important work on a modest but comfortable salary. Considering all things, it seems quite obvious that young men trained in scientific agriculture are likely to make better rural teachers than those who have not had such training. So far, we have considered the case of those youngsters who can come to school regularly during the usual school hours. Even after adjusting the school holidays so that they coincide with the busy farming seasons, there will still be left some youngsters who cannot attend classes regularly, as they are frequently wanted for work at home or in the field. Special arrangements like night classes will have to be made for their benefit and studies somewhat different from those pursued in the day school will have to be undertaken. Further we have a great many adults in our villages who are absolutely illiterate and attempts have to be made to educate them by holding special classes for them. In addition to these regular classes, a considerable time will have to be spent in 'Bhajanas' and talks so arranged as to impart sound knowledge to all the village folk. Talks illustrated by lantern and cinema pictures about all conceivable subjects—History, Geography, Science, Art, Hygiene, etc.—should be a common feature of rural life, and these can be made a powerful lever in the lifting of the ignorance that is the lot of most of our peasants. All this work requires financial support and it is part of the duty of Government to afford this support. It may not be possible for Government to bear the whole burden of this work, and it is therefore the duty of all well-to-do people to come forward and help in this work of Rural Education. With regard to Agricultural Education, all that can be

done in villages is to give the elements of Agriculture to the pupils in the Nature Study classes. Further training in Agriculture could only be obtained in the Agricultural schools maintained by the State at convenient centres, and on the farms of some selected farmers working on up-to-date lines.

The question of the development of Rural Industries is a very important one. Most of the industries are of the nature of handicrafts and are meant to supply the needs of the rural folk. Due to various causes many of these industries are dying out, and attempts have to be made to stop this decay. It has been recognized by competent students, that the welfare of the countryside is closely bound up with the prosperity of the rural industries. A survey, such as that made in England in recent years, will have to be undertaken and active measures inaugurated for the putting of these rural industries on a firm basis. Many of the small tools and other accessories for farming, like ropes and baskets, yokes and carts, and many tillage implements can be made in the villages, some as whole time industries and some as part time occupations. Almost every village used to have its carpenter and its smith, who were maintained by the village just as the other village workmen were maintained. With the growth of the modern system of Government and civilization, the old system has tended to gradually disappear, and these workmen have all tended to gather in the cities. This has meant that even for small repairs of implements the farmers have had to go to the nearest city. Times are changing, however, and we see in many places, blacksmiths setting up their forges in villages, especially along the roadside. This has to be encouraged and workshops maintained in different parts of the countryside. Basket-weaving and roap-making are still carried on at various centres and these again require encouragement and development. The survey of these industries made in England brings out one important fact, namely that many of these industries are not getting on as they should be, because of the dearth of young men who will apprentice themselves to these trades. In this country however the trades are more or less hereditary, and in spite of certain dislocations during recent times, we still have many families in various parts of the country occupied in these industries. It merely wants a little organisation to utilize their services to train more young men in these crafts. Handspinning and handweaving are two other very important rural industries. These afford a very good part time occupation for the farmers and their families. Handspinning can be done by almost every body and any leisure hour can be usefully spent in spinning. It has been rightly said that handspinning is almost an ideal occupation for leisure hours. The little skill that is required can be acquired easily, both children and old folk can do it equally well, it requires but little exertion, can be taken up and left off at will, does not need much in the way of equipment and can be done almost anywhere. There are many other handicrafts which can all be undertaken by village folk according to their capacity and the facilities at their disposal. What is wanted is that at least such of those handicrafts as are quite necessary for meeting rural needs, ought to be taught in the rural schools, and the boys allowed to take to whichever they show particular aptitude for. Those handicrafts which do not belong to this class, but which come under the category of what are called *artcrafts*, such as fancy work in wood, cane, needlework, modelling etc., can be left to be undertaken in those places where facilities exist for such work. The early training of the rural children must be such that they will have a good working knowledge of all these handicrafts, and will be free to choose whichever appeals to them most.

Rural Economics is a very complicated question, and only a few aspects of it can be briefly touched upon here. The general level of the economic condition of the country folk is admittedly low, and ways and means must be found to raise this level. Ignorance and insanitary surroundings reduce the efficiency of the rural folk to a considerable extent, and on their efficiency depends their power to earn and maintain a decent standard of living. What is wanted is not merely a high or expensive standard of living, but an *efficient* standard of living. This can be had if the incomings are enough to meet the demands for wholesome food and adequate clothing and shelter. Generalisations are sometimes made that agriculture alone can never support anybody comfortably. This, like generalisations, is true only under certain circumstances, where the land is very poor or the extent of it is very small. Under ordinary circumstances agriculture can be made to maintain people in comfort. It should however be remembered that farming is not a profession in which one can build up a fortune as in trading; at the same time it is one which rarely causes ruin. To many people the free and healthy life out in the country, away from the bustle of towns, is attraction enough. The very fact that a great number of the rural population have subsisted on agriculture alone for centuries should be proof enough of its soundness economically.

When we examine the economic condition of the rural people closely, we are at once brought face to face with an appalling state of indebtedness. Only those who have moved closely with these people can have any conception of the magnitude of this. It is this that is sapping the vitality of the farmer, and the present economic position can be easily traced to this chronic indebtedness of the farmer, but not to any fault on the part of agriculture. The progress of agriculture in all directions has put in the hands of the intelligent farmer means of obtaining the best possible returns from the land so long as he can work efficiently. If he can be freed from this incubus of eternal indebtedness, he can devote more attention to his legitimate work and be more interested in handling his piece of land in the best manner possible.

It would be worth while to trace the cause of this indebtedness, and to see if anything can be done to lift this heavy burden from the shoulders of the peasants. We have here to consider the effect of the combination of the more or less improvident farmer and the usurious moneylender who looks more than a friend. Owing to some reason or other—it may be a bad season, or it may be a marriage—money is borrowed at what looks a very reasonable interest. The interest is allowed to accumulate, and very soon the farmer finds he cannot meet the demands of the moneylender. In his efforts to placate him, the farmer sinks deeper and deeper into the mire of debt, and the end usually is that his property passes into the hands of the moneylender, and to eke out his existence the farmer now works for the moneylender, as his tenant, on very unfavourable terms. Very few farmers have been able to steer clear of this mire of indebtedness. Cooperation was hailed as the saviour of the countryside and cooperative banks and societies were opened at various places. The societies were expected to act as a panacea for all rural ills. While it must be admitted that some cooperative societies have done very good work and have been beneficial to the farmers in very many ways, it has also to be admitted at the same time that the general indebtedness of the farmer has not decreased nor has the usurious moneylender of the village gone out of business. What has happened is that the cooperative society, with its cheap and easy credit, merely acted as another source of money to the far-

mer. While with the moneylender there is a human element, in spite of the usurious interest, there is naturally none in the case of the cooperative society. While the cooperative society insists, as it should, on regular payment, the moneylender is agreeable to wait albeit he is tightening his grip on the borrower. It has been recognised, in the countries where co-operation has yielded good results, that it is only when the people realise all the implications of cooperative effort that it can be of much use. We are thus brought back to the problem of *educating* the people in the methods of cooperation, laying as much emphasis on how cooperation can be abused as on the benefits accruing from cooperation. Whatever is done, credit should not be made easy, nay alluring, and the cooperative society should not consider that its part is over when any particular transaction is completed. It must make it its business to see that the money obtained is put to proper and productive use, so that in a reasonable length of time the members are all free from their debts. The ideal society for the rural parts seems to be one which does not restrict itself to mere banking; it must undertake work of all kinds, purchasing and selling of produce and agricultural machinery, must be particularly attentive to the education of the people in the economics of agriculture, and must always closely watch the activities of the members, helping them with advice whenever it is called for. It is needless to say that no society will thrive if it constitutes itself into a nuisance, unduly interfering with the activities of its members. It is largely a matter of the personality of the man who guides institutions of this kind, whether they prove of real benefit to the farmers or not.

A good deal remains to be done in the direction of encouraging the farmers to employ their spare time and the spare time of the members of their family in such subsidiary occupations as will add to their income. Handspinning and handweaving are two occupations which can be universally recommended. Silk worm rearing is an occupation which will keep the youngsters at home busy, and can be taken up in most places on a small scale. When the time comes for the educated young men from the towns to migrate into the country and become farmers, and it must come soon, then we may expect them to take up the finer kinds of crafts. Help is required urgently in the matter of organising for the proper disposal of the village products. When the people are assured of a certain market for their products, industries are bound to thrive. We can then confidently look forward to the gradual raising of the standard of perfection in the articles made in the home of farmers.

In these various ways the lot of farmers could be considerably improved. Initiative has to be taken by somebody in the matter; by the Government or by the people. Once the work is well started, the good effects that will result will be momentum enough to keep it going. The whole thing rests in the hands of those who have received the benefits of a liberal education, and it is my earnest hope that there will be found at least a few who have the vision and courage to take up this work of Rural Development.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

AFTER THE ASSEMBLY.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Geneva, 6th October 1927.

A PROMINENT Paris newspaper has found it fit to compare the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva to the *Grande Semaine à Deauville* or the

Carnival at Nice and call its composition a company of amateur politicians with just a sprinkling of diplomats intent on letting off steam. The second part of this criticism is as obviously unjust as there is truth in the first part of the remark. The first impressions of the Assembly revive the associations of meetings of bodies such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science or a Bahai Congress. Were there more of the mob element and more extended emotionalism the analogy of the Nagpur Congress would not be out of point. Lack of precision on the part of the delegates, the numerous comings and goings during the sessions, the general atmosphere of jolly informality which prevails throughout are all suggestive of a parliament with an extensive franchise, the least businesslike of European gatherings. Like in parliaments within the League too definite groups are coming to be formed, some of which survive to be the fittest to wield authority on account of their natural or purposive adaptation to the exigencies of circumstances. Much of the recent criticism of the League hangs on this point, but as it needs a good deal of naivety to divest politics of heirarchical conceptions and competitive notions such criticism cannot, it must be acknowledged, to any real extent, touch the work of the League. That work from the first has had no other object but to enlist public opinion into an effective opposition to every attempt of interfering with peace. Nationalism in Europe has generated such fierce opposition that for its continuation it needs the moral background of the atmosphere of internationalism. This is all that the League represents politically, whatever its influence may be as an institution in other directions. Today the Great Powers are surprised that more is expected of it and that the League is often conceived as a super-state, forgetting they have themselves to blame for it. Like the churches who became heir to the religious indifference they had themselves initiated by a too easy alliance with nationalism during the War, the Great Powers are now reaping the effects of the propaganda making the League their own horse and what a horse! Now that Germany wants to back the horse and may do it, the animal has suddenly turned out different. The League of Nations, let it be clear, including the Council, is just a parliament and a parliament whose edicts are recommendations and, whose sanctions are world-opinion besides. Its first and last purpose is peace—peace in Europe—if possible combined with justice. But if not, yet without it. Europe has need of it.

Whether peace has to be combined with justice or can abide without it is the significance of the issue which is now everywhere claimed that the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly has given rise to fathered by Germany. The whole question of security and disarmament is nothing but that. The revision and interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles and the much-discussed responsibilities of the war are the same theme in different disguises. Great Britain's principal contribution to this controversy has been refusal to be dragged into it, but gradually

this non-committal attitude will be changed, as it is bound to be, on account of the lead that Germany assumes, due to her position, of Smaller Powers who are interested in maintaining the doctrine of equality of States in the League. This, however, is the problem of Europe, and according as Europe solves it, her destiny will shape itself.

There are other reflections which an Indian observer at Geneva may make after the Assembly. Some of these must be quite obvious unless one becomes an addict to the drug of politics. It is frequently taken for granted in India that in perversity or obstruction or some such spectacular departure from the ordinary alone may be manifested the release from "slave mentality." It is not sufficiently recognised that there is a much more difficult and at least as effective way in carrying oneself as an equal in a gathering of free and responsible men by obliterating the burden of political inferiority in the dignity of personal conduct. It is a mistake to suppose that not until the whole of India had become sovereign can every individual feel so. Such a conception is in complete opposition to Mahatmaji's doctrine of Swaraj. This exercise by itself even without calculating its effects on world-opinion—in a world run by impressions and by propaganda—is admirable discipline. When the other result is also reckoned the case for Geneva is overwhelming. Your correspondent has reason to believe that there was much questioning about India from the other delegates and the Indian Members of the Indian delegation were pleased with the perplexity that some among them hardly concealed at the sight of capable men able to look after their own affairs having to be vassals. Then there are the consequences of the incongruities of the British constitution culminating in incongruities at Geneva whose cumulative effect may be gain to us. Canada's admission into the Council is an instance in point. Indian delegates at Geneva may have always to remember that they are the representatives of a country not yet even a Dominion but the other delegations are not all burdened by any such memory. To them India is just one of them.

Nevertheless mere position and prestige have never stood—and will stand increasingly less—for the entirety of real power. These shining lights of Geneva shine well because besides the capacity to shine they have real power. Not by deriding the League as European shall we gain in power and in usefulness but by striking out new paths through the use of opportunities coming in our way. As the League grows in years its scope is extended and its intricacies become plainer. International Jurists of recognised repute in Paris and Rome are beginning to believe that the original purposes of the League could best be realised by the creation of regional bodies dealing with regional problems. A notable illustration of this idea is the Pan-American Congress which has become so important that President Coolidge will go to Havana next January tearing himself away from Washington at a particularly busy time. The significance of Locarno in the light

of its latest developments is just the same, and if Locarno is to become the model of a pact as the Eighth Assembly has urged it should, the League countenances the tendency. In the technical services and in the humanitarian work of the League, the regional basis has been recognised as a matter of necessity. India's principal interests at Geneva lie in the economic and humanitarian sections of the League's work, and however beneficial the Geneva atmosphere may be in some matters, it is such that some of the problems peculiar to India in these spheres are conceived only with difficulty in these surroundings. What is there to prevent India being made the place for a conference dealing with social and economic questions common to her and other neighbouring Asiatic States? Non-members may be asked to join even if the active cooperation for it should come from the League members. Such a step is worthy of the initiative of the Government of India and the consideration of some of the high-placed officials who form or are likely to form part of the Indian delegations at Geneva. It would fall into a line with the idea of the President of the Congress that the time had come for making the question of India's active intercourse with other Asiatic States a matter of practical politics, unless every constructive idea were to be rejected just because it would bear the mark of modest beginnings inevitable to it. It would be a means of reinforcing the prestige of the Indian delegations to Geneva.

REVIEWS.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

THE SCIENCE AND METHOD OF POLITICS.

By G. E. G. CATLIN. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. London) 1927. 9½ x 6. pp. xii, 360. 12s. 6d.

A casual survey of the book under review raises hopes, which are scattered to the winds by a detailed perusal. A brief summary of the argument of the book will speak for itself. The first part of the book deals with history as the data of politics, and is very suggestive and balanced in its treatment. It goes back to the standpoint of Seeley's famous book, 'Introduction to Political Science.' Dr. Catlin appears to be in perfect sympathy with Seeley's mnemonic couplet:

"History without political science has no fruit;
Political science without history has no root."

"To know history is to control power," says the author. He conceives history in a broad light so as not to limit it to man, still less to the mere thought of man. He speaks of the study of history as the study of human method. It gives "political understanding and interpretative power." If we have to understand social movements, and forestall disastrous consequences, we must go to Political Science. But it is the gist of Dr. Catlin's complaint that "there is as yet no such thing as a political science in more than a barren name." He emphasises the need of quantitative and descriptive method; in short he would have it tread in the footsteps of economics. He is enamoured of the idea of the *economic man*, and though conscious of all the absurdities and the tragic consequences to human happiness connected with it, he sees in it the beginning of a genuine economic

science. To rescue politics from being "a bastard child of philosophy," he advocates the adoption of a definitely determinist attitude "that human conduct (as distinct from human value) is as completely determined by the antecedent situation as physical action." "Science, as such, is concerned neither with what ought to be nor with what happens to be, but with what must be, when the conditions are fulfilled." He makes the concept of power the fundamental political concept. He advocates the hypothesis that "man in his political actions is moved by the desire for power, or more precisely, 'to execute his own will.'" In politics we have to deal with the experiences of "man in his relation to the wills of his fellows in control, submission and accommodation." To accentuate the hypothetical nature of science the author goes so far as to say: "Whether the economic man exists or ever has existed is immaterial." On a statement like this any comment is useless, for the author conveniently forgets that from abstractions come only abstractions, and the utility of history will go to the dogs if the political man, enamoured only of power, is as mythical a being as the dead "economic man" of the last century, although for purposes of what Dr. Catlin chooses to call "science" he would fain grow eloquent over the virtues of the "economic man," unseen and unappreciated though they are by ordinary *unscientific* mortals.

If power is the be-all and the end-all of political science, it is no matter for surprise, if he finds his model in Machiavelli. From this it is a short step to dissociate politics from ethics and our learned author is nothing if not logical. Hence such statements as these: "It is no less necessary to note the danger lying in the intrusion of ethical theory into the treatment of political method"; "Politics is merely the science of the interrelations of human beings in society, a science quite impersonal. It is not therefore adverse to Ethics, since as a science it is irrelevant to Ethics."; "*Salus populi suprema lex* is a maxim of Ethics and not of politics."; "Social justice is, hence, a natural system arising from the balance of social factors and is neither ethical nor non-ethical." He dissociates the idea of political method from that of political purpose. If the author's gift of developing paradoxes needs any further elucidation, it is to be found in his bold attempt to reduce Ethics to mere aesthetics, a "matter of taste."

So beginning with the laudable object of forcing history to give up her secrets so as to prepare us to forestall all social calamities, the author ends in negating the one supreme lesson of all history that whenever rulers or philosophers have sought to turn their back on Ethics, there has resulted nothing but human misery. In the 'barren name' of science he does not hesitate to revive a dead method of abstraction, creating the phantom of a political man, hungering for power, when for every one man that hungers for power there are at least a hundred whose one desire is to be let alone in peace to carry on their allotted work. Dr. Catlin would perhaps write a more enduring work, if he were to reverse his standpoint and adopt that of Aristotle or of Hegel, making Ethics the starting point of Politics, instead of a step-sister to be somehow got rid of.

A. R. WADIA.

RELIGION IN THE MAKING.

RELIGION IN THE MAKING. BY A. N. WHITEHEAD. (Cambridge University Press.) 1927. 7½ × 4¾. pp. x, 145. 6s.

THIS book which forms a sequel to *Science and the Modern World* consists of four Lowell lectures deli-

vered in 1926. In that book Dr. Whitehead gives us some idea of the metaphysical system which he would substitute in the place of scientific materialism, his views on the nature and origin of religion, the different factors in human nature which go to form religion and the validity of the religious consciousness. The obscurity which characterises many passages in the former book is more in evidence here, and this proves to be a source of dissatisfaction to the average reader who feels that he is in touch with a master mind but has to remain satisfied with mere fragments of the thoughts that are here conveyed to him. In almost every page of the book we meet with bright and penetrating remarks which, in the opinion of a reviewer, "should be engraved in stone," and yet they do not give us a clear and connected idea of what the author has in his mind.

The first chapter deals with the historical evolution of religion. Religion, on its doctrinal side, is defined as "a system of general truths which have the effect of transforming character when they are sincerely held and vividly apprehended" (p. 5.) The definition has the merit of being wide enough to include all varieties of religion within its scope. When however Dr. Whitehead further describes religion as "what the individual does with his own solitariness" (p. 6), it is very difficult to understand what he exactly means. We may admit that religion has its origin in the feeling of solitariness, that a man does not become religious unless he feels forsaken and desolate. But it does not follow from this that "religion is solitariness" (p. 7). Religion on the other hand is essentially an escape from solitariness. The factors of religion, according to Dr. Whitehead, are ritual, emotion, belief and rationalisation and they have emerged one after another. It is quite true, as he himself points out, that the later factors are never wholly absent. We cannot follow him however when he speaks of religion as having originated from ritual. Ritual is defined as "the habitual performance of definite actions which have no direct relevance to the preservation of the physical organisms of the actors." (p. 10) We cannot say that religion originates from the repetition of certain physical movements simply on the ground that religious emotions have found an outlet in some of them. Religion in the proper sense emerges, according to Dr. Whitehead, when myths are devised in order to explain the purpose both of rituals and of the emotions which accompany them. Myths are beliefs which satisfy the demands of incipient rationality. Religion becomes rationalised when its beliefs and rituals are systematically organised and it is made the central element in a coherent ordering of life.

The second chapter deals with religious dogmas which are defined as attempts to formulate in precise terms the truths disclosed in the religious experience of mankind. The central dogma of rationalised religion is that there is a righteousness in the nature of things, it may or may not take the form of a belief in the existence of a personal God. Dr. Whitehead thinks that there is a general, though not universal, concurrence in the doctrine that our religious experience "does not include any direct intuition of a definite person or individual." But is there any reason to think, as he seems to do, that we have "a direct intuition into the ultimate character of the universe?" (p. 48) We may be aware of ideals whenever we pass judgments of value but it cannot be said that we have an immediate intuition of "a character of permanent rightness" in the universe, to which everything is subordinate.

The third chapter deals with the relation between religion and metaphysics. Without the backing of a rational metaphysics religion is reduced to a mere emotional phase of our life. On the other hand reli-

gion contributes to metaphysics the intuition of a character exemplified in the actual universe. Dr. Whitehead here gives us a metaphysical description of the universe which he analyses into (1) the actual world, passing in time, and (2) those elements which go to its formation and which themselves are not actual and passing. These formative elements again are (1) the creativity whereby the actual world has its character of temporal passage to novelty, (2) the realm of ideal entities or forms, (3) the actual but non-temporal entity whereby the indetermination of mere creativity is transmuted into a determinate freedom—the entity that men call God. The exact meanings of terms like 'creativity,' 'ideal entities,' 'determinate freedom' are however left in considerable obscurity, nor are we presented with the process of analysis by which Dr. Whitehead finds these different elements of the universe. This is unfortunate in view of the fact that it is here that we should expect him to exhibit "the foundation of religion on our apprehension of those permanent elements by reason of which there is a stable order in the world." (Preface).

The last of the chapters is on Truth and Criticism. According to Dr. Whitehead, there is no special organ or element of the mental life, which may be called the religious sense. Our knowledge of religious truths is acquired "when our ordinary senses and intellectual operations are at their highest pitch of discipline." The validity of religious truths depends upon whether or not they can be organized into a coherent system and applied to the interpretation of life as a whole. His remarks on the necessity of a precise enunciation of religious truths and on the danger of giving undue importance to the outward form of the enunciation will be endorsed by most of us. In the fourth section of this chapter Dr. Whitehead gives us an account of the nature of God in terms of the metaphysical description of the universe, which he has already expounded. It need only be said that these pages will have to be considerably expanded and the expressions contained in them more adequately elucidated before they can be fully intelligible.

K. C. GUPTA.

FRESH LIGHT ON MARATHA HISTORY

THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY. By G. S. SARDESAL (M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta.) 1926. 8½ × 5. pp. viii, 190.

MR. SARDESAL'S new work fulfils a great want, which has been keenly felt by all students of the Maratha period. It seems that on our side historical criticism does not keep pace with the publication of new historical material. Students, especially those outside the Deccan, are naturally handicapped in their study by the absence of books, which should introduce to them this new literature in the vernacular and guide them in the proper interpretation of various thorny points in Maratha history. Mr. Sardesai has eminently served this purpose besides throwing new light on many important questions in Maratha history.

The first lecture opens with a discussion on the ideal of the Marathas, which is described as the great religious impulse of the people aiming at the proper preservation of the religious practices of the Hindus and their temples from the Mahomedan invasions. In course of time this religious impulse led to the conception of a 'Pan-Hindu ideal' and the establishment of a Hindu Empire in the Deccan. Although the ascendancy of the Hindus was thus secured, it did not mean any war upon the minority of Muslims. Shivaji was very scrupulous in keeping a broad policy of toleration towards all while safeguarding the interests of the Hindu religion.

As to the influence of prophets and saints, Mr. Sardesai, differing from the late Mr. Ranade, maintains that excepting Ramdas the saints had very little to do with the revival of the Hindu sovereignty. The establishment of Maths of Ramdas, however, in various parts of the Deccan and the discussion on his works at these centres "had far-reaching effects upon society. Shivaji represented the physical and Ramdas the moral force of the nation." This practically amounts to saying that Ramdas had been preparing the ground for the coming political movement of Shivaji. Such a close, deliberate and direct connection between the two movements is not borne out by evidence. The Dhulia school of Maratha history has tried to prove such a theory; but there is no corroborative evidence from other contemporary sources to substantiate it. The Shiva-Bharat of Paramanand, which details the history of the three most active years of Shivaji's life (1658-1661) does not mention that Ramdas had given some guidance to Shivaji during the critical period. The treatise on Politics by Ramchandrapant Amatya, which he probably wrote in 1708 and which finely describes the working of the Maratha Government, as he had seen it since 1674, does not make any mention of Ramdas. Krishna-Dayarnawa, a contemporary poet of the Satara District, speaks of the death of Shivaji and the consequent recurrence of troublous times, which compelled him to leave his ancestral property near Satara; but he does not allude to Ramdas and his new cult. These are rather surprising omissions and therefore one must wait to get further evidence to prove that Ramdas was so intimately connected with the rise of Shivaji.

The development of the Maratha Empire during its three stages is very ably described in lectures Nos. 3 and 4. Shivaji's ideal of an independent empire was replaced by the new policy of subordination, accepted by Shahu on his restoration in 1708. An oppressive sense of gratitude, which that monarch felt towards his liberators, came in the way of the growth of the Empire for some time; but the Peshwas soon managed to be the deputies and practical successors to the Rajas of Satara and the Emperors at Delhi, thus giving the Marathas a hastily formed Indian Empire. But this later expansion soon degenerated into an aggrandisement of the individual princes of the Maratha confederacy. The religious impulse had also visibly weakened as soon as the Mahomedan oppressions, which had given birth to it, disappeared with the return of the Mughals to the North. Mr. Sardesai very clearly proves that the dissolution was due to the separatist tendencies of the Maratha character and not to the existence of caste system among the Marathas, as Prof. Sarkar seems to believe. We read the present into the past when we try to discover an acute caste-feeling in the caste system of the Marathas.

We have a number of other questions treated in the book such as the correct estimates of the characters of Nanasahab, the third Peshwa, Nana Farnavis and Mahadaji Shindia. We can only say that they are all valuable contributions. Besides Mr. Sardesai has thrown valuable suggestions regarding the scope for research work. In fact he is the oldest surviving worker in the field of research in Maratha history and by his long and devoted labours on Maratha History he has been able to indicate the lines for further study. We shall therefore heartily congratulate him on this production and express a wish that he will give us the benefit of his deep scholarship by producing more volumes of this kind, which will command the respect and attention, to which he is justly entitled.

V. N. KUMBHARE.

CO-OPERATIVE FINANCE.

STUDIES IN CO-OPERATIVE FINANCE.

By V. L. MEHTA. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona.)
1927, 7¼ x 5. pp. 170. Re. 1.

THERE have been many books written on the subject of Co-operative Finance. But the book under review has the distinction of being written by a co-operative banker who, as the publishers rightly claim, is a "student of the movement and a practical worker in it." The author has been connected with the management of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank ever since its inception, and has had varied experience in co-operative banking; his credentials, therefore, to write these studies are of the highest; and he does not belie our expectations.

The distinctive characteristic of the Indian co-operative movement, at any rate at present, is that it has all to be a "drive from the centre;" that is to say, societies have to be fostered and developed by external agencies like the union or the central bank; artificial substitutes for natural forces. Of course, nobody intends or desires that it should be so for ever; and all are striving hard to help societies to grow from within. This, however, depends on other factors and is a question of time.

The book is divided into 20 chapters. The first nine deal with the problems of primary credit societies, chapters 10 and 11 with supervising bodies, 12 to 15 with higher banking institutions and 16 to 20 deal with miscellaneous matters.

Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the methods of raising owned capital (under which term are included share capital and reserve fund) by primary credit societies.

The Raiffessein ideal is that there should be no share capital and that only an indivisible reserve fund should be built up. But the share system has been developed in most parts of India. Notwithstanding the supposed development of thrift and also the use as the first line of defence against the unlimited liability, the share capital in a primary society serves another purpose, i.e., furnishing the major portion of the share capital in central banks, on whose activities the work of the primary societies so largely depends. These central banks are of the mixed type, i.e. have a few individual shareholders and a much larger number of society shareholders. These institutions can raise working capital only up to a stated number of times of their "owned capital," i.e. share capital plus reserve fund. If the working capital of the central banks should increase, their paid up Share Capital should *pari passu* increase. As the number of individual shareholders in central banks is limited, increases to the share capital of central banks should be contributed by societies. Here is seen another use, perhaps the chief, for share capital in primary societies. Mr. Mehta might have touched on this aspect of the matter also.

As regards the reserve fund, it is an accumulation of the unspent profits of a society. Its size depends upon so many considerations:—age of the society, extent of working capital, margin available, economy of expenses. Considering that at present societies in India have a small membership with small transactions, the reserve fund can grow only slowly and gradually. Mr. Mehta on p. 3 suggests with a partial reservation, that this reserve fund should be permitted to be invested in the societies' own business. This is a debatable matter. In Madras, however, outside investment of the reserve fund has been insisted on from the very beginning and this course has obviously many advantages. Though the use of the reserve fund in the business of a society will enable societies to lend at a lower rate of interest and make them less dependent on central banks

for funds to that extent, yet it has to be considered whether the reserve fund so invested would be really useful to the movement. So long as societies have to be dependent on central banks for a major portion of their working funds, concentration of the reserve fund at the top has great financial advantages. The co-operative paper is at present treated as a non-liquid paper and has not received recognition as a bankable security, as commercially understood. The movement badly requires investments which can be turned into ready money at a moment's notice. In this country, only the Government paper has this characteristic. The co-operative banks cannot invest out of borrowed funds any very large amounts in Government securities owing to the disparity in the rates of interest that they allow on deposits and the yield on Government paper. The only means through which the movement can accumulate liquid resources is by concentration of reserve funds at the top, i. e. Apex Bank, and investing these in Government securities. Such investment is much more accessible for sudden emergencies than if the reserve fund of societies is used in the ordinary business of societies, and would increase the credit of the movement considerably.

Chapter 3 deals with deposits in primary societies. The importance of central banks arises out of the fact that primary societies are unable to obtain deposits in any degree and therefore the central banks have to furnish almost the entire finance of the societies. It is this dependence of societies on central banks that is at the root of all the difficult problems that face societies as well as central banks. The problems are tried to be solved by introducing all sorts of checks and counter-checks. All of us desire that the primary societies should function as banks of the village community. Are our societies able to mobilise the savings of the locality? Deposit banking will be developed only if societies are able to meet maturing deposits on due dates. Mr. Mehta has succinctly set forth the principles underlying deposit banking. But the difficulty is in making societies understand and observe them. When professional bankers find it hard always to adhere to the root principles of deposit banking, it is exceedingly difficult for the village societies, lacking as they are in business habits and punctuality in repayment of loans, to observe such principles in their business. For many reasons, the accumulation of fixed deposits in village societies is a difficult matter but the field for introducing savings deposits and recurring deposits is really wide and this will be the most useful form of activity in villages. If current account facilities are required that has to be obtained through central institutions only, as Mr. Mehta rightly points out.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with limits of loans to members and societies. With these matters is bound up the question of the purposes of co-operative loans. In Madras, the problem of these limits is at present engaging the serious attention of co-operators. Ideally loans are to be made for a specific productive purpose or for something that will repay the loan out of the savings, additional profits or the proceeds. In this view the most useful form of business will be small loans on personal security for short periods with prompt recoveries. If these essentials are departed from complications set in, but the ryots owing to heavy indebtedness require more loans, larger loans and longer loans. Larger and longer loans require a firmer security like mortgage of land than mere personal security. The result will be that monies will get locked up in mortgages. In fact, in one district in Madras, where long-term loans have almost become the rule, out of 32 lakhs of loans outstanding with members, 30 lakhs are on mortgages

security. Such wholesale mortgage business is opposed to sound principles of banking and will one day or other land banks into difficulty. But if the loans are confined to such purposes as will finance the ryot during the period commencing from the cultivation of crops up to their marketing or his other temporary requirements, fixation of limits for members and societies is not a difficult matter. All the complications set in when the question of old debts is sought to be mixed up with the other legitimate business of the society.

Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 deal with the repayment of old debts co-operative finance in famine areas, defects in rural credit organisation and land mortgage credit respectively. The 9th chapter dealing with mortgage credit really summarises the directions in which the problems enumerated in the three previous chapters should be attacked. The essence of any land mortgage bank is State aid, in some form or other, and Mr. Mehta rightly lays stress on the necessity for State aid. When advanced Western countries like England and United States of America find State aid necessary to foster land credit, we in India cannot do without State Aid.

Chapters 10 and 11 deal with supervising bodies. In Bombay, neither the supervising unions of the Madras type nor the guaranteeing unions of the Burma type have been developed to any considerable extent. The belief in Bombay is that finance and supervision must be closely connected. The central banks are doing inspection and supervision work to some extent. In order to decentralise supervision, taluk federations are suggested. The purpose of these federations is to provide a responsible and cheap agency for the efficient and continuous supervision of primary societies. They are to conduct banking business on behalf of the financing agencies. Experience alone will show the utility of these institutions.

Chapters 12 and 13 deal with the higher banking institutions. For many years to come, the central banks will occupy a prominent part in the financing of the movement. Their distance, however, from the actual borrowers has been found to be their great drawback. Mr. Mehta points out in the following passages how the organisation of these financing agencies ought to proceed. "Many co-operators now seem to prefer to the formation of district banks the establishment of a financing agency for a small intensively developed area, in order to ensure intimate touch between borrowers and lenders, to render our financial methods more enterprising and business-like and less mechanical, to develop a responsible machinery for the assessment of credit, and to stimulate the efficient development of non-credit activities. . . . To ensure this, it is necessary for the central banks to have a regular staff whose duty it will be to keep the Banks in touch with the affiliated societies, to ascertain the wants and grievances of the societies, to assist them in the solution of their difficulties, to guide them in conducting their affairs and to speed up recoveries when societies get recalcitrant". Societies will get closer to the banks when the banks get closer to the societies, thereby profiting the business of both.

The remaining chapters of the book deal with miscellaneous matters and the author has many useful suggestions to offer. The Enquiry Committees of the Central Provinces and the United Provinces have clearly revealed to us that the weak spot is the primary society and that central banks are finding the necessity of working through its medium to be

their greatest difficulty. It will take us beyond the bounds of this review if the reports of these Committees are to be dealt with.

Some years ago, the question of an All-India Co-operative Bank was mooted, but now opinion is veering round to the conclusion that such a bank is unnecessary at present. It was in that view that the Co-operative Banks decided to be brought under the aegis of the Reserve Bank and the Government of India unhesitatingly accepted this course.

The book, which is decently and cheaply got up and priced, contains very many useful and practical suggestions for the reform of co-operative banking methods. The book ought to be in the hands of every co-operative banker in India.

V. C. RANGASWAMI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE MIND AND FACE OF BOLSHEVISM: By RENE FUISE MILLER. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 10½ x 6½. pp. 08 21s.
- EGYPT. By GEORGE YOUNG. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 352. 15s.
- A STUDY OF SHINTO, THE RELIGION OF THE JAPANESE NATION. By GENCHI KATO. (The Zaidan-H jin-Meiji-Seitoku-Kien-Gakki.) 1926. 9x6. pp. 255. 9s.
- THE FAMINE IN SOVIET RUSSIA, 1919-23. By H. H. FISHER. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 609. 21s.
- HARMONY BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL. By OSCAR NEWFANG. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 238.
- OUTSPOKEN ESSAYS-FIRST AND SECOND SERIES. By WILLIAM RALPH INGE. (Longmans Green and Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 281, 215 7s.
- BOLSHEVISM IN AMERICAN LABOUR UNIONS. By JOHN A. DYCHE. (Boni and Liveright, New York.) 1926. 7½ x 5. pp. 224.
- THE DIPLOMATIC PROTECTION OF CITIZENS ABROAD OR THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS. By EDWIN N. BORCHARD. (The Banks Law Publishing Co., New York.) 1927. 9½ x 6. pp. 988.
- THE FOLK HIGH-SCHOOLS OF DENMARK AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FARMING COMMUNITY. By SIR MACHAEL SADLER. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1926. 8 x 5½. pp. 168. \$1.
- KAUTILYA, A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OR AN EXPOSITION OF HIS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE. By NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDOPADYAY. (R. Cambay & Co., Calcutta.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 318. Rs. 7-8-0.

PLEASE ALWAYS REMEMBER

the name and the address to order Ayurvedic medicines or to take medical advice.

Vidyanadi Kaviraj Bholanath Sastri, Bhisagacharya Kavi-Chintamani Jotishankar, Renowned Physician of India and Senior Raj-Vaid, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar. Specialist for phthisis, chronic fevers, consumption, dyspepsia or acid dyspepsia, nervous debility and other diseases peculiar to males and females. Successfully treating the eyes and uric diseases.

Each and every communication strictly confidential.

Secretary.