

Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAER.

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Topics of the Week.

Thanks.

THE Report of the Servants of India Society for the year 1936-37 which was recently published disclosed the fact that the Society suffered continuous deficits during the last three years. The President of the Society, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, prefixed the following appeal to the Report:—

The financial position of the Servants of India Society continues to cause grave concern to the members. The deficits during the years 1935-36 and 1936-37 had amounted to Rs. 15,782 and the current year's budget discloses a deficit of Rs. 10,200. Thus in three consecutive years the deficits amount to over Rs. 25,000.

Strenuous efforts are being made to reduce expenditure without sacrificing any work already undertaken. The members agreed to reduce their allowances for one year by graded cuts averaging some 10 per cent. Even so, there is a large deficit to be covered.

May I make a special appeal to all friends who do not wish to see the work of the Society suffer to come to its assistance in a generous manner?

During the time Mr. Kunzru was in Poona he approached some friends. The following is the list of friends who have either paid or promised contributions, for which the Society is profoundly grateful. It is fervently hoped that it will be possible to wipe off the accumulated deficit, if it is not possible to do better.

Rs. 1,000 each—the Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji and Sir Kikabhai Premchand; Rs. 500 each—A Sympathiser (D) and Mr. V. A. Apte; Rs. 250 each—Messrs. L. R. Gokhale and Furdoonji Padamjee; Rs. 201—Khan Bahadur Jan Mahomed; Rs. 200 each—Principal V. G. Gokhale, Prof. D. D. Kapadia, Dr. R. H. Bhadkamkar, Mr. D. R. Gadgil, Dr. R. V. Gokhale and Mr. N. M. Patvardhan; Rs. 100 each—

Messrs. G. S. Marathe, H. G. Gharpurey, S. L. Apte, V. M. Limaye, K. M. Kumthekar, M. R. Joshi, G. R. Gandhi, K. S. Jatar, M. H. Moledina, G. G. Padhye, S. R. Bhagwat, R. S. Dixit, R. B. Bhagwat and N. B. Chandrachud, Col. K. G. Gharpurey, Miss Dwarkabai Bhat, Prof. R. N. Joshi, Rao Bahadur Dr. V. B. Gokhale, Prof. P. G. Dani, Prof. S. G. Sathe, Col. K. C. Sanjana, Prof. K. R. Kanitkar, Rao Bahadur H. V. Chinmugund, Principal R. D. Karmarkar, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Prof. R. S. Deshpande, Dewan Bahadur V. G. Shete, Rao Bahadur R. K. Bal, Khan Bahadur M. N. Mehra and a Sympathiser (R. C.); Rs. 55—Prof. V. K. Joag; Rs. 50 each—Prof. G. H. Kelkar, Messrs. R. K. Kanitkar, A. A. Khan, V. V. Sathaye and Bomanjee Pestonjee, Dr. S. H. Mody and Dr. V. L. Deshpande.

Preparing for Federation.

NEWS is published that arrangements for establishing federation have advanced another stage and that in fact they have reached what is described as a penultimate stage, the Princes having completed their negotiations with the British Government and having come to the conclusion that the terms offered to them are generally satisfactory. British India knows nothing about these conversations and is acquainted with the terms only in so far as the Princes choose to make them known. But the Government of India insists upon keeping the people in British India in the dark, and it is right too. What concern have they with a federation between the rulers of Indian States and of British India? Neither they nor the subjects of the States should be inquisitive about other people's affairs. Mr. Satyamurti, however, wanted to put a short notice question on this subject, and it need hardly be added that the Government of India declined to answer it. The answer amounts to this: "It is rude to be prying through a key-hole, when you are apt to be discover people in a compromising situation."

WHILE the Government of India is preparing to thrust federation on British India, the people of India are preparing to frustrate the formation of federation. At Wardha instructions were issued to the Premiers in all the Congress provinces to write formally to the Viceroy to inform him that these provinces did not desire federation. The Congress resolution asking Congressmen to leave no stone unturned to prevent federation might be taken by Government to be a gesture merely for outside consumption which, however, it need not take seriously. A formal warning addressed to the Viceroy himself is intended to disabuse him of such a notion that he may entertain. Even these letters of the Premiers he may disregard as an empty threat, in which case it will at least be clear that federation is an external imposition on the country and the way will be clear for the Congress to use such dynamite as it may have.

IT is well that at such a critical time there are some ardent federationists who are warning both the British Government and the Princes to hold their hand. *United India and the Indian States* is doing invaluable service in this respect. It argues that "the same reasons which induced the Congress to work an unsatisfactory provincial autonomy hold good in deciding the Congress attitude towards federation" and hopes, and even believes, that the Congress, going back upon all that it has said before, will agree to federation. But it goes on to add :

This is not to say that the Central Government or the Princes have the moral right to start federation if the provinces indicate an unmistakable desire to stand out of it. We have reiterated in these columns the need to rise above the letter of the law (in the enactment of which the people of India had only a limited decisive share) and to start federation on a basis of general agreement between the constituent parts and concerned parties. . . . So far as the British Government is concerned, it will be nonsensical and unconstitutional to ignore the expressed wishes of the provinces for or against federation. It will be most inexpedient and unstatesmanlike for the Princes to participate in a federation which, as far as the provinces are concerned, is a forced one and can only be worked by the compulsory provisions (based in the last resort on primitive sanctions) of the Constitution Act. After all it is idle to ignore the fact that if the advantage to the States in joining the federation is that they hope to shape federal policy in matters common to British India as well as to the States, that advantage is largely minimised by a British Indian representation fundamentally hostile to Indian States in the federal legislature.

NEITHER *United India* nor any one else need have any doubt about the Congress attitude any longer. The doubt arises only from the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is still silent. But Babu Rajendra Prasad spoke decidedly against federation recently and now Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has spoken. In the course of his speech in moving the motion for the condemnation of the whole Act in the Madras Legislative Assembly, he said that the Congress did not want to join with autocratic rulers of Indian States in a federation, and added that until the people in the States enjoyed at least as much responsible government as the people in British India the Congress would never consent to federation. It is unlikely that Rajendra-babu and Rajaji would declare themselves so emphatically unless the Mahatma's opinion were known to be the same.

Remissions of Land Revenue Arrears.

MR. S. V. PARULEKAR of the Servants of India Society raised a debate in the Bombay Legislative Assembly last week by a cut motion on the Government's policy regarding the remission of land revenue arrears. The main point he made, and rightly made, was that a distinction should be made between the rich and the poor among the landholders and that remissions be given only to the poor and not to the rich. For this purpose he advocated that persons holding 15 acres and less should be considered poor and deserving of remission of arrears, and not those holding more, or those who were *zamindars* and *khots*. In this connection he gave some very revealing figures as to the numbers of people holding different areas of land, exclusive of *zamindars* and *khots* in the Bombay Presidency :—

5 acres and under	...	10,40,780
5 to 15 acres	...	6,40,149
15 to 25 acres	...	2,49,078
25 to 100 acres	...	2,25,759
100 and over	...	21,125

Another equally important point he made was that the benefit of the remissions should reach the cultivators and not stop with the rent-receivers, for in several cases the land-holders from the Government were not themselves cultivators.

THE Government in answer pleaded that it was neither right in principle nor feasible in practice to discriminate between peasants who are comparatively well-off and badly-off, nor between cultivators and non-cultivators in remitting arrears of land revenue, but did not explain why it was either unsound or impracticable. It promised to bring in by the end of February or March next year a bill placing land revenue assessment on a statutory basis and giving fixity of tenure but expressed its dissent from the principle enunciated in the report of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee's agrarian inquiry that the first charge on the produce of a cultivator should be the minimum needs of his family. It also promised a bill for the settlement of debts but turned down Mr. Parulekar's demand that, pending the preparation of a scheme in this behalf, a moratorium on the payment of debts be declared. He had pointed out that this was a thing which the Congress in its election manifesto had promised to do immediately, and had justified the urgent need of it by showing that, knowing that the debts would be scaled down, creditors might rush into the courts, obtain decrees and execute them. The Ministry's answer to it was that a moratorium would destroy the credit of Government, but how it did not care to say.

Land for the Landless.

BY another cut motion, Mr. Parulekar raised the question of the grant of cultivable land to the landless agricultural labourers. The number of such labourers had been increasing every decade and amounted to some 30,92,902 and was, therefore a major proposition which needed early attention of the Government. There was some land available for the settlement of such labourers, both under Government control and private ownership. The unassessed cultivable land amounted to 4,36,431 acres and the cultivable assessed land to 13,81,887 acres and the current fallows to 10,375,409 acres.

Mr. Parulekar urged that all available cultivable land under Government control should as soon as possible be offered for colonization by landless labourers and active steps taken to promote such colonization. If Government land was not sufficient there should be no hesitation to requisition privately-owned land on payment, where necessary, of nominal compensation to the owners. Inasmuch as uncultivated land had not been worked by the owner and was wanted by other people willing to work it, it was only fair and right that the land should be made over to those who would make use of it and the compensation need not be other than nominal.

It may be that even now Government land is available to those who seek it, but that has not solved the problem of the landless agricultural labourers as indicated by the figures quoted above. What is wanted is a regular drive to promote land colonization. And if private owners do not make use of their land, there is every moral justification for the Government to acquire it on payment of some compensation. But the Government's reply on this motion too was not satisfactory.

Protection of Tenants.

BY yet another cut motion, Mr. Parulekar drew the attention of the Government and the Legislature to the problem of the tenants. In many ways the

position of tenants was no better than that of the landless labourers; they had no security of tenure and they were rack-rented, and they paid heavy interest charges to money lenders. He advocated, therefore, that tenants should be given fixity of tenure, that rents should be regulated and that relief should be given to those who are immersed in debt.

There can be no doubt that tenants, or at any rate a good many of them, are in a bad state, and it is necessary for the Government to recognise that they are tenants not only under *zamindars*, *inamdars* and *khots* but under ryotwari *khatedars* as well, and that any legislation meant to protect the tenants must take notice of all these tenants and neglect none.

Undemocratic Convention.

THE Government of Assam has so far suffered ten defeats in the Legislative Assembly, but has not yet resigned. It has thereby set up a very undesirable and most condemnable convention. Inasmuch as in some matters the verdict of the Legislative Assembly is final and binding, the Government might have sensed the strength of opposition to any particular proposition it had set its heart on and gracefully submitted to the majority. Or, it could have secured withdrawal of the cut motion by promising sympathetic consideration as it has done in several other matters. But it apparently took some of its proposals so seriously that it carried the debates to the extent of dividing the House and suffering repeated defeats. It cannot plead that they were snap divisions. Even if they were so, it should have taken the earliest opportunity of getting the verdict of the House reversed. Instead, it continues to defy the legislature as if there had been no change in the constitution and the old irresponsible system of government was still in operation.

IT is utterly meaningless to suggest that if the legislature disapproved of the Ministry, the Opposition might bring in a motion of no confidence. On the contrary, it was the duty of the Government itself to bring in a motion of confidence and challenge a division. If the Government has not the decency and democratic sense to resign, it is a clear case for the Governor to demand its resignation. The problem still remains as to what alternative Ministry is possible. No single political party seems to have a clear majority. When the present Ministry is dismissed, who else can form a stable Ministry? Or, will it be necessary to follow the French model and form a new Ministry consisting largely of the old personnel with a reshuffling of portfolios?

Privileges of the Legislature.

THE Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly is not as successful in upholding the privileges of the legislature as we had a right to expect. In the discussion of the demands for grants Mr. Saklatvala moved a token cut in the demand for the Industries Department but afterwards wished to withdraw it. To the request for withdrawal objection was raised. In the circumstances one would have expected that the discussion would have been allowed to go forward, but the Speaker put the motion for withdrawal to the House and, on a majority being secured, allowed it to be withdrawn.

THERE is no specific rule, it is true, that a cut motion, once proposed, can be withdrawn only if the House unanimously gives leave for withdrawal. But

the demands for grants are in effect Appropriation Bills and cut motions amendments to them, and the rules governing withdrawal of amendments to bills should by analogy be made applicable to them. The practice in regard to amendments is clear; no amendments that, being moved, the House is seized of can be withdrawn even if there is only one dissenting voice. Token cuts have the same status and the same practice should be followed.

IT is unfortunate that there is no rule about the withdrawal of motions in the Bombay Legislature. But in all legislatures whose examples are usually followed, the same practice obtains in regard to withdrawal of motions as in regard to withdrawal of amendments, viz. the whole House must agree to give leave to withdraw. The classic on "Parliamentary Practice" by May says on the practice followed in the British House of Commons:

The member who has proposed a motion can only withdraw it by leave of the House, granted without any negative voice. This leave is signified, not upon question, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, but by the Speaker taking the pleasure of the House. He asks, "Is it your pleasure that the motion be withdrawn?" If no one dissents, he says, "The motion is withdrawn;" but if any dissentient voice be heard, he proceeds to put the question. An amendment can be withdrawn in the same way.

THIS practice is in fact followed in all highly organised bodies, e.g. in the Bombay Corporation. The reason is obvious. Even a minority must be given free play to ventilate its views on the policy of Government. It may be that because one member had given notice of a cut motion on a specific question, others did not do so; and if the latter had moved the motion they would have had an opportunity of a debate, which is now denied to them. What is most important in a legislature is that no voice is stifled, but the ruling of the Speaker has had that effect. He must be more jealous of private members' right of free discussion, even though they are in a minority, than he was in this case. Protection of the rights of members is the consideration that should weight most with him.

Good News from Andamans.

THE reassuring news about all hunger strikers except seven having suspended their fast, which comes from the Andamans, will, we doubt not, be received everywhere with a sense of relief. We hope these seven will before long follow the example set by the rest of their fellow-sufferers. Their abstinence from food lasted for more than a month and must have left them very weak and exhausted. Several factors have contributed to this desirable result, not the least important of which was last week's debate in the central Assembly on the Andamans situation. In carrying the adjournment motion the Assembly has acted as a faithful mirror of public opinion.

IT may be hoped that the suspension of the fast will pave the way for the erstwhile hunger strikers' return to India as early as possible. Both the central Government and the Bengal Government, which has such large "interests" in Port Blair, may in fact be said to be committed to their transfer back to India. With a sternness which was as misplaced as it was inexcusable both Governments refused to bestow any consideration on the strikers' demands under the stress of a hunger strike, but have given repeated assurances about the demands receiving consideration—and may we hope sympathetic consideration?—

at their hands as soon as the organised fasting was suspended. This has now happened and the public has every right to expect that the prisoners' repatriation will be arranged for without avoidable delay. An early official announcement to this effect will go a great way in easing the situation.

* * *

IN the Assembly debate already referred to much capital was officially made of the rejection by the Bengal Assembly of the adjournment motion designed to raise the Andamans issue. But obviously none but those who have no contacts with public opinion can maintain that the Bengal Legislature's verdict can even remotely be taken as representative of public opinion. It is impossible to believe that public opinion outside the Assembly would have wished the Ministry to play the role of mere passive on-lookers of the tragedy that was being enacted in the Andamans. It is lucky that in response to universal appeals from India the hunger strikers have broken their fast. But can there be any doubt that if through the inaction of the local Government the hunger strikers had been forced to pursue the strike to the bitter end, the revulsion of public feeling against the Bengal Government would have been something unimaginable?

* * *

Mr. Parulekar's Adjournment Motion.

IT will be remembered that in disallowing Mr. Parulekar's adjournment motion the Speaker took his stand on the rule that his consent was necessary before such a motion could be moved and he refused to give his consent to this motion. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., has pointed out in a letter to the *Times of India* (23rd August) that the Bombay Legislative Assembly's standing order in this respect is faulty and should be assimilated to that in the Central Assembly which does not require the President's consent. In this instance the Speaker of the Bombay Assembly not only arbitrarily withheld his consent but maintained that he was not bound to give his reasons for doing so or to give an opportunity to the member concerned to give contrary reasons.

* * *

BOUND he is not, but he may as well bend so far as invariably to give reasons himself and to afford an opportunity for arguments on the other side to be put forward on the floor of the House. The President of the Central Assembly can disallow an adjournment only if the motion, in his opinion, relates to a matter which is not definite and is not of urgent public importance, but the President, Mr. Joshi says, invariably gives reasons which appear to him to justify his disallowance of the motion before he arrives at a final decision on the subject and gives an opportunity to members for rebutting them. The Bombay Speaker similarly insists upon his right to decide whether any bills require the previous sanction of the Governor without giving a hearing to the members who may have given notice for the introduction of the Bills. In this respect too he may be a little more indulgent, without raising any doubt as to the extent of the powers conferred upon him by the letter of the law. For he may perhaps find, if such a hearing is given, that there is no need for inviting the veto of an external authority.

* * *

The Zanzibar Situation.

THE Zanzibar situation seems to have reached an unfortunate deadlock. Whatever be the merits claimed for the Zanzibar Clove legislation as a measure meant for the benefit of the growers, it has been admitted that it had racial implications and that it hit

the Indian trading community in Zanzibar vitally. Few in India will believe that any consideration would have been shown to the growers if it had even remotely affected British interests. Few will doubt that the motive of the Zanzibar Government was less pro-grower and more anti-Indian.

* * *

IT is clear that the Government of India was not itself convinced of the desirability of the monopoly system. It was in fact originally opposed to the system, but instead of sticking to that position resolutely, and leaving it to the Zanzibar Government to suggest an alternative if necessary, the Government of India itself offered an alternative proposal. With the inevitable result that the main object of the Government of India was brushed aside, and the alternative proposal ultimately accepted. The Government of India can have no grievance against the Zanzibar Government any longer, much less can it take any retaliatory action against that Government, however much public opinion in India and Indian opinion in Zanzibar may wish it. Of course, it is inconceivable that the British Cabinet would permit open retaliation between two such subordinate Governments as the Government of India and the Zanzibar Government. But at any rate, if the Government of India had felt strongly on the monopoly question and had sustained its objection to it to the end, it would not have weakened the Indian traders in Zanzibar in their fight with the Zanzibar Government.

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THE defeat of the adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly will further weaken the position of the Zanzibar Indian traders. It is doubtful if the Government of India would have been permitted to retaliate against the Zanzibar Government even if the Legislative Assembly had carried a censure motion. As it is the Zanzibar Government comes out stronger and the Indian community in Zanzibar weaker from the debate in the Legislative Assembly. In the circumstances the objective of the unofficial boycott of the clove trade in Zanzibar and in India will be very much harder of achievement.

* * *

Hyderabad Hindus in Conference.

THE Hindu subjects of the Nizam who recently met in a conference have passed a resolution favouring the appointment of an official protector of Hindu culture and religion. This demand is put forward obviously because of the fear of the Hindus that their culture is looked at askance by the State. If the fear is well founded, their remedy lies not in asking for the appointment of an official to safeguard Hindu culture as they have done but in delivering a frontal attack on what they believe to be the anti-Hindu policy of the State. So long as that policy remains unchanged, the proposed protector, even though one is appointed, can hardly be of much practical use. As a servant of the State he can never be expected to run counter to whatever may be the State policy, however well-intentioned and liberal-minded he may personally be. At the most he may be expected to put a liberal interpretation on the State policy. But if, as is generally believed, the policy is anti-Hindu, even his best endeavours will not, from the practical point of view, amount to much. Let the Hindus, therefore, concentrate all their efforts on securing a modification of State policy so as to ensure a more sympathetic consideration of the claims of Hindu culture at the hands of the powers that be.

* * *

AMONG other demands made by the conference was one for a more rapid spread of education. In this

connection its support was lent to the bill designed to make primary education free and compulsory which the late Mr. V. R. Naik had sponsored and which Mr. K. S. Vaidya intends to introduce in the Legislative Council of the State. The conference also emphasised the need of more vigorous efforts in the cause of adult education and greater encouragement to private agencies in the educational field. Removal of restrictions on private schools which at present act as a severe handicap on any private educational endeavour was also asked for. Attention was drawn to a disquieting phenomenon brought to public notice by the last census. It consists in the number of Marathi-speaking people showing a decrease. The conference wants a committee to inquire into its causes and desires that in the predominantly Hindu tracts, Marathi should be the medium of instruction in secondary schools. It is noteworthy that the conference did not omit to ask for the grant of elementary civil rights to the people of Hyderabad State, whose want is so keenly felt everywhere.

Religious Endowments and Education.

ELSEWHERE in this issue is published a valuable contribution from the pen of Mr. R. Surya Rao, who was for some years the President of the Madras Religious Endowment Board and who, therefore, speaks with first-hand knowledge of the working of the Religious Endowment Act in Madras. The experience of the working of the Act in Madras will be very useful to other provinces.

It is hoped that in all provinces legislation on similar lines will soon be undertaken not only to regularise the management of religious endowments but also to minimise expenditure on ceremonial and administrative items and, what is more important, to divert the surpluses for educational purposes. Such diversion is wholly justifiable inasmuch as the fundamental objectives of such religious endowments are the promotion of education.

IN the earlier days religion included education, and no difference was recognised between religious and secular education. But in recent times all over the world the character and content of education have undergone continuous changes. Even purely religious education of today is different from what it was some centuries ago. No apology is, therefore, needed to utilise the surpluses of religious endowments for the promotion of education, particularly primary education. The present responsible provincial Ministries have an undoubted advantage in persuading the public at large to agree cheerfully to the utilization of the revenues of religious endowments for the extension of primary education.

Articles.

ONLY AGGRESSIVE VIOLENCE TABOOED.

THE Congress creed of non-violence, as it is understood by most Congressmen and perhaps by everyone excepting Mahatma Gandhi himself, only amounts to this: that no aggressive violence will be used, but that violence can be met by violence. So long as Indians were not responsible for the preservation of order, the doctrine of non-violence in the extreme form advocated by the Mahatma, which made violence tabu in all circumstances, found

numerous votaries. But, with the responsibility for the maintenance of order transferred to popular Ministers, it has become clear that the creed is accepted by the Congress with very important reservations. Violence or the use of physical force has certainly a legitimate place in human activities. But when all the current philosophies were challenged by Mahatma Gandhi by proclaiming that the use of violence is not morally permissible even in repelling an unprovoked aggression, his philosophy found ready acceptance by a disarmed India, which could not make effective use of violence even if it would. He was acclaimed everywhere as a prophet who gave a new message to the world. But at the first test of experience all those who professed belief in non-violence, as the Mahatma preached it, have now to admit their disbelief in it to any but a limited extent.

Mahatma Gandhi is a perfect libertarian. He would allow freedom to everyone to do as he likes. The only resource at his command in turning people from the path of evil is the use of moral suasion. Coercion in any shape or form is to be abjured. He, therefore, advocates the release of all political prisoners, even if they be convicted of the crimes of violence. Accordingly, the Kakori prisoners in the U. P. and the Maplah Rebellion prisoners in Madras have been released by the Congress Ministers. It is not the Congress Ministers alone that followed this policy. The non-Congress Ministry in the Punjab had followed it even before in releasing martial law prisoners and some other prisoners convicted of violence and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in the interim Ministry of Bombay in releasing Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar described as the first Indian revolutionary. The Mahatma is certainly right in saying that the Congress or other Ministers in taking this step must not be understood as encouraging or countenancing violence. They did so because they believed that time had arrived to restore freedom to them and to use conciliatory methods in their case. Similarly the Mahatma is in favour of the Congress Ministers removing the ban on all literature even if some of it inculcated violence or communal hatred or obscenity. Here too the Ministers must not be understood as lending their support to these pernicious activities.

But at this point he parts company with the Congress Ministers. While he would like them not to clap on restrictions on evil literature or prosecute men for the use of violence even in future, the Ministers not only reserve to themselves the power to do so, but have actually warned those on whose movements restrictions were removed or whose unexpired sentences were remitted that if they were found guilty of similar offences in future, the processes of law would be mercilessly set in motion against them. Mahatma Gandhi would abolish criminal law altogether: there ought to be no punishment according to him, under the Congress regime. For that would be violence, which to the Congress must be tabu. The Congress can try and dissuade people from committing offences but must not use coercion. He says

in the *Harijan* of 21st August, "the Congress seeks to meet the violence of individuals not with organised violence called punishment, but with non-violence in the shape of friendly approach to the erring individuals and through the cultivation of sound public opinion against any form of violence. Its methods are preventive, not punitive. In other words the Congress will rule not through the police backed by the military, but through its moral authority based upon the greatest goodwill of the people. The Ministers who may find violence, hatred or obscenity spreading in their provinces will look to the Congress organisations and ultimately the Working Committee for active and efficient help before they resort to the processes of the criminal law and all it means. Indeed the triumph of the Congress will be measured by the success it achieves in rendering the police and the military practically idle. And it will fail utterly if it has to face crises that render the use of the police and the military inevitable."

Here indeed Mahatma Gandhi refrains from telling the whole truth as he sees it, in order evidently to make his teaching immediately acceptable to the Congress Ministers. His ultimate aim surely is to empty the prisons not only of political prisoners but all prisoners, to abolish criminal law and to do away entirely with the police and the military. For the maintenance of all these institutions connotes a belief in violence and contradicts the principle of non-violence to which the Congress is committed. The Mahatma's doctrine is that of non-resistance to evil, in the pursuit of which Count Tolstoi thought that even compulsory attendance of

school children was not permissible. Mahatma Gandhi does not go so far, for prohibition of drink appears to him to be the most urgent of reforms, and he is carrying on a crusade for it with all the drive of his dynamic personality. Apparently, crimes of violence must not be repressed, but the crime of drinking alcohol must be. Anyhow, his doctrine of non-violence goes further than he has indicated in what is regarded as the Ministers' Instrument of Instructions. But the Ministers are not going to carry out the doctrine even in the limited application which he has presented. And we do not blame them, for they never believed in the doctrine. Though they proclaimed themselves to be followers of a new philosophy, they are in reality followers of the old. Indians even before Mahatma Gandhi's advent had to practise non-violence willy-nilly in their relations with the Britishers, and the Mahatma's doctrine of non-violence only served to surround the practice with a kind of moral halo. But it has made no difference to the practice itself, either in our relations with the Britishers or in our relations between ourselves. Indeed, there are people who say that the Mahatma's teachings which the country accepted as desirable for the period of the political struggle must not be carried over into the period of political freedom. The *Tribune* says: "The Mahatma's representative capacity, which is supreme and unchallengeable during the period of India's struggle for freedom, does not extend to the time when she will have won her freedom and begun functioning as a free nation."

PROHIBITION AT ANY COST.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S anti-drink drive is gaining in momentum every week. The Working Committee of the Congress has issued what amounts to a direction to the Congress Ministers to achieve total prohibition within three years, and it is reported that if they fail to do so Mahatma Gandhi will organise a picketing movement against the sale of liquor. There is no doubt whatever that he will give them no peace till prohibition is accomplished. The Mahatma refers in the *Harijan* of 28th August to some doubters. "They argue," he says, "that the addicts will procure their drinks and drugs anyhow, and that when the Ministers discover that prohibition means mere loss of revenue without any appreciable diminution in the consumption, though illicit, they will revert to the tainted revenue and the then state will be worse than the present." Such sceptics are found among the Congress Ministers themselves. Mr. Latthe used this argument and others besides. He pointed out that unless the States adopted the prohibition policy, the only result of British India going dry would be to make a gift of abkari revenue to the States. All these objections, though well-founded to a certain extent, can be exaggerated. No one has a right to assume that prohibition, if vigorously pushed on, will fail, and there is no reason for the Congress Ministers to describe their small beginning in that

direction as an experiment in prohibition. It is only a first stage on the goal, and not an experiment about the success of which we may entertain a doubt. But with Mahatma Gandhi to prod them, the Ministers will shed their doubts and carry the prohibition plan through from stage to stage till it becomes a practical achievement. Mr. Latthe's plan of giving local option to panchayats instead of enforcing prohibition without reference to local opinion finds no mention in the speech of Dr. Gilder, the Minister in charge, which is also an indication of the progress prohibition has made in the minds of Congress Ministers within only two weeks.

All this must rejoice the heart of every social reformer, but we must confess that our joy is tinged with a certain amount of anxiety lest prohibition be achieved at the cost of other equally urgent reforms. The six Congress provinces alone will have to sacrifice a revenue of 11 crores in three years; indeed, not in three years but immediately. For Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion is that while prohibition is being enforced the drink revenue should be spent upon organised propaganda in favour of prohibition. But let us suppose that this suggestion is not adopted by the Congress Ministers, as we are inclined to think it will not be. Even then they will be able to get a respite only of three years, within which

to fill this gap, partly by retrenchment and partly by additional taxation. The policy will also entail additional expenditure to strengthen the preventive staff. This aspect of the question is airily dismissed from view, but it appears to us that it is a mistake. Anyhow every province will have to make good quite a large amount. Bombay will have to find something like three crores. If the Ministers were set this task alone, they would be hard to put to it to achieve it. In any case it is certain that this programme would tax all their ingenuity and the entire resources of the Presidency would be mortgaged to its performance. This would involve almost inevitably the postponement of many other reforms which are no less urgent than wiping out the drink habit.

We are advancing here such a commonplace consideration that it is impossible to think that the Congress Ministries have not taken it into account. But our concern is due to the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is driving them into this three-year plan, and to him the fear that education will be starved appears groundless. He holds to the view that all education, including primary education, can be made self-supporting. It should be remembered that while the Congress Working Committee adopted the prohibition plan, it did not endorse his idea of education being made to finance itself. Nevertheless, without accepting this idea, the prohibition plan cannot be adopted. The Congress Ministers are speaking vaguely about lessening the land revenue burden, liquidating agricultural debts, removing illiteracy, improving medical facilities and so forth, but it appears to us that most of these things will be held up if prohibition is to be brought about within three years. For we have not arrived at a stage where beneficent services can be stabilised at the present level. Each one of them requires enormous expansion, and the need is urgent. Take education alone. We have 90 per cent. illiterates among us. No reform will succeed among such a population; illiteracy must be swept away at the earliest possible date. We do not suggest that Mahatma Gandhi is less keen than anyone else on the achievement of this task. But he thinks that not only no further monies will be needed for the purpose, but even the money now spent on it, which is only a small fraction of the money that will be eventually required, can be released for prohibition. Apparently this view is not shared by the Ministers, and yet they have agreed to put the prohibition plan into effect, which can be done without sacrificing other vital reforms if only the view is accepted.

We are glad to see that Professor Gurumukh Nihal Singh has sounded a note of warning in the *Leader* of 28th August. He says:

Has anyone ever heard of elementary education being entirely self-supporting, except perhaps in the limited sense of an exclusive school which may be able to meet its current expenses by charging a high fee? Is it really reasonable to hold that children, say between the ages of 5 and 10, can acquire mastery over the three R's and at the same time produce articles which can be sold in the open market and from their profits meet even the current expenses of their education? What has after all been the experience of running educational institutions by the Congress organisations themselves?

Have they been able to make them self-supporting? How far have the products turned out by small boys—even the yarn produced by them—proved saleable? So far as my information goes, none of these institutions, not even those which were purely technical or craft schools, have been able to maintain themselves without help? Only a couple of months ago, the Premier of the U. P. issued an appeal for funds to maintain the craft school at Tarikhet, in Almora district. If it has not been practicable to make even the craft schools self-supporting, is it really feasible to hold that schools for imparting general elementary education or the adult literacy schools can be made entirely self-supporting? And what about the existing educational institutions in the various provinces? Can they be disbanded or transformed into self-supporting institutions at once? . . . It is not within the realm of practical politics to stop all financial support to the existing educational institutions on the ground that a policy of prohibition has been initiated in the provinces.

He cannot thus support Gandhiji's thesis that it is "perfectly feasible and eminently reasonable" to hold that "the Ministries may enforce prohibition by making education self-supporting instead of paying for it from the liquor revenue"—a thesis on which rests the justification for this three-year prohibition programme, and a thesis, besides, to which the Ministers do not agree.

If this thesis is not correct, the questions that arise are, as they have been put by Professor Gurumukh Singh: "Can the two problems of education and prohibition be handled simultaneously? Which of these two is of greater urgency or of more fundamental importance?" His answer is that they must be handled together, and if a choice between the two becomes necessary education must be given precedence, for "Mass education is essential for progress in all departments of human life. Progress in health, sanitation, cattle-breeding, scientific agriculture and industry, economic efficiency, political and social life cannot be achieved without mass education and higher research," and for this reason "the education of the masses is more fundamental than prohibition." No one is opposed to prohibition; in fact, everyone is keen on it. But we all want rounded reform, and if paucity of funds makes it necessary, as it of course does, to spread it over a series of years, it would be wrong to take in hand one reform which will eat up all our resources and leave none for the rest. Mahatma Gandhi hopes to convert public opinion to the feasibility of his idea of a self-supporting education. If the idea proves feasible, all will be well. But if it does not, even prohibitionists will have to ask him to go a bit slow with prohibition in order that other reforms, which are at least equally vital, are not indefinitely postponed.

WRECKERS THESE!

MAHATMA GANDHI, though he did not obtain the required assurance of non-interference from the Governors, has already given an assurance that the Congress will not use the powers that it will wield in the various provincial Governments to create crises. In thus ruling out deadlocks from the sphere of Congress Ministries, he has done what was not expected of him. But the explanation vouchsafed to us is that the Mahatma always says less than what he

means, and that although he does not like now to hold out the threat of a possible deadlock, he may in fact engineer a deadlock sooner than anyone can imagine. We know, however, that in some cases he says more than he means. For instance, he has accepted complete independence as the goal of the Congress but has shown that he means no more by it than dominion status. Time alone will show whether he will make the Congress work the reforms loyally or ask it to sabotage them at a suitable opportunity.

But the least that is expected of Congressmen is that they will never shrink from facing a deadlock if one threatens itself while carrying out a policy which they approve. It appears, however, that even this modest expectation is not to be realised. For Babu Rajendra Prasad has in an interview to the press announced that the Congress will at present only concern itself with palliatives and adjourn measures that touch the roots of our problems to a day when full self-government will have been achieved. His exact words are: "The Congress Ministries are powerless to do anything more than introduce ameliorative measures. The present India Act allows of nothing more... So long as the Congress is not in full power, it must adopt the line of ameliorative programme by way of bettering the condition of the masses... The time for consideration as to what radical measures must be adopted for the substantial uplift and prosperity of the masses will come when complete power is achieved."

He said this in order to make it clear that while the Congress will adopt some of the smaller measures advocated by socialists in the near future, all the larger measures must wait till independence is achieved. In so far as the Congress is opposed to socialistic measures, it will refuse to carry them out, whether the power conceded by the new constitution is much or little. What stands in the way of the Congress giving effect to these measures is not the inadequacy of the constitution, but the Congress's disapproval of them. So the unsatisfactory character of the constitution is wholly irrelevant in the consideration of the question. When Rajendra Babu blames the inability of the Congress to implement radical measures on the Government of India Act, the measures that he can have in view are only those which the Congress approves. What, therefore, he purports to say is that there are certain measures which the Congress considers desirable and would like to take in hand, but has to put away because it would not be permitted to attempt solutions on those lines under the restrictions imposed by the Act.

When Congressmen say, "We shall not go out of our way to produce deadlocks, but will boldly face them when they come," what do they mean? If they mean anything at all, it must be this: that they will go on with the programme which they have in mind, as if they had full power under the constitution; that they will not take into account any restrictions which the letter of the constitution places upon their power; that all such barriers to their forward march must be cleared away in time by the Governor; that if he does not do so he will have to come into clash with

them and face the consequences; that if the constitution breaks down on that account they will have achieved their main purpose and it is a thing they will rejoice over; but in no case will they be deflected by a hair's-breadth from the path they have mapped out for themselves by a consideration of the fact that the constitution is defective.

But here comes Rajendra Babu to plead that the Congress will only be fiddling about with small measures so long as it has to work under the new constitution, and that it dare not put its hand to radical measures which it approves till the constitution is swept away. It should be noted that he does not say here that only tiny and trifling reforms can be successfully carried out under the Act, and that bigger reforms, though they must be attempted, would fail; but he says that the Congress will not attempt bigger things because of the Act. That is to say, the Congress will accommodate itself to the Act. It will take its chances only with little things in order to see if they will not slip through; but all worth-while measures it will allow to stand over indefinitely lest it should come into conflict with the Governor, in whom the reserve powers of the constitution are vested. When, therefore, Congressmen say that they will face deadlocks, all that they mean is that they will take all the care that is humanly possible in sponsoring only such proposals as will not be turned down by the Governor, but that if, in spite of their utmost circumspection, the unexpected happens and the Governor forces upon them a crisis, well, that will be a situation with which they will be compelled to deal. One does not know if they will ever have to face such a situation, but anyhow it is clear that they will be most accommodating and do their best to avert a deadlock.

The Congress Ministries in fact appear already to be following such a policy. The Bombay Ministry, for instance, has still kept in confinement the Ahmedabad conspiracy case prisoners, has maintained the ban on several working class organisations and has not withdrawn externment or internment orders passed against Messrs. Mirajkar, Deshpande, Joglekar, Patkar, Ghate, Shetty and others. The Civil Liberties Union, founded by the President of the Congress, has asked for a reversal of this coercive policy and several public meetings have made the same demand. But the Bombay Ministry takes no action. Is it because the Ministry wishes to pursue a policy of coercion towards communists and others? If it does, it has not yet had the courage to avow its policy. But it cannot possibly wish to follow this policy, since Mahatma Gandhi has issued what is to the Ministry a fiat that all persons, whether engaged in committing acts of violence or spreading the doctrine of violence, should be immediately released. But the Congress Ministry in Bombay has not been able to make up its mind either to release them or to keep them under restrictions. It is said that the Minister concerned is considering their cases.

Probably what he is considering is that if he took the action directed by the Mahatma the Governor would intervene. If the Governor allows them a free

field, Mr. Munshi will set the prisoners at liberty and remove the restrictions on others. Otherwise the confinement and restrictions must continue, but anyhow he cannot afford to have a crisis just when he has entered office. And if the Bombay Ministry goes out, the Ministries in all the other five provinces also

will have to go out. Such a situation cannot be thought of. The limit of his action, therefore, is determined by the Governor. It is not a question of the Congress thinking of forcing a crisis on the Governor; it is a question of its thinking how not to have a crisis forced upon it by the Governor.

FIRST CONGRESS BUDGET IN BOMBAY.

THAT the Congress party is not lacking in a wholesome sense of political realism was proved to the hilt by the budget presented to the Bombay Assembly by the Hon. Mr. Latthe. The first Congress Finance Minister refused to be entangled into the snares laid for him by his immediate predecessors. After the somewhat ostentatious publication of the financial proposals of the interim Ministry the quiet and firm notes of the Congress budget sound tame. In fact to a superficial observer it would appear that the only far-reaching proposals contained in the Finance Minister's statement are those connected with lower ministerial salaries and complete prohibition. It must, however, be admitted that both these items stand for a very radical change in Indian administrative and financial policy.

The future alone will show whether the comparative caution, amounting almost to conservatism, that the budget evinces is due to the shortness of time at the disposal of the Ministry or whether there is a deeper political purpose underlying such a cautious beginning. The strong case that the Finance Minister made out in favour of the thesis that Bombay is the hardest taxed province in India, and that the utmost limits of taxation had almost been reached is calculated to reassure a few wavering supporters of the Congress. The justice of the statement would have been heightened if the Finance Minister had produced comparative figures for per capita taxable capacity of the various provinces. His pointed reference, contained in the tail end of the introductory speech, to the eventual necessity of taxing the rich and the hitherto untaxed sections of the community is at variance with the vigorous protestations of the earlier part.

That the Congress Government succeeding the interim Ministry would deny the presence of any merit in the latter's White Paper was only to be expected. But the wholesale condemnation of the new sources of revenue suggested by the interim Ministry in which the Finance Minister indulged does appear to be overdone. Unless the members of the Congress Party are counting upon the proverbially short memories of politicians and their supporters they will soon have to support in principle many of the measures of fresh taxation sponsored by the White Paper, which can hardly be classed with facile and irresponsible proposals held up to scorn by the Finance Minister.

Any party that desires to remain in office with a view to do immediate good to the people will soon come up against the necessity of fresh taxation. It must be admitted that with their higher idealism and bolder faith the Congress Party are prepared to go

longer on the road of retrenchment and reorganisation than the other parties in the province. To an extent this is a commendable trait, and it is to be hoped that the utmost limits of justifiable economy will be reached in the Congress regime. There are, however, several reasons to doubt the lasting efficacy of this remedy. The utilisation of voluntary, part-time and partially paid agencies is a good method of getting casual and partisan work economically done. But whether the work of administering the activities of the state, which ought to have no factious and intermittent character, can be suitably discharged by such agency is doubtful. So long as the Congress is in power their numerous and far-flung following will be available to work as unpaid and partially paid agents of the Government. We do not doubt that they will be both efficient and economical. But the chances of their keeping public duty apart from private politics and of continuing in their posts under Governments belonging to other parties are certainly not very assured.

The Congress leaders, especially some of their high lights, have uncommon notions of simplicity in life and organisation. Simplicity in private life is a very desirable ideal and failure to attain it in practice need not detract from our estimation of the creed. In public life, however, unless we are assured of the continuous practice of the said ideal a too trustful attitude is bound to result in inefficiency of several sorts. The same is true about simplicity of organisation. There is a limit beyond which this process cannot go without detriment to efficiency. In a big country like India where the state has to assume responsibility for many jobs which in a politically advanced country are left to private and local enterprise, a minimum degree of centralisation and elaboration is bound to be inevitable. The organisation of the Congress is itself proof of this inherent requirement.

It might be conceded that the immediate need is undoubtedly for ascertaining the fullest possibilities of retrenchment and reorganisation. The posts of Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries to Government, the Commissionerships of Divisions and several other posts might be retrenched without any loss of efficiency. The Directors of several departments should in association with Parliamentary Under-Secretaries be quite competent to deal with all administrative business. We must not, however, be too trustful of local knowledge and competence, though every effort at utilising local enthusiasm is welcome. Equally cautious must be our attitude towards part-time and voluntary agency, especially if it is based on political allegiance. The Finance Minister has done well to

ask for a common inter-party agreement on schemes of reorganisation and retrenchment. A Committee of Public Expenditure composed of representatives of all the parties in the legislature and a few outsiders chosen for their special or expert knowledge can prepare a scheme of reorganisation which will contain more elements of agreement and permanence than what is possible if a party measure is introduced by the Congress.

Reorganisation under the present Act is likely to come under the special powers of the Secretary of State concerning the services. A very strong case for lifting the restrictions on the competence of responsible Ministers in dealing with the services may be made out if all the other parts of the scheme of reorganisation are put into practice without detriment to efficiency. If the Ministers show for another couple of years the same patience in the field of reform that they have shown now they might count upon getting a share in Income Tax, which might obviate the necessity of fresh taxation. But patience in office is inconsistent with the zeal of reform; that is the main justification for accepting responsibility. Even if the Congress slows down its programme of expenditure, unless it also slows down its enthusiasm for the cause of prohibition its financial troubles are likely to commence soon. The Ministers, and especially the Finance Minister, are men of practical experience and they know that unless there is an assurance of the practical success of prohibition mere closing of shops and public auctions will mean no more than loss of revenue. Mr. Latthe significantly remarks that unless a strong public opinion is created much progress cannot be made in this direction.

We feel impelled to go a step further. Public opinion among the teetotallers has always been against drink and it is easy, as past experience has proved, to rouse a certain section of the people to engage in the entertaining game of baiting those who are addicted to drink. What really matters is moral reform among those individuals and castes who are given to this habit. It is this side of activity that must precede, or at least accompany, the legislative or financial measures aimed at prohibition. The internal conflict within the ranks of Congressmen themselves as to the time lag between the adoption of the ideal and its practical execution will vitally influence the course of provincial finance for some years to come.

The shortage of revenue created by advance on the prohibition front can only partially be met out of retrenched expenditure. The policy of the Ministry in the matter of other sources of revenue such as grazing fees and the land tax will render the shortage of funds more acute. The wiping out of old arrears and permanent reduction in land revenue in cases of excessive demand are steps which are obviously justifiable. Whether the general abolition of grazing fees is an inherently sound policy is not clear. In certain districts professional graziers are known to exist and there is no reason why these should not pay grazing fees, which might be removed in the case of forests being used as

community grazing fields. In any case the amount involved is small and apart from its usefulness as an administrative check it might be ignored. The reorganisation of land revenue is a more pressing problem. A statutory basis has to be supplied to the whole system, and in view of the long term importance of the subject a representative committee might well precede legislative action. The stabilisation of land revenue at its present level, with provision for a sliding scale based on price movements, would meet the claims both of justice and convenience.

Further taxation of land should be left to local bodies, and the provincial Governments should be free to tax agricultural incomes above a minimum amount by means of an income tax. Such a policy would be economical as the costly settlement department can be immediately retrenched. It would make for certainty and elasticity, and will not adversely affect the just interests either of the state or the rayats. It is to be hoped that, while reorganising the revenue system, this line of reform will be given due consideration. If for some reason even the Congress Government persists in keeping up the main lines of the present revenue system, the association of the panchayats in the settlement process should be provided for. Even more in revenue than in prohibition are the panchayats calculated to play a more constructive part. A good deal of drink is consumed in urban and semi-urban areas where the panchayats can hardly reach. But all the land revenue is collected in rural areas where panchayats can be set up. From settlement to actual collection at most stages the panchayat can be utilised as a channel of representing the Government to the people and the people to the Government.

Unless the Congress party has made up its mind to leave office before fresh taxation becomes inevitable their wholesale criticism of the taxes mentioned in the White Paper cannot be understood. The Finance Minister admits that there is an untaxed middle class and that the richer classes will have to bear additional burdens. He admits further that it is difficult to suggest means whereby these classes can be made to pay more than at present. In these circumstances the proposals of the White Paper are worthy of careful consideration when the stage of fresh taxation is reached according to the Congress plan. The criticism of taxation of moneylenders by reference to a poor woman's case and of the tax on entertainments on the basis of the poor man's relaxation create an impression that the proposals of the White Paper were prejudged by the present Ministry. These and similar proposals are not the outcome of the imagination of the interim Ministry. These have been in operation in many advanced countries, and the least that is expected of any responsible politician is to examine them on their merits.

The trouble in provincial finance on the revenue side is primarily the paucity of direct sources of revenue. The Income Tax is levied only on higher incomes and for the most part it feeds the central treasury. Ours is a country of small incomes and

disorganised industry. An occupational tax in one shape or another is more suited to our conditions than a general income-tax. The pre-British system provided for such taxes, which were abolished as unfamiliar and vexatious. But being faced with financial needs of an expanding character we must revive these, as they have now been widely adopted in many an advanced country. The turn-over and sales tax is a very widely used source of revenue and all the difficulties raised by the Finance Minister have been already met in one shape or another. The detailed working out of the proposals will require expert handling, and, as observed above, the day of fresh taxation may be put off for a while. But financial justice and productivity both demand an extensive inquiry into probable sources of revenue, and the proposals of the White Paper are worthy of being seriously considered.

The constructive part of the Ministry's programme, though by no means very ambitious, is planned on right lines. The water supply and communications obtaining in rural areas rightly occupy a prominent position. It is to be hoped that medical, educational and industrial amenities will be soon taken up. The use of the radio should not be frowned upon on grounds of simplicity or economy. Our need for rapid progress is so great that no method of organisation, instruction and propaganda should be neglected. Pending the fuller proposals of retrenchment and reorganisation, which the next Congress budget might contain, we have little basis for making any constructive suggestions in that field. It is, however, to be hoped that the rumours of cutting away state grants to higher education are ill-founded. The entire history of Indian nationalism and renaissance is a striking proof of the inherent success of the system of University education and of the part played by the aided private institutions in that field. Nothing less than inefficiency and stunted intellectual enlightenment will result from a policy of starving higher education in the Presidency. More money and attention, not less, must be bestowed on our institutions of higher instruction. Reform is needed in structure and nobody is better qualified to give a lead in this respect than a responsible national Ministry. But suspension of state assistance to higher education is bound to cause disaster both to education and nationalism. The attainment of wider literacy at the cost of truncated and starved higher education will be bad economy and worse politics.

Few persons in our Presidency are more competent to judge the system of rural credit than the

Finance Minister. He rightly declared that the Cabinet does not favour any half-measures and we might be justified in expecting that in any legislation on the subject that might be introduced the financial aspects will not be ignored. Equally important is the business side of the farmer's industry. Unless the sound parties are distinguished from the unsound and unless the latter are helped to improve their productivity, a wholesale reduction or wiping out of debts is not to be thought of. Rural indebtedness is the quintessence of our economic ailments. It cannot be rooted out by remedies, which touch the debts but leave their causes unattended to. Side by side with credit reform must go economic and social reform. Such a comprehensive plan might justifiably be expected from the Congress Party, which is rich both in idealism and realism.

Several of the proposals mentioned by the Finance Minister are as yet very vague, almost as vague as some of the contents of the White Paper. The nationalisation of utility services is a good slogan and needs no special justification in this year of grace when the whole civilised world has been familiarised with the idea. Of more direct importance are the practical prospects of state industries proving a financial asset without unnecessarily taxing the public. The experience of public departments and even public industries, such as the Indian railways, is by no means reassuring, and the Finance Minister's slogan, Hasten slowly, is nowhere more justified than in this field. Public industries can more easily become liabilities than assets, and unless the Congress Ministry have ground to prove otherwise they will be well advised to leave these things either to private or to municipal enterprise. Penal taxation of rents paid to landlords, progressive taxation of agricultural incomes and the virtual revoking of alienated revenue are attractive and essentially justifiable ideas. The present practice in all these respects has, however, so fully been absorbed in our system of economic and legal relations that, except for a small advance made after careful inquiry, nothing very striking can be immediately attempted without grave danger. The Finance Minister's budget speech is in substance an appeal for time, pending the preparation of the next year's financial statement. We do hope that the time and support allowed to the Ministry will be used by them to produce a more positive and comprehensive scheme of reform than is contained in the present budget.

D. G. KARVE.

HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS ACT.

INDIA is a land of temples and mutts. Every village and town has its own temple or temples, dedicated to a god or goddess. Temples are found near bathing ghats and on mountain tops. Some temples of importance such as Sri Mallikarjuna Temple at Sri Sailam and Sri Mukambika Temple at Kollur in South Canara are in inaccessible forests in the Western Ghats and resorted to by thousands of pilgrims every year.

According to Hindu law the protection of temples and their endowments was considered to be the duty of the sovereign. In view of this conception, temples in India had been under the general control and supervision of the state, whatever might be the religion of the sovereign who was the ruler for the time being. Thus we see Hindu temples being controlled and administered by Mohammadan rulers and by the British till 1842, when the East India

Company severed its connection with the management of Hindu temples.

In this article I confine myself to a short summary of the history of the administration of the Hindu temples and their endowments in the Presidency of Madras before and after 1842. As I have stated above, the management and supervision of these temples had been carried on by the rulers, whatever might be their religion. The East India Company, as the successor of the Moghul rulers, continued to exercise supervisory powers under Regulation 7 of 1817 recognizing its duty as the custodian of public religious institutions of Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques till 1842, when its policy was changed on account of the influence of the Christian missionaries, who protested that it was not the duty of a Christian Government to assist in the upkeep of non-Christian and heathen religious institutions. In spite of the protests of several liberal-minded and conscientious District Collectors, who warned the Government of the dire consequences of withdrawing the Government's control over these endowments, the Directors at home yielded to the clamour of the Christian missionaries and ordered the severance of Government's connection with the Hindu religious institutions. Thus in 1842 many religious institutions which were under the management of the Government were handed over to individuals such as *mattadhipathis*, influential zamindars, village officers, etc. The result of the severance of Government's connection with these institutions was gradual mismanagement of temples, wasting away of temple funds and alienation of temple property. As a result of this unsatisfactory state of things the Government was obliged to pass Act 20 of 1863, under which temple committees were constituted with powers to appoint non-hereditary trustees and to exercise general powers of supervision. This Act was defective in several ways and did not fulfil the objects for which it was enacted. The unsatisfactory nature of the working of the Act was realised by the public, and eminent Hindus like Mr. Rama Iyengar, Mr. Chenchala Row, Mr. Anandachari, Mr. Srinivasa Row of Madura tried to introduce bills providing for the better management of temples. But all these attempts failed for some reason or other, and it was left to the late Raja of Panagal, as the first Chief Minister under dyarchy, to place the Hindu Religious Endowments Act of 1925 on the statute book.

The public are aware under what circumstances and conditions then prevailing in the Madras Presidency Act 1 of 1925 and the Re-enacting Act 2 of 1927 were passed in the local Council. In the elections for the first Council after the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms the Congress did not take part, owing to its opposition to the Government of India Act of 1919. The non-Brahmin party, called the Justice party, was then formed and came in large numbers and formed the first Ministry consisting of non-Brahmins only.

Several rich and influential *mattadhipathis* and trustees of big temples, who have been accustomed to their own ways of management, resented the interference of any outside authority and began to carry on systematic and strong opposition against the bill, with large funds at their disposal. Their chief attack was that the bill was intended for the purpose of providing jobs for party men, strengthening party organization and diverting temple funds for secular purposes. The first attempt at drafting the Panagal Bill was made by borrowing some provisions from the previous bills prepared by the late Mr. Rama Iyengar and others, and the bill was confined mainly to the creation of temple committees to supervise

the management of temples. The idea of having a Central Board occurred at the select committee stage, and the provisions relating to the same were then added to the bill. Thus we see a lot of overlapping and confusion of the powers of the Board and the committee. The first Council passed the bill in its last days, and submitted it to the Viceroy for assent. There were deputations to the Viceroy from influential *mattadhipathis* and trustees headed by the *mahant* of Tirupathi, protesting against the Act generally but specially against the provisions relating to modification by the Board of schemes settled by court. The Viceroy returned the bill to the second Council with the recommendation that the procedure for the modification of a court scheme should be by filing a suit in the court and not directly by the Board. The Council in accordance with this recommendation made the necessary changes in the bill and submitted it back to the Viceroy for his assent. The assent of the Viceroy was given and the bill became law in January 1925.

Under the Act the religious institutions in the Presidency are divided into three classes: non-expected temples, for which trustees are to be appointed by temple committees to be constituted under the Act; expected temples, having hereditary trustees; *mutts*, presided over generally by *sanyasis* of a particular religious persuasion exercising authority over their *sishyas*. The machinery of the Act consists of a Central Board having three to five Commissioners (including the President). The Board has to exercise general control and supervision over all classes of religious institutions mentioned supra and has also to perform certain other functions hitherto done by civil courts under section 92 of the Civil Procedure Code; and the temple committees were invested with powers to appoint trustees for non-expected temples and to exercise general powers of supervision and control over such temples.

The first Board was constituted in April, 1925, and began to function. The first President of the Board, the late Sir T. Sadasiva Ayyar, had to meet a lot of opposition from the vested interests. There was a crop of litigation both in the High Court and mofussil courts. The political situation in the country was not conducive to the smooth working of the Act when it emerged from the legislative anvil. Communal feelings were bitter on account of the formation of the non-Brahmin party. The educated Brahmin community, which could have done a good deal to popularize the measure by educating the ignorant mass of the worshipping public, kept sullen and aloof owing to the suspicions which it entertained about the motive of the party in power, which was responsible for this legislation.

As has already been noted, the Congress party which was then non-co-operating with the Government took no part or interest in shaping or working the Act.

The late Sir Sadasiva Ayyar assumed charge in February, 1925. The vested interests, consisting of the rich *mattadhipathis*, like the *pandari sannidhi* of Tiruvadedorai, trustees of big temples like the *mahant* of Tirupathi, the Raja of Kollengode and several others backed by some of the influential lawyers and public men started a huge agitation against the Act. Several suits were filed on the original side of the High Court and in several district courts, questioning the validity of the Act on various grounds. Under the provisions of the Act the Board had to maintain itself and carry on litigation in courts from its own funds, to be realised from contributions leviable on the net income of temples and *mutts* at one and a half per cent. per annum. Very few institutions paid these contributions voluntarily, and the cumbersome

and costly procedure of collecting these contributions from thousands of temples scattered all over the Presidency by filing petitions in courts was a great handicap to the Board, in working the Act in its early stages. Besides this the President had to file several suits in courts for removal of hereditary trustees, for settlement of schemes to stop mismanagement and misappropriation of temple funds, at least in a few cases of grossly mismanaged institutions. All this involved a huge expenditure which the Board had to incur practically with no funds of its own.

Sir Sadasiva Ayyar and the Raja of Panagal had to strive their best to get loans for the Board, from the Finance Department of the Government (which was then in the hands of the Reserved half), and they had great difficulty in getting the loans sanctioned on account of the unsympathetic attitude which the Finance Department had always shown to the Board.

Thus during the first two years of the working of the Act, the first President had to devote all his attention to find finances for the Board, to take steps to defend the several suits filed in courts, to do certain preliminaries connected with the working of the Act such as framing rules, constitution of temple committees, enumeration of temples and *mutts*, besides conducting enquiries relating to the classification and management of temples and *mutts*.

Thus during the short period of two years when Sir Sadasiva Ayyar was the President of the Board, his hands were full with this preliminary work and he was not able to attend to the more important work of removing the defects in the Act by getting it suitably amended or taking steps for the modification or cancellation of the several court schemes which were not working satisfactorily.

Fortunately the Re-enactment bill of 1926 was passed during the last days of the Panagal Ministry, removing all doubts as to the validity of Act 1 of 1925 and putting an end to a number of suits filed in the High Court questioning the validity of the Act. The two subsequent ministries that succeeded the Panagal Ministry did not evince much interest in the working of the Act, nor did they introduce any amending bills to remove its defects in spite of repeated requests from the Board. All subsequent attempts to rectify some of the glaring defects in the Act were through private bills introduced by some of the honourable members of the Council at the request of the Board. The indifference of the Government during the last twelve years in not taking any steps to remove the defects in the Act by means of a comprehensive amending bill was a great handicap to the Board.

The resources of the Board had been in a precarious condition till so late as 1932 when the late Diwan Bahadur B. Munuswamy Naidu Garu introduced a bill making provisions for the collection of contributions through the Revenue Department as if they were arrears of land revenue.

After Sir Sadasiva Ayyar's death, the late Diwan Bahadur O. V. Rangareddi Garu succeeded, as President. Unfortunately his term of office was barely a year and a half, and during this short period he had to simply continue the spade work begun by Sir Sadasiva Ayyar.

I succeeded Diwan Bahadur Rangareddi Garu in 1929 November. My first attempt was to put the finances of the Board on a firm footing. We were not able to balance the budget in spite of the voluntary out of 5 per cent, imposed on the members of the Board and its staff (the out continued till 1937 roughly). The late Mr. Munuswamy Naidu was prevailed upon to bring an amending bill changing the

method of realising contributions payable to the Board. This amending Act came into force in the middle of 1934 and since then the financial condition of the Board has steadily improved; so much so that the Board is now not only self-supporting but is able to discharge a portion of the loan due to the Government.

The next thing I did was to direct my attention to do something for improving the administration of temples working under court schemes. The biggest temple falling under this category is the Tirupathi temple, with an annual income of 15 lakhs of rupees. This temple had been under the direct management of the Government till 1843, when it was handed over to the mahant of Hatti Ramji mutt and his successors. The temple continued to be managed by successive mahants till recently. It is not possible for me in this short summary to give full details of the administration of this temple by the mahants, nor is it possible to give the details of the litigation in courts regarding the scheme suit, and other legal proceedings connected with the mismanagement of this temple.

In what is known as the Tirupathi temple scheme suit, the judges of all the courts have found that the management of the temple by the successive mahants was very unsatisfactory and that several of them had embezzled and misappropriated temple funds and that the settlement of a scheme was necessary. A scheme was accordingly settled by the District Court at Chittoor, which was confirmed by the High Court with some modification; but when the matter went up to the Privy Council, the original plaintiff-respondent was *ex parte* and was not represented by a counsel for want of funds. The Privy Council, basing their decision on the one-sided representations of the mahant, altered completely the High Court scheme, giving large powers to the mahant in the disposal of the temple funds and its management.

The Privy Council scheme was found unsatisfactory on account of the large powers which it has given to the mahant in the administration of the temple and its funds. There were loud complaints by the public alleging mismanagement and misappropriation of temple funds. Various attempts were made by the people of Tirupathi to get at least the rules framed under the scheme modified, through filing petitions in court. All these attempts were frustrated successfully by the mahant with his influence and the resources of the temple at his back. The Board had very little power to interfere with the administration of the mahant as the powers of the Board over such temples under the Act are subject to the scheme settled by the court. It has tried to persuade the mahant to move the court for amendments in the scheme and in the rules so as to give some powers of supervision to the Board to ensure public confidence. As these attempts have failed, and as the modification of the scheme through court at the instance of the Board would involve the Board in a costly and protracted litigation against a powerful opponent with all the resources of a rich temple, the Board thought the only feasible course was to have recourse to legislation. The Ministry was unwilling to take up the matter and introduce a Government bill. The Board had therefore to approach some honourable members of the Council with a request to introduce a private bill. A bill was accordingly drafted and introduced in the Council by Mr. Kotireddi and some other honourable members of the Council. It was successfully piloted, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the mahant and his supporters. The passage of the bill through the select committee stage and in the Council to a successful conclusion was in no small measure due to the co-operation and support given to the Board by some of the public-

spirited men of Tirupathi, the most prominent among them being my friend Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar M.L.A., who has helped the Board with information and documents relating to the several proceedings in court about the mismanagement of the temple. The Tirupathi Thirumalai Devasthanams Act came into force in July, 1933, and the temple is now managed by a Commissioner appointed by the local Government subject to the control of a committee constituted under the Act.

The next stage in the working of the Act was the passing of another amending bill—what is known as the Kotireddi bill of 1934. This was also a private bill introduced by Mr. Kotireddi with the object of the Board's taking over the administration of some mismanaged temples, including those covered by court schemes, under the procedure laid down in the bill. It empowered the local Government to notify any temple on the recommendation of the Board, the effect of the notification being that the temple was brought under the direct supervision of the Board.

Of late there has been a lot of criticism in the press against this measure, but I presume that this attack is mainly from vested interests and from persons who are to gain by litigation which this measure tries to prevent.

During the time of the East India Company the Government exercised similar powers and assumed the management of mismanaged temples. It is a well-known fact that temples under Government management in those days were very efficiently managed leaving large surpluses. Disputes about honours, customs, usages, office emoluments and all other matters relating to temple management were settled summarily without protracted and costly litigation in court as is the case now. In the neighbouring States of Mysore and Travancore we see similar procedure being followed by the States in taking up the management of temples where mismanagement is found. Therefore there is absolutely no reason why the Government of Madras, as it is now constituted, with provincial autonomy, should not exercise similar powers. If there are any complaints that the Board is not properly exercising its discretion in notifying certain temples, or that it has not appointed efficient executive officers, the fault lies not in the Act but in the machinery working the act. The better course for such critics would be to suggest ways and means of securing a better kind of machinery to work the Act, and not to repeal it altogether.

There are thousands of temple service inams all over the Presidency granted by ancient Hindu rulers for the purpose of rendering service to the temples such as barbers, pipers, *svastiwachakas*, dancing girls, etc. After the Government severed its connection with temples, and when chaos and mismanagement prevailed in the affairs of the temples, the service holders had begun to alienate the inams and to discontinue services. Very few cases of alienation of inams and cessation of services were brought to the notice of the authorities; the procedure which the Government had been following in cases of resumption was highly detrimental to the interests of the temples. Whenever it was brought to the notice of the Government that services were discontinued or inams alienated, the inam was resumed and assessed, and the assessment was paid to the temple concerned, the patta for the land being granted to the defaulting service-holder or the alienee, under the Board of Revenue's standing order No. 44, which presumed that melavaram right only was granted to the temple as inam. Thus the temple was always the loser by the resumption proceedings getting only a pittance by way of beriz reduction, whereas the defaulter got all the benefit of the actual possession of land. There is

no such presumption in law as is contemplated in the Board standing order No. 54. On the other hand, the decisions of law courts on the point are clear and say that there is no such presumption either way. When the H.R.E. Board brought to the notice of the revenue authorities these facts and requested them to alter the Board's standing order, the Board of Revenue refused to alter. Therefore the only course that was open to the H. R. E. board was to approach again the honourable members of the Council with a request for introducing another private bill to remove the difficulty. Accordingly Mr. P. V. Krishnaiah Chowdhury introduced a private bill—the Temple Service Inams bill—which was passed into law in 1934. By this amending Act 11 of 1934 the Revenue Board's standing order was changed, a better and speedy procedure was prescribed for resumption proceedings, and now there is every chance of temples securing several resumed inams after resumption.

Another private bill of importance passed in the Council in 1929 is known as the Devadasi Inams bill of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi. This bill did away with the devadasi service in temples on grounds of public policy, and all devadasi inams were resumed and assessed fully and the assessment is being paid to the temples.

Here I may briefly refer to the trouble which the Board had to encounter from the opposition of the *archakas* of temples in Northern Circars. Since 1842, when the Government ceased its connection with temple management, most of the temples and their endowments in the Circars had been in the possession and enjoyment of the *archakas* only. Very few temple committees were constituted under Act 20 of 1863 in some districts in the Circars for some local areas and they ceased to function shortly after. Thus practically no temple committee existed in the Circars and no non-hereditary trustees were appointed to supervise the work of the *archakas* in the temples. Hence the temples and their properties were left practically in the hands of the *archakas* who began to deal with temple inams as if they were their private properties. In 1862 at the time of the inam enquiry temples were represented by the *archakas* only and not by any responsible trustee interested in safeguarding the rights of the temple.

Therefore these inam registers are generally vague and misleading, giving opportunity to the *archakas* to set up claims adversely to the temples. As soon as the Act came into force the Board settled a number of schemes for these temples and appointed trustees. The *archakas* filed hundreds of suits in all the district courts in the Circars praying for the cancellation of the Board's schemes and setting up claims of ownership in the temple lands. To put an end to this ruinous and protracted litigation between the *archakas* and the temples, the Board offered very fair terms by proposing to give to the *archakas* for their service the substantial proportion of the property without powers of alienation, the proportion of the *archaka's* share to that of the temple varying with the extent of temple property. Some took advantage of the offer and compromised the suits. In several suits of this nature the Board's schemes were upheld by the court and some appeals relating to these suits are still pending in the High Court.

In spite of the initial difficulties with which the Board had to start its work, and in spite of the unfavourable political conditions in the country under which the Board has to do it, I can safely assert that it has done some substantial work in improving the management and condition of the temples.

The following are some of the improvements effected in the management of temples:—

1. Unauthorised alienation of temple lands and properties is completely stopped.

2. Many temples and their endowments which were in the hands of trespassers were recovered through trustees appointed by the Board.

3. Several temples and their endowments were in the possession of *archakas* in the Northern Circars. The *archakas* had been long accustomed to use the temple incomes as their own and began to assert rights adverse to the temple. The Board, by filing suits and by defending the rights of the deity in several suits filed by the *archakas*, was able to establish the rights of the deity in hundreds of cases.

4. In districts like Tanjore there are large endowments of lands to temples. The lands were let out by trustees sometimes at low rents by collusive leases. This abuse is now stopped by getting the lands leased out in public auction to the highest bidder. The trustees were in the habit of lending temple monies on pro-notes at low rates of interest without any security. Now under the bye-laws of the Board no trustee can invest temple monies in securities other than those sanctioned by the Board. In some cases where a temple lost monies lent through gross negligence of the trustee, the Board took steps to recover the loss from the trustee.

5. Schemes were settled and properties were recovered by filing suits in the case of several temples which were hitherto under the management of impecunious hereditary trustees, who were misappropriating the temple funds without attending to the services and needs of the temples.

6. Hundreds of temples in Malabar and South Canara which were claimed private by the trustees were declared public and confirmed by the court.

7. *Kattalaidars* (specific trustees) are now compelled to perform *kattalais* regularly.

8. Now there is security of service even among non-hereditary temple servants. Better discipline prevails among the hereditary temple servants.

9. Better sanitary arrangements are now made in some of the big temples at festivals and there is better check over *dibbi* collections.

10. Every mutt and temple is to keep a register of its properties, moveable and immovable, together with all other information connected with the temple and its services. A verified copy of the same is sent and kept in the Board's office, and the register is being subjected to annual verification by the Board.

11. Every temple and mutt is now compelled to maintain regular accounts, which are subjected to regular audit.

12. Under the present Act cases of mismanagement of temples and misappropriation of temple funds can be easily brought to the notice of the Board for the purpose of taking necessary action by the Board to rectify matters, whereas under the old state of things a person interested had to file a suit in the civil court under section 92 of the C. P. C., incurring a lot of expenditure.

The income of religious endowments in the Presidency is, roughly speaking, about Rs. 2 crores. With strict supervision and efficient management of the endowments the income can easily be raised to Rs. 3 crores. After defraying the usual expenditure necessary for the maintenance of these institutions, large savings can be effected and diverted to religious, educational and other charitable purposes.

The late Raja of Panagal wanted to divert the surplus funds of Tirupathi and Tirumalai Devasthanams for the purpose of establishing an oriental university (Sri Venkateswara University) with the object of teaching Sanskrit, Hindu Philosophy and

Sastras, Indian architecture, specially temple building, Indian arts, agamas, etc. With this object in view Sir Sadasiva Ayyar was sent to Benares on deputation to draft a University Bill on the lines of the Benares University, but before his object was achieved the Raja Saheb passed away. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar during the short period when he was Minister in charge of Religious Endowments tried to bring in an amending bill to remove some of the defects in the Act, but before he was able to introduce it he resigned.

I wish to make a few suggestions on the lines on which the Act should be amended if it is to work efficiently. (1) The Government and the machinery constituted under the Act to administer and supervise the religious endowments shall be the final authority in all matters connected with the administration of these institutions such as the appointment and removal of trustees and managers fixing up *dittams* of temples, settling disputes in all matters relating to customs, honours, usages, emoluments and all other matters connected with the administration of temples. (2) The Government shall have power of notifying any temple when mismanagement is proved in the prescribed manner whether such temple is managed by a hereditary or non-hereditary trustee or governed by a court scheme. The Government can then make such arrangement as it may deem fit for the management of such a temple. (3) No suit shall lie in a civil court regarding the administration of a public temple except in cases where a person claims a right to any temple (as a private temple) or to any property in the possession of a temple in his own right. (4) No temple servant shall be entitled to claim the custody of any temple jewels or other moveable property on account of any custom or usage. Only the officer appointed by the Department to administer the temple can have custody of such things. No priest or *archaka* of any temple shall be entitled to claim the offerings or part of the offerings to the deity on account of any custom or judicial decision except in cases where the Department allows him a share on account of special reasons or circumstances; but the *archaka* may be entitled to the presents that may be given to him specially by the worshippers. (5) Distinction between excepted and non-excepted temples shall be removed. All temples getting an income above Rs. 400 annually shall pay a uniform rate of contribution of 2 p. c. on their net incomes to the Board. Temples getting an income of Rs. 400 and below may be exempted from payment of contribution. If the finances of the Government permit, contributions may be abolished altogether, the expenses of the Board being met from the provincial funds. (6) The Hindu Religious Endowment Department should be provincialised and recruitment to its service should be made on the same lines as in the other Departments of the Government. (7) To ensure better supervision and greater control over temples, the present Department must be decentralized, reducing the officers and the staff at the centre and increasing the officers and the staff in the mofussil. The Department as it now exists is too much centralized. (8) There shall be no more district temple committees. Small village temples may be handed over to the village panchayat boards subject to the general supervision of the Department. (9) Advisory committees consisting of non-officials shall be constituted by nomination by Government in every district for the purpose of advising the Department in matters concerning fixation of *dittams*, diversion of temple funds, selection of persons for the appointment of trustees, and such other matters as may be sent to them for advice. (10) Charitable endowments also might be brought under the Act.

From my experience as President of the H. R. E. Board in this Presidency I have no hesitation in des-

cribing the H. R. E. Act as a very beneficial and necessary piece of legislation. I have no direct or first-hand information of the condition of temples in other provinces; but I do not believe the conditions there are very different. I am of opinion that similar legislation in other provinces with some modifications to suit local conditions will be very useful, as any day systematic, disinterested and organised control is much better than private, disorganised management.

R. SURYA RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

SOCIAL ORIGINS. By EVA J. ROSS. (Sheed & Ward.) 1936. 20cm 112p. 3/6.

THIS book embodies the substance of a series of lectures which the author gave at the Catholic Social Guild Summer School, Oxford, in August 1935. The main aim of the author in these lectures appears to have been to equip members of the class and presumably persons already fortified by an act of faith with arguments culled out from the lives of primitive peoples of today to combat the supposedly false doctrines of social evolution preached by those anthropologists and sociologists who "ignore the existence of a Creator, and of an intelligently created and planned world." The author is convinced of the utility of the study of sociology in so far as it enables us to understand the fundamental operations behind the major culture-patterns. Studying the faiths and rituals of primitive peoples, the author seems to conclude that the true theory of religion is that primitive man has some conception of the Supreme Being, has rites and practises some kind of sacrifice. The aberrant forms of faith and ritual would then appear to be degeneration. It is not true to say that religious faiths of man have evolved from some magical ideas. As for the monogamic family, the state and the institution of private property, the author is positive that they are national and fundamental and "must be part of the design of the Creator".

Students of sociology know how very varied are the forms of the family, of the state and even of the institution of private property. They have been engaged for the last seventy years in disentangling the conditions coincident with them. In spite of their long and patient research they are not yet in a position to proclaim that in every case they have succeeded in finding out the precise conditions. To proclaim that the institutions mentioned above in all their ramifications are only a manifestation of the design of the Creator is the surest way for a sociologist to condemn the study of the branch of knowledge he values as superfluous and valueless. The author, while trying to prop up the doctrines of the religious creed, has thus done great disservice and grave injustice to sociology.

G. S. GHURYE.

THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM IN AMERICAN SOCIAL WORK. By JEFFREY R. BRACKETT. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1936. 23cm. 37p. 25 cents.

THIS monograph reviews the social work connected with the transportation problem of the homeless and the transient undertaken by the American Charity Organisations. After indicating how co-ordinated

provision of transport facilities to the needy was lacking for a long time, the writer describes the origin of the Transport Agreement arrived at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1902, and then reviews the subsequent progress of charity work under the agreement. In the course of the description the difficulties, especially those arising out of settlement laws of various States, are clearly brought out.

T. M. JOSHI.

AGNI AND OTHER POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS. ESSAYS AND OTHER PROSE FRAGMENTS. By C. SUBRAHMANYA BHARATI. (Bharati Prachar Alayam, Madras.) 1937. 22cm. 55 and 67 pp. Re. 1 each.

THESE two dainty little volumes contain the English writings of the famous Tamil poet, the late C. Subrahmanya Bharati. Bharati was one of the finest of the blossoms of the Tamil renaissance in recent times. During the days of the Swadeshi movement there was a great outburst of national fervour in South India, and it was left to the poetic genius of Bharati to give poetic expression in his own mother-tongue to those high patriotic sentiments. Today his songs are sung in the remotest parts of the Tamil country and wherever Tamil is spoken.

The book "Agni and Other Poems and Translations" contains in all twenty verses all composed in his own free unconventional style. Many of them are prose poems and are delightful to read. Some of them are translations from the Psalms of the Vaishnavite saints, some are translations of Bharati's own Tamil poems. They all vibrate with poetic sentiments of no mean order.

His Essays give us in a nutshell his views on many of the burning problems of the day. They are all refreshing and original. In his essay on the 'Crime of Caste' he says, "the sole remedy is in inter-dining and inter-marrying". He assigns a very high place to women in society and is of the view that our national progress would be coeval with the advancement of our women in their respective spheres of life. His essay on "Love and Marriage" is a tirade against child marriage in India. The book contains other short essays which will repay perusal.

The books are well got-up and two drawings representing Agni and the Dawn adorn the covers. These books will enable the reader to know the inner springs of life and action of the late C. Subrahmanya Bharati and the patriotic fervour that animated his whole life.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE TRADE CYCLE. By R. F. HARROD. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 22cm. 234p. 10/-.

FREDERICK EDWIN EARL OF BIRKENHEAD. THE LAST PHASE. By HIS SON. (Keystone Library.) (Thornton Butterworth.) 1936. 22cm. 319. 5/-.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By M. R. PALANDE. (Oxford University Press.) 1937. 22cm. 258p. Rs. 2-8.

THE EPIC OF TRAVANCORE. By MAHADEV DESAI. (Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.) 1937. 21cm. 251p. Re. 1-8.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A GUJARAT TALUKA. By J. B. SHUKLA. (Longmans, Bombay.) 1937. 22cm. 291p. Rs. 5.

THE PERFECT MASTER. By C. B. PURDOM. (Williams & Norgate.) 1937. 22cm. 330p. 12/6.