

# THE Servant of India

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

VOL. X, No. 17. }

POONA—THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1927.

} INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
} FOREIGN SUBSN. 10s. 6d.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE resolution of the Congress Working Committee **Second Thoughts** on the Madras Congress Council Party makes members of that Party a set of chartered libertines, unless the All-Indian Congress Committee or the Congress itself, for the summoning of which a requisition has been sent asserts its authority and brings home to them the outrageous violation of the Congress mandate of which they are guilty. The persons who were mainly responsible in the Working Committee for the whitewashing of the Madras Swarajists were the President of the Congress and Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar, and of course Mr. Satyamurti, who see nothing wrong in Swarajist members keeping a non-Swarajist Ministry in being by their support, after having themselves declined to shoulder the responsibility of forming a Ministry. These leaders did not always think in this wise. Mr. Horniman, as president of a protest meeting in Bombay, quoted some telling extracts from their former utterances on the subject which express entirely different sentiments. On 27th Nov. 1926, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyengar said at Conjeevaram ; "He was glad to inform them that only a few hours back in consultation with other leaders of the party he had declared to His Excellency that they were not for it (i.e. for office). His Excellency was made to understand that even if the Justices were to be awarded the Ministry, they

did not care much and they would carry on their duty by the country uninterrupted and make short work of the regime". Thus spoke Mr. Rangaswami Aiyengar at the Gauhati Congress. "The Cawnpore resolution insisted on non-acceptance of office and it logically followed that the Congress must oppose the formation of Ministries by others. The omission of the words 'oppose the formation of a ministry by other parties,' signified that the Congressmen need not form the Ministry but could form a *Benami* Ministry. That was the deception that the Congressmen should not practise." Lastly Mr. Satyamurti on the same occasion : "That is why I am opposed to the deletion of the provision stating that we must oppose the formation of Ministries. If there were offices worth accepting Congressmen would not put forward '*Benami*' leaders who would accept them." These extracts can leave no doubt in the mind of impartial observers that the Congress President and others are indulging in some very sharp practice in misrepresenting the Congress resolutions to the Working Committee. The relaxation and in fact the abandonment of the non-co-operation policy which the resolution implies would be welcome to us if the change were deliberately adopted, but as it is, we cannot but regard it as thoroughly reprehensible tactics.

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THE observations which the *Statesman* makes on the system of joint electorates while commenting on the recent resolution of the A. I. C. C. on that question brings out most vividly the disastrous result that the atmosphere of countries east of Suez has on the mind of the Britishers. Principles which in their own country were hard won and are dearly cherished are here cast away by them as either injurious or useless. It is said of Sir Henry Maine and Sir Fitzjames Stephen that their stay in India had undermined their ideas of democracy and progress and made their opinion unpopular in England. In the opinion of the *Statesman* "A Legislature made up of Hindus who did not voice Hindu opinion, of Mahomedans who did not speak with the voice of their co-religionists, and of Europeans who never spoke without perverting European views might be an excellent body for working purposes by reason of its tameness, but it would represent no public opinion at all. The actual leaders of thought

and the active organizers of public opinion would be all outside its doors. A parliament so constituted would not merely excite contempt: it would not count as a fact or in public life." In other words, it is only by sharpening the differences that you promote unity, by continually narrowing down the contents of citizenship you somehow broaden its meaning, by pursuing sectional interest you consolidate public welfare and by disintegrating harmonise. The fact of the matter is that the *Statesman* visualises the future abolition of special representation for Europeans with uneasiness and can ill-disguise its nervousness even at its remote prospect. The Europeans in India have failed to give a lead precisely where it was expected of them. With their influence far in excess of their number it was for them to have led the way to communal pacification by voluntary surrender of their special representation in the legislative bodies. If they cannot help, for the sake of decency let them not hinder. The interests and ideal of the European Association cannot be identical with those of India, even when raised to the nth degree.

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IN 1925 the League of Nations fixed 6 seers of opium as sufficient for 10,000 population per annum. The Secretary of State for India stated that as India had no highly organised system of medical relief, the standard for India should be fixed at thirty seers. It is a remarkable fact, however, that some of the areas where opium consumption far exceeds the League standard are big cities and their suburbs and the industrial towns. In these areas there are admittedly greater facilities for medical relief than rural areas. The larger consumption of opium therefore cannot be due to greater medical use so far as such areas are concerned. The Government of Bengal have appointed a Committee to investigate into the question of excessive consumption of opium in and around Calcutta including the industrial and suburban areas. It is estimated that the rate of consumption per 10,000 of population in Calcutta, Howrah and Bally is 85.4 seers, in Serampore 84.7 seers, in Barrackpore 63.6 seers. The Committee will specially enquire into the proportion of medical use of opium to its other uses, the extent opium is administered to children and its effect on child health, the reality of the opium evil as a menace to health and morality, and possible remedies to reduce the excessive consumption of opium. There can be little doubt that in the area to be investigated by the Committee the greater part of opium consumed is outside medical purposes. We hope that the Committee will be able to devise methods by which the consumption will be reduced to the League standard. There are many "black areas" in India where opium consumption is excessive. Other provincial Governments should follow the example of the Bengal government and enquire into its causes as also its possible remedies.

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WRITING on the deputation of Dr. Rushbrook Williams and Col. Haksar to England, the *Indian National Herald* refers to the Princes' conspiracy of silence in regard to the status of their subjects in all their confabulations with Government. The significance of the *Herald* issuing this warning to the ruling Princes will not escape any observer. Says our contemporary: "There is an ominous portent about it, and it is no wonder if it causes a great deal of alarm both among Indian politicians

and the subjects of the States themselves. A matter of great significance is the manner in which no thought is bestowed on the subjects of the States—and they form a quarter of the total population of India—and their present unfortunate plight in many States. Indeed they are nowhere in the picture. Those who are conversant with the state of affairs in the territories of the Princes—with certain notable exceptions, of course,—will realise that the condition of the subjects is unenviable. It is, in some cases, more terrible than even the lot of serfs in olden times, for whom their masters felt some sort of paternal interest. In many of the States, absentee landlordism is rife, so much so that the notorious absentee landlordism in Ireland of the great English landowners must seem comparatively more tolerable and beneficent. The unfortunate subjects pay the taxes, whatever taxes are imposed on them, and they have no voice of protest. They are like dumbdriven cattle, and theirs is a hard lot. It is an irony of fate that those who are encouraging the Princes to prate of new ideas have displayed a reckless disregard and amazing irresponsibility for the fate of the subjects. The Princes talk about definite declarations of rights and policy—that is only between themselves and the Government of India. But they will not concede a similar right for their subjects, though we should imagine that in any confabulations, a just and humane Paramount Power would be disposed to lay the main stress on the interests of the subjects."

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LAST year Col. Carmi Thomson visited the Philippine Islands under instruction from President Coolidge. In his report to the President he said among other things, "We need the Philippines as a commercial base. There are approximately 1,500,000 acres of land suitable for production of rubber, and in some respects this acreage is better suited for the purpose than land now producing rubber in Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula... The islands have great possibilities in mining." These reasons for the retention of the Philippines by U. S. A. were submitted to a process of sublimation in the unctuous mind of Mr. Coolidge. Recently the Philippine legislature passed a plebiscite bill to ascertain the opinion of the Filipino people on the independence question. This was done apparently to demonstrate to the opponents of Philippine independence the hollowness of the argument that it is only the Filipino politicals who make this demand. The bill became an Act inspite of its disallowance by the American Governor General of the Islands. The Act duly went to the U. S. A. Government for confirmation. In the meanwhile Mr. Coolidge had thoroughly sublimated the Thomson proposals. The Plebiscite Act gave Mr. Coolidge an opportunity to propound them. In his message to the Filipino people he said that "The United States cannot, if it would, avoid the obligation of deciding the degree of self-government which the people of the Philippine Islands are capable of sustaining at any given time. Independence is an intangible ideal which has often brought disillusionment and disaster in its train. The ability of a people to govern themselves is not easily attained. History is filled with failures of popular government. I must state my sincere conviction that the people of the Philippine Islands have not yet attained the capability of full self-government. In short it is the "manifest destiny" of the United States which urges the retention of the Islands."

## CONGRESS POLITICS.

THE All-India Congress Committee laid the foundation of harmonious relations between the Hindus and the Moslems, but it could not bring about a reconciliation between the Swarajists and the Responsive Co-operationists. Informal conversations were held on the subject, but no concrete proposal was laid before the meeting, the Responsivists themselves feeling that time was not yet opportune for initiating a discussion of the question after the Sabarmati fiasco. It sounds strange that if at Sabarmati Pandit Motilal Nehru's was the pacificatory mission and Sriman S. Srinivasa Aiyengar's that of a marplot, on this occasion the rôles were apparently reversed, for Mr. N. C. Kelkar now throws the blame for the failure of attempts at intra-Congress unity almost entirely on Pandit Motilal Nehru and represents Mr. Aiyengar as all agog for unity. Mr. Mahomed Ali also says the same thing. No explanation of this exchange of parts is vouchsafed to the public, who are left to infer that it is all a matter of moods with the Congress leaders. Mr. Kelkar no doubt assigns a reason: it amounts in effect to nothing but a spite for this year's Congress President. If the latter outwitted him at Sabarmati, he must needs outwit him now. But this we believe is far too simple an explanation to be correct. We ourselves, however, cannot suggest any alternative reason.

The difficulty in understanding the inwardness of this affair is much increased by the undoubted fact that Pandit and Sriman showed equal zeal in defending the Swarajists in the Madras Council from the charge of infidelity to the Gauhati Congress resolution. That the Madras Swarajists, in practically installing the Ministers of that province in office and in keeping them there by their continued support, have thrown the mandate of the Congress to the winds cannot be questioned and was not questioned in the All-India Congress Committee by the strongest apologists of the Madras Swarajists. There seemed every probability of the Committee passing a vote of censure; but just then Sriman Aiyengar caused an amendment to be moved calling upon the Working Committee to institute an inquiry into this matter, and in speaking to this amendment Mr. Aiyengar admitted that things were not quite straight in his province and that the Swarajists there required to be kept in effective control. Not many hours, however, after the Committee had dispersed, the Working Committee, which is a subordinate body, met in solemn conclave at the Taj Mahal hotel and passed a resolution exonerating the Madras Swarajists. How great an affront it is to the All-India Congress Committee will best be seen from the fact that by its own resolution this Committee had charged the Working Committee with the task of investigating the conduct of the Madras Council Swarajists and submit its conclusions to itself for consideration. The Working Committee,

however, took it upon itself to decide straightaway, without making any inquiry, that the Madras Swarajists had acted in conformity to the Gauhati resolution. A more audacious act of defiance than this can hardly be imagined. We are not competent to judge of the legality of the present-day Congress proceedings; but to our unsophisticated mind it appears that if anything at all can be *ultra vires*, it must be this resolution of the Working Committee.

What was the consideration that appeared so convincing to the members of the Working Committee so soon after they had concluded the All-India Congress Committee's sitting? It was this: that if the Madras Swarajists had overthrown the Ministry, as by the letter of the Gauhati resolution they were under a pledge to do, they would only have strengthened the bureaucracy or enthroned in power a Ministry which would have given strength to the elbows of the bureaucracy. Therefore the Committee have now laid down that if this would be the effect of their opposition, the Swarajists in any legislature should not regard themselves as bound by the Gauhati resolution to continue in their policy of opposition. This interpretation which admits of selective opposition is quite foreign to clauses (a) and (b) of the Gauhati resolution. The other clauses of the resolution no doubt allow discriminating opposition: they require Swarajists to throw out only such proposals as are calculated to consolidate the power of the bureaucracy, but the first two clauses require indiscriminate opposition on the part of the Swarajists in regard to the formation of Ministries and the consideration of the budget proposals. If it were not so, why should the Responsivists at all find fault with this resolution? For the whole contention of the Responsivists is that the only result of their not accepting the office of Ministers would be that either, as in Bengal and C. P. for some time, the transferred subjects would be taken over by the bureaucracy, in which case its power would clearly be consolidated, or another party would come into office which in its dealings with the bureaucracy would be far too tender or submissive, in which case also the same result would ensue. What then is it that yet makes Responsivist policy unacceptable to the Swarajists? According to the revised version of the Gauhati resolution, the parties in the provincial legislatures are themselves to determine whether, on any particular occasion the bureaucracy would be strengthened by indiscriminate opposition and whether, in the light of the existing circumstances, rather than strengthen the bureaucracy by opposing they should not vary their policy of opposition by giving occasional support. The Responsivists themselves are merely asking for liberty for their party to act differently from the Congress resolution if in their judgment it is desirable to do so. They do not ask that in all provinces Ministerships should necessarily be accepted. The moral that this resolution of the

Working Committee will convey to the Responsivists is this that, if while acting contrary to the Congress resolution you maintain a pretence of adherence thereto no harm comes to you, whereas, if you honestly try to get a change effected in the resolution, you will be treated as traitors.

It needs no saying that we regard the action of the Madras Swarajists as entirely expedient and wise, but we judge by co-operators' standards. In the eyes of non-co-operators such as Swarajists profess to be, the action must be entirely evil, and as we said before, we would much rather have the Swarajists be honest and fulfil the mandate of the Gauhati Congress than be dishonest and do in the name of non-co-operation what co-operators would desire.

The Congress President's favourite scheme for a Convention Parliament was adopted by the All-India Congress Committee, but in a wholly mutilated form. The idea underlying this scheme in the mind of Mr. Aiyangar was that of preparing the National Demand and of making the legislative bodies the handmaid of the Congress. As passed, however, the resolution merely calls upon the Working Committee of the Congress to form a constitution for India in consultation with the elected members of the Legislatures. Mr. Aiyangar in his speeches no doubt passingly referred to civil disobedience, but every one knows that he does not intend to do anything to translate that expression into practice. The constitution that the Committee is to draft is, we are told, a Swaraj Constitution, the word Swaraj being introduced into the resolution to underline the idea that the Committee is not permitted to entertain any scheme but that of a full-fledged Swaraj. We for our part do not see what difficulty is anticipated in formulating a scheme for complete self-government. Any modern country will supply an example in this respect. The real difficulty consists in framing a scheme which can be adapted to our conditions and in enlisting for it support from all concerned. That, however, the Committee is precluded by its terms from doing. Still we are glad that this resolution was passed, for it will compel the Congressmen to make certain concrete proposals on a subject on which for some time at any rate the Congress was deliberately equivocal. That the advice of elected members of the Legislatures is sought is very significant, and some Congress organs themselves do not mind confessing that the reason for this is that, without the imprimatur of the members elected to the Legislatures, the scheme can never claim to have been widely supported by public opinion. The building up of the future constitution of India which will have the backing of the united will of the nation, is, to Pandit Motilal Nehru, of such great importance that the existing differences between different political parties as to the manner in which the present constitution should be worked are by its side of no consequence whatever. Why all of a sudden a paper constitution comes to possess such an attraction for the leading Swarajists we

do not know, but it is a good omen that they are turning their minds to practical questions, and we may be sure that, although it is a Swaraj constitution that they are commissioned to draft, they will in the end produce a constitution which is meant not for the time when India will attain full self-government but for the interim period.

Another resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee is worthy of remark, viz. the one exhorting Congressmen to undertake the work of organising urban and rural labourers. Such a resolution is of course passed at almost every session, but the significance of this particular one lies in the fact, admitted by the Congress President, that this activity is now recommended to Congress workers because the political activities have proved a failure. Says Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar: "The Congress machinery has broken down for want of work, and this mass movement will give it the needed work and momentum." The Congress organisations are expected not to come into competition and conflict with the activities of the All-India Trade Union Congress but to start work in places where the latter has not penetrated. If this rule is observed and labour work is kept free from politics, then the Congress will perform a really useful service to the nation, but judging from the attitude of the Swarajist members in the Legislative Assembly and other legislatures it is too much to hope that the Congress as a body will give up its partisanship of the capitalist classes and identify itself with the labouring population.

#### BIHAR AND ORISSA IN 1925-26.

MR. COLLINS begins his year book\* with a mild complaint that the Province of Bihar and Orissa with an area of 83 thousand sq. miles and a population of 84 millions rarely appears in the lime-light on the political stage in India. He attributes this to the absence of local newspapers with circulation outside the province and the coldness of the press in Bengal and the United Provinces to the affairs of the province. For the growth and organization of public life of a province, the situation of the capital town is of great importance. The Province of Bihar and Orissa is unfortunate in this respect. Apart from the fact that Bihar is sharply divided both in race and in language from Orissa, the position of Patna is such that it can have no future either as a growing trade or industrial centre nor, as a consequence, as a centre of public life where large movements may originate and spread over the province. There are two important industrial centres, Jamshedpur and Jharua; but the province suffers from possessing no industrial or commercial capital. Facilities in communication is another factor which consolidates public life, and promotes industrial development; but as the railways in the province were primarily designed to feed the port of Calcutta, they do not

\* Bihar and Orissa in 1925-26. By B. A. Collins. I. C. S. Government Press, Gulsarbag. ) 1927. Re. 1.

serve the province as a unit. Some important railways now in course of construction will, when completed, remedy to some extent the lack of through communication in the province. Further, they will make the transport of coal from the fields to industrial centres in west, central and south India cheaper and quicker.

Mr. Collins is pessimistic about the future expansion of revenue of the province. As an administration the province is the poorest in India and in the opinion of Mr. Collins there is little or no prospect of expansion of its existing sources of revenue. Bombay, with an area half as large again as Bihar and Orissa and a population little more than half as great, raises a total revenue of 16 crores of rupees of which over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  come from land revenue. The figures for Bihar and Orissa are  $5\frac{1}{2}$  crores total revenue and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  crores land revenue. This is not because Bombay is more fertile, quite the reverse; Again Madras, with an area far larger and a population nearly one-third greater, collects a revenue of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  crores of which  $7\frac{1}{2}$  crores come from land revenue. The reason for this difference in income from land revenue is the permanent settlement of Bihar. In the province itself, the estates held by the government numbering 329 out of the total of 118,907 in the province, yield an income of 21 lakhs out of the total land revenue demand of 155 lakhs. These figures give an idea of what the permanent settlement has cost the province. The main source of revenue in Bihar and Orissa is from "Excise," which in 1925-26 brought in 197 lakhs out of a total revenue of 579. The excise revenue has shown what Mr. Collins calls 'a buoyancy' during the period following the inauguration of the Reforms. The revenue from this source in the two previous years was 183 and 176 lakhs of rupees respectively. There has thus been an increase of 21 lakhs in 1925-26 over the excise revenue of the preceding year. The official explanation is that this is due merely to an effective realisation of the government policy of "minimum consumption with maximum revenue." The fact remains, however, that the per capita excise revenue has increased from seven annas three pies in 1923 to nine annas three pies in 1925. Mr. Collins observes that "the surpluses due to the constant increases in the excise revenue have been devoted, in the main, to education and the improvement and maintenance of the public health, and but for them, little or no progress could have been made" (p. 70). It thus becomes obvious why the government view prohibition as not being a practical policy. The government officials in India are rather fond of quoting the example of the United States as an instance of failure of prohibition. The conditions, tradition and social habits of the two countries are so widely different that it was time that this silly comparison were given up. In India no distinction, from a social point of view, is made between a drinker and a drunkard. This fact alone makes all comparison regarding prohibition bet-

ween India and western countries grossly fallacious.

The official reports regarding the position of primary education during the last few years indicate some amount of optimism. This is partly justified in view of the fact that the number of pupils in primary schools has increased from 629,590 in 1921-22 to 860,842 in 1925-26. But the most important point to remember in this connection is that a very large proportion of the children attending school never get beyond the infant class, and so do not learn to read and write at all. In 1925-26 the percentage of pupils in all schools in the two lowest classes was 78. As Mr. Collins observes "most of the money being spent at present on primary education is thus being wasted" (p. 60). The following figures give some idea of the wastage involved in the present voluntary system.

Class	Pupils in the		Wastage
	year	year	
	1923-24	1924-25	
I	395,441	...	
II	145,750	134,089	261,352
III	96,637	86,032	59,718
IV	67,802	29,261	67,376
V	25,054	20,954	46,848

Calculating Rs. 8 as the cost of keeping a child in school per annum the wastage in money and child energy is appalling. The only effective way to prevent this waste is to introduce compulsion. Until this is done, means must be found out to increase the capacity of the schools to hold the pupils for a sufficiently long period to impart effective literacy. The rise in percentage in literacy shown during the last few years is wholly illusory for the figures include infant class children the vast majority of whom never learn to read and write. This is a dangerous form of self-deception. The remedy lies to a very large extent in the hands of the local self-governing bodies who should take full advantage of the Compulsory Primary Education Act and introduce compulsion without avoidable delay. This will involve fresh taxation. But energetic boards can persuade the ratepayers to pay a trifle more if the ultimate economy and benefits of a compulsion scheme are explained to them. The Primary Education Act of 1919 has remained practically inoperative in the province. This is largely due to the apathy of the local bodies. It should be noted however, that the Education Department has not shown excessive eagerness and promptitude in dealing with the compulsion scheme submitted by the Muzaffarpur municipality more than two years ago. The scheme is still "under consideration" of the Department!

To bring medical relief within the reach of the rural population has remained a difficult problem of the province. Since 1920-21 sums have been set aside for grants to local bodies to enable them to follow a regular programme for building dispensaries in outlying areas. The former method of making lump grants has been substituted by regular recurring grants as poorer boards find it difficult to maintain new dispensaries out of their own

funds. Altogether, upto March 1925, 3¼ lakhs recurring and 12¾ lakhs non-recurring had been divided up among the boards and another Rs. 282 lakhs recurring and Rs. 332 lakhs non-recurring were distributed during the year. In 1921 the Legislative Council passed a resolution recommending that Government should take immediate steps to establish at least one dispensary within the jurisdiction of every police station. This scheme has been carried out in several districts. In the last three years, the number of hospitals and dispensaries has increased from 485 to 598. Of these 423 are in rural areas, while the number of police stations in the province is 539. It is needless to point out that even when the present scheme is completed large sections of the rural population will remain outside the reach of medical help. Last year a sum of two lakhs was allotted to the boards for sinking wells and they were asked to prepare a programme so that two new wells might be sunk annually in each area served by a police station. Four more lakhs were provided for the purpose in the budget for 1926-27. Facilities for rendering medical relief to women patients practically do not exist in the province. This serious defect in public health organization requires immediate attention of the Minister and his department.

The Transferred Departments of Bihar and Orissa were on the whole better treated by the Finance Department than those of the other provinces. During the years 1921 to 1923 inclusive, the Transferred Departments in the province received nearly 70 per cent. of the money available, whereas in other provinces the proportion was approximately reversed. Altogether, expenditure on the transferred departments during the period 1922-27 has risen from 35 per cent. to 42 per cent. of the whole, while Reserved Departments have fallen from 58 per cent. to 51 per cent.

### OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, May 4.

#### AMERICA AND ENGLAND—

LAST week certain cables passed between Manchester and Washington which are well worth our attention. The occasion was a luncheon given to Mr. A. B. Houghton, the American Ambassador to England by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and the Earl of Derby, who proposed the toast of that Association, took hold of the opportunity to say: "There is one prominent politician in America who seems to think that we are the ogres in England that we have been for some years painted as being, not in America but in every country of the world", referring to Senator Borah, and extended a personal invitation to him to come to England and see the millions that are dependent on the industry of Lancashire—millions who recognise that peace

must prevail if industry is to flourish". But that the peace referred to is of a certain specific variety convenient to Lancashire is well brought out by the very pointed and vigorous reply from Senator Borah when Lord Derby's invitation was cabled over to him by the *Manchester Evening News*:

"Replying to your telegram I do not need to be shown that the English people are not ogres. I have never said anything of that kind and never thought anything of that kind; quite the opposite. I should like to know upon what Lord Derby bases his desire to enlighten me upon this particular subject. I appreciate his missionary spirit, but really I do not feel in need of his gospel of enlightenment. I have no doubt there are millions in England just as anxious for industrial peace as Lord Derby indicates. I have no doubt their enlightened conceptions of industrial justice and international justice are quite as exalted as Lord Derby indicates. I trust they will together with Lord Derby, exert their influence along these lines on their Government in the Chinese affair. China is going to be the acid test of whether the nations which have been preaching peace, want peace, which have been preaching international justice want international justice; whether the industrial peace which we covet for our own people is to be extended to other peoples. I would really like to visit England and hope I may find an opportunity to do so. My mission, however, will not be that of hunting wild game such as ogres, but to see and to know better people whose highest encomium is that of always having been loyal to their own flag—an attribute which prevails rather strong in the United States and, I think, worth preserving". The luncheon abounded with platitudes of the usual kind, but there was one statement in which the American Ambassador was emphatic and which has attracted attention: "To bring the British-speaking peoples together into an armed and exclusive group, prepared, if need be, to enforce their collective will by force, would, if it were possible, tend neither to promote peace nor to assure our mutual security. Its result would only be to unite all the rest of the world against us".

#### CHINESE POLICIES.

Not infrequently does it happen that the administration in Washington and Senator Borah pull on opposite sides in matters of foreign policy and this was brought into prominence only recently as regards the commitments of the United States in Central and South America, but President Coolidge's recent speech in New York on the occasion of the anniversary of the United Press taken in conjunction with Senator Borah's plain speaking to Lord Derby should be a sufficient indication of the unanimity of opinion which prevails in America as regards the policy towards China. It is confirmed by the latest telegrams from London to the effect that there have been statements in Washington that the United States "does not see

what advantage could be gained by the presentation of a second Note at the present time." The extent of the disappointment which resulted from President Coolidge's New York speech on this side of the Atlantic may be inferred from the comments in the British press. There was pathos in the leading article of the *Times* which dealt with it when it asked whether every American was not welcome in the British Concessions even if it were true according to the President that America had no Concessions in China; there was conspicuous effort to build up the argument that contrary to the American feeling in the matter the extent of the interests of the United States in China called for the latter's adopting the same policy as Great Britain's towards that country. What is most obvious ever since the Chinese question came to the fore is the way in which week after week prominent British journals as well as public men have been putting up a plea for American cooperation. It is not quite the same thing, still it is not without significance that the recent talk of Franco-American alliance caused by the proposal in the *New York Times*, from Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of the Columbia University, is evoking considerable enthusiasm on all sides and does not provoke all those doubts and fears to which the American Ambassador drew attention in the case of an Anglo-American alliance. It is becoming increasingly clear that the Anglo-Saxon peoples can and will have a common world-policy no more than the Latin peoples had in their time. It may not be readily realised, though few will be inclined to deny it, that great as is the power of Britain her name inspired still greater awe when the world felt that America was linked with her. That Great Britain was fully alive to this advantage, the termination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance to please America, among other things, proves; and though it may seem rather a theoretical exercise to draw from these premises and from the present tendencies the conclusion that to the extent the impression gains ground that America is not behind Great Britain, the British prestige in international affairs will suffer diminution, events are marching abreast which would seem to indicate it practically. There is no reason why the Anglo-American solidarity should be as strong as it is maintained constantly that it is on the British side. The average American has developed a continental sense in spite of original heredity and dislikes the English insularity as much as any one else; when he is in Europe he likes much more to be in France, Italy, Germany, or Spain rather than in England unless he is wealthy and has a family for whom he is seeking titled connections in England. There is also that instinctive dislike of a business man towards his competitor in the same lines and what has struck me as most curious is the general American attitude towards the Englishman's political cunning as something of dubious quality. He abhors it in the same way as the rest of the world.

All this has its moral for us. If only some of the wealthier among our public men—I mean specially those engaged in politics—who go to Great Britain to make their voice heard in the cause of Indian freedom would travel *via* America and in passing tell the American people something of the educational, the military, and the excise policy of the Government of India, it is probable that their words would carry more weight when they get to London than they would if they went straight there. In this matter it is important that we should not draw our own conclusions from the Americans' treatment of the Philippines and from the Negro problem in America. Almost every American I have met in Europe—there are hundreds of them here—has shown unreserved sympathy for India and unconcealed disapproval of the British policy in India. It is not necessary to go into the psychological fundamentals of this inconsistency; it were enough for our purposes to enlist American opinion on our behalf seeing that it is possible. Mr. Bertrand Russell, it will be remembered, has said more than once that to win American support to its side Great Britain may be constrained to follow a liberal policy in India. As the century advances international politics become more and more mere strings in the hands of financiers and inevitably New York and Washington are accumulating force and power destined to direct the world. It would be wise to recognise it. It is significant that there is a powerful branch of the *Kuomintang* in the United States, and though with what truth it is impossible to tell, the present divergence between that country and Great Britain as regards China is put forward as one of its achievements.

#### THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The International Economic Conference opened this morning in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations. There is little doubt that it is an opportunity for the League to rehabilitate itself after the recent futile Disarmament Conference. Many consider it a great triumph for the League as forty-six countries including three great non-members, the United States, Russia and Turkey, have sent delegations. The main questions to be discussed concern customs barriers, the organisation of international industrial cartels, crop regulation, dumping, the problems of coal, oil, shipbuilding, cotton, and Government subsidies. Italy may introduce the question of restriction of immigration which will interest the American delegation greatly. In fact the American delegation, while not committed to action, will watch closely the development of the Conference, for the organisation of European cartels has a bearing upon American industries. It is a great moment for M. Louis Loucheur, head of the French delegation, for it was he, who in 1925, suggested officially the Economic Conference. Its convening represents the success of more than a year of preparatory work by experts from twenty-one countries, the reduction of the world's economic problems to debatable and

manageable possibilities, the preparation of sixty memoranda, the preparation of the agenda, and the negotiations to bring in the non-League Members. There are obstinate questionings which the Conference will have to face: How is the discussion of universal tariff adjustments to be reconciled with the principles of protection? What about the 7,000 kilometres of new tariff walls created in Europe as the result of the revision of the map by the treaty of Versailles? Free-trade advocates will point to American prosperity as the result of absence of such barriers between the States of the Union, and will call for a similar condition in Europe. But the United States, while employing the principle at home, will scarcely consent to universal free trade, for there is the difference in standards of living, which, it maintains, must be considered. Then there is the question of an agricultural entente, in order to balance famine in one part of the world, for instance, by overproduction of wheat in another. But here, as in most of the international accords that will be discussed, is the aggravating connection with the embroiled conditions of world-finance: How to allow for the difference in exchange, in purchasing power, and in wages throughout the world? But the Economic Conference is a gathering of experts and there is general expectation that it cannot fail to make some progress in clearing the ground for future good though there is no pretence at seeking concrete results as its delegates have no official authority to bind their respective governments.

In spite of its technical character, the European press finds it hardly possible not to import political considerations into its work. Thus the *Daily Express*: "The Conference in itself is unimportant save for one thing—Russia appears for the first time since her revolution as a nation officially seeking co-operation with the outside world," and then follows the usual stuff about the Soviet which it is waste of space to quote. The *Lavoro de Italia* of Milan is of the opinion that "this meeting signifies nothing but the manoeuvring of the richest and best-equipped nations to maintain their privileged positions and dominate the markets of the poorer countries." The French press of which the following may be taken as typical is more sober in its comment. "Credit can be given to the Conference for its excellent preparation. It has not been improvised in three months or in three weeks, as have been certain other analogous conferences. Qualified experts belonging to all countries have studied the programme, have fixed the limits between the possible and the impossible, have assembled and verified the most recent sources of information." Thus *La Journée Industrielle*. The Conference is expected to terminate by about the end of the month.

## REVIEWS.

### HARSHA.

**HARSHA.** By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 6×4. Rs. 3-6.

The author of this book is a famous Professor of the Lucknow University and is known to be a master of the style. His name is a guarantee that the book is a readable one. Much of the matter contained in it was read out by him in the form of Lectures delivered before the Calcutta University when he was appointed a Reader for 1925. The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee never appointed any Reader of the Calcutta University unless he was a good and sound scholar. It is therefore no wonder if the book contains much interesting matter and also new points of view. So far as the political history of Harsha is concerned, we have quite a host of scholars treating this subject. Not only M. Ettinghausen, V. A. Smith, and A. F. Rudolf Hoernle of the old generation, but also Mr. Panikkar and Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the new, have either given an account of Harsha's reign or thrown light on some points connected with his history. So far therefore as the political history of this king is concerned, much cannot be expected in any book that is new or original. But the chapters dealing with Administration, Religion and Learning, Economic Condition, and Social Life indicate an original treatment and create and maintain a ravishing interest from beginning to end.

In 1924 R. C. Majumdar and N. K. Bhattasali brought out 'Boys' Own History of India,' in the Preface to which the following view is expressed:—

"The reign of Harsha has received undue importance in the current historical books only because we happen to possess the accounts of the Chinese traveller, Hiun Tsiang and Banabhatta's *Harsha-Charita*. In reality, there is little to distinguish him from the many other upstart emperors who flourished after the downfall of the Guptas. The empire of the Palas and of the Gurjara-Pratiharas deserves much more serious attention."

This is the first dissentient voice raised by any scholars against the view that had come to be generally accepted by scholars and historians. And as Dr. R. C. Majumdar is considered to be a thoughtful and powerful critic, it required no small amount of daring on the part of any scholar, even such as Prof. Mookerji, to bring out a book on Harsha and especially in the 'Rulers of India Series' where none but the Indian rulers of the first order are selected for treatment. Naturally therefore one feels exceedingly anxious to know whether Prof. Mookerji in bringing out this volume has given a reply to this criticism. Curiously enough the name of Dr. Majumdar is nowhere mentioned in the Book. But in the ending portion of it called 'Conclusion' (pp. 188-9), he has tried to frame an estimate of Harsha's character, in doing which, he evidently seems to have given a reply to Messrs. Majumdar and Bhattasali though their names are conspicuous by their absence. The words of Prof. Mookerji are worth quoting. "It is difficult to describe more briefly and forcibly the different aspects of his (Harsha's) supremely versatile genius and complex character. He was at once a prince and a poet, a warrior and a man of letters, royal and kindly, with unbounded wealth given away in unbounded liberality, with the dignity of a paramount sovereign joined to the humility of a beggar, master of all the military as well as the fine arts of all knowledge and virtues. Beginning as a



militarist under the then prevailing political circumstances of the times which forced on him a career of vengeance and violence, campaigns and conquests, he soon returned to his normal state, his true self, and remained as a confirmed pacifist throughout his long reign, the most distinguished follower and preacher of the creed of non-violence in that violent age of warring kingdoms so that in the spirit of his great predecessor in the same creed, viz. Asoka Maurya, he could thus speak of himself through the hero of his own creation, King Jimutavahana of his *Nagananda*."

Then again Dr. R. C. Majumdar wrote another article upon Harsha which he contributed to the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1923, p. 311 and ff. Uptil the time of his writing that paper it was generally held that Harshavardhana was the master of the whole or very nearly the whole of Northern India, that he was the last great Hindu emperor in Northern India and that no importance attaches to its history since his reign inasmuch as there was only a conflict of only petty states without any attempt at unification by any sovereign authority. So far as the last clause of this statement is concerned, Dr. Majumdar is unquestionably on unassailable ground. We have some Pratihar kings, if not Pala princes, who had brought almost the whole of North India under their paramount sovereignty and they certainly were of a period posterior to Harsha. But what about the extent of Harsha's empire? That had now become a subject of some dispute after the trenchant criticism of Dr. Majumdar. Prof. Mookerji has tried to give a reply to this criticism also, without mentioning Dr. Majumdar's name even once. He rightly distinguishes between the territory under the direct control of a king and the extent of his sphere of influence, that is, of his suzerainty. In the mediaeval period it was customary to set out for an expedition of *dig-vijaya*, and the extent of overlordship was considered to be more important than the extent of kingdom under direct administration. And even if we take into consideration the actual extent of his territory, he tries to show that it was practically co-extensive with North India and much larger and wider than what has been pointed out by Dr. Majumdar. The latter defines Harshavardhana's kingdom as consisting of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, together with Bihar and a portion of the East Punjab, with the exclusion of a small strip of territory in the North-west corresponding to Hiuen Tsang *Mo-ni-pu-la*. According to Prof. Mookerji's calculation, it comprised practically the whole of United Provinces, a large part of Bihar and Bengal (with the exception of only Karnasuvarna), Orissa, and such parts of the Punjab, Rajputana, Central and Western India, for which the Chinese pilgrim does not mention any rulers. It is, however, forgotten by both that Harshavardhana was a much more mighty conqueror than is believed to be. Maurya, father-in-law of Bana, who wrote his biography, is credited with a stanza which tells us that the king had gone far into South India and conquered Chola and Kanchi. This is now corroborated by a Virgal stone inscription found by Dr. Shamasastri informing us that Harsha had gone as far south at least as Shimoga in Mysore and that Mahendra, a Pallava king, fled, in terror before him. Besides, when we remember that he was not a mere conqueror but also a patron of the literates, and above all, a poet of no mean order and a keen student of religion and philosophy, as Prof. Mookerji has made him out to be, it is very difficult to find any prince from amongst the Palas or the Pratiharas

who may be considered as worthy of holding a candle to him.

The book, indeed, leaves a most agreeable impression, not simply because it is a readable thing, but also because by reading it we feel we know something better about the personality of a king who was much greater in many ways than any one of his successors, so far as we know. The book, however, is not without mistakes and inaccuracies. The name Svarashtra occurs twice in the book on pp. 29 (n.) and 44, along with Kanyakubja, Gauda, Mithila and Orissa. It seems that this Svarashtra ought to be Sarasvata. Then there is a place identified with Rajmahal, which is once spelt as Kajughir, and twice as Kajengala. On p. 54 n. 2, Prof. Mookerji identifies Sulikas with Chalukyas. But he has apparently forgotten that this identification was made long ago by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri on p. 394 of his *Political History of Ancient India*. Similarly, the prince Susthitavarman mentioned in the Apsara stone inscription is taken by him with Dr. Fleet to be a Maukhari, an ancestor of Avantivarman and Grahavarman of Kanauj. It seems better to identify him with a king of that name who was a predecessor of Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa as suggested by Dr. Raychaudhuri in his book.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

#### EDUCATIONAL WASTE.

**SOCIAL PROGRESS AND EDUCATIONAL WASTE.** By KENNETH LINDSAY. Introduction by *Viscount Haldane*. (George Routledge & Sons, London.) 1926. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 215. 7s. 6d.

THIS is a study of the Free place and Scholarship system prevalent in England. Such a study "has been made possible by the good will of the trustees of the Barnett Fellowship and the Ratan Tata Foundation." It is a pity that in India there are no such endowments to encourage work of a similar nature.

The problem examined in the book is "how far the "educational ladder" is effective and what are the main difficulties that beset the path of the child, the parent and the local education authority." In this book the author has also studied and discussed the following questions how far is secondary education easily accessible to children attending the primary schools? What proportion of them receive it and for how long a period does their secondary school life last? What should be the relation between the primary and secondary stages of education, and between education and industry? What are the obstacles which impede easy access to the secondary school, and by what measures should those obstacles be removed? Since the enquiries of a private investigator cannot cover the ground with the completeness of an official publication, Mr. Lindsay has preferred an intensive study of certain areas, supplemented by the Board's statistics and by corroborative evidence from elsewhere, to the attempt to make a necessarily superficial survey of the country as a whole. The first three chapters of the book attempt an estimate of the general problem and the remaining chapters nine in number deal with specific areas viz. London, Oxfordshire, Bradford, Warrington, Wallasey & Co. intensively studied by the author and together provide the evidence from which the conclusions have emerged. In the introduction Viscount Haldane has drawn the special attention of the reader to some of those conclusions.

The following are some of the salient points brought out by the author's study and investigation of the 550,000 children who leave elementary schools each year, 9.5 per cent. of an age-group proceed to secondary schools, while 1 per 1000 reach the University. Secondly, of 2,800,000 adolescents in England and Wales, 80 per cent. are not in full-time attendance at any school. Also, from the evidence collected, it would appear (1) that at least 50 per cent. of the pupils in elementary schools can profit by some form of post-primary education up to the age of 16 and (2) that only something under 10 per cent. of the jobs done by ex-elementary school leavers can be described as skilled work. At the same time registered juvenile unemployment is about 65,000, a figure admittedly an underestimate. Finally the evidence collected shows that success in winning scholarships varies almost monotonous regularity according to the quality of the social and economic environment. For instance, one school in Lewisham wins as many scholarships as the whole of Bermondsey puts together; seven poor London boroughs have an average of 1.3 scholars per 1000 children in average attendance as against 5.3 in some well placed London boroughs; in Oxfordshire placed only 40 schools out of a total of 212 appear as sending scholars or free-placers to secondary schools in 1924, the remaining 172 are mainly poor and remote schools.

From the above facts and figures and from similar data in the course of the study and collected published in the book, there can be deduced the following noteworthy conclusions as pointed out by Viscount Haldane in the introduction:—(1) In spite of the enormous progress which has taken place in secondary education in the last 20 years and of the closer links established between the primary and the secondary schools, the proportion of children who pass from the former to the latter is still surprisingly small not more indeed than 9.5 per cent. (2) different social strata contribute in very unequal proportions to the secondary school population. (The interesting table of present occupations shows that, while 26.9 per cent. of the pupils in secondary schools in 1921 were the children of wholesale and retail dealers, 20.5 per cent. were the children of "skilled" and only 3.2 the children of "unskilled" workmen). (3) The secondary school is still mainly a preparation for some kind of "black-watch occupation." (Of the pupils who left secondary schools in 1921 only under 10 per cent. passed on into industrial or manual work. (4) While about 50 per cent. of the pupils in elementary schools can profit by some form of post-primary education only 9.5 per cent. of them actually proceed to secondary schools; which proves that proved ability to the extent of at least 40 per cent. of the nation's children is at present being denied expression.

In the face of the last conclusion, the statement of Lord Birkenhead, viz. "There is now a complete ladder from the elementary school to the University, and the number of scholarships from the elementary to the secondary school is not limited, awards being made to all children who show capacity to profit," must be taken to be too optimistic. This is what Viscount Haldane says in the introduction. "Though in recent years there has been a remarkable increase in the accessibility of secondary education, still it is a fact that, while estimates of the proportion of pupils capable of profiting by secondary education differ, the percentage actually entering secondary school is, for the country as a whole, far below the lowest of them." The shortage of secondary schools is one serious obstacle. The lack of means on the part of parents, which prevents them from dispensing

with the earnings of their children, is another serious barrier.

"The development of 'Central Schools' which are designed to offer a broad and liberal education (including of course provision for practical work) during the years of adolescence has done something to mitigate the first evil, and the increased provision of maintenance allowances the second. But still, the gap which remains to be filled before the nation can be satisfied that it is making a wise use of its human resources is still very large."

As has been mentioned above, of the pupils who leave elementary schools, about 10 per cent. enter the secondary schools and another 10 per cent. get into jobs which can be described as 'skilled' work. The remaining 80 per cent. of the pupils plunge into full-time industry (or, in too many cases, unemployment) at the age of 14 which is a grave waste of human resources. As a remedy it has been suggested in the course of the book that in place of an elementary system till 14 from which a small minority of children pass to secondary schools, education must be regraded in such a way as to consist of a primary or preparatory system for all children up to the age of 11 or 12 followed by varying forms of secondary education corresponding to the different tastes and capacities of pupils. This reorientation of secondary education must be such as to secure a vocational training on the top of a broad general education for all children based on their tendencies and desires and the evident needs of production in a co-operative and democratic state".

In the above, the facts, figures and conclusions have been stated rather elaborately with a view to show to the Indian reader that, though conditions in England regarding primary and secondary education are very much better than those obtaining in India, still they are not satisfied with the existing conditions and efforts are being made by studies like this to ascertain statistically the true facts and wholesome reforms are being advocated. In India we have no compulsory primary education; there is no co-ordination between primary and secondary education and the whole system of education is not adapted to the needs of the country, with the natural result of unemployment staring in the face. Lastly, there is no proper agitation nor any attempt to study the situation and to seek the necessary remedies. May we hope that things will improve?

P. V. SESHU AIYAR.

## THE ORIGIN OF MODERN ECONOMIC JAPAN.

THE PENETRATION OF MONEY ECONOMY IN JAPAN. By MATSUYO TAKIZAWA. (Columbia University Press, New York.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 159. \$2.25.

MONEY as a medium of exchange is the mainstay of the economic organisation of today. We are so much accustomed to the use of money that it is not easy for us to imagine days when people passed away without ever having handled a coin in their lifetime. And yet there was such a time somewhere in the history of every country in the world, not in the very distant past. Every country had some day to cast aside natural economy in favour of money economy. Natural economy, where men are bound to one another by customary ties and discharge their mutual obligations in service or in kind (like *veth*, *bigar* or payment in rice, etc.), though compatible

with a conventional standard of comfort, appreciated perhaps by the stable psychology of custom and habit, is devoid of those opportunities of freedom and progress which the independence of money economy brings in its train. There is apparently a conflict between these two stages of development, and the transition from the former to the latter is naturally accompanied by disasters and disintegration, until society finally settles down and wisely reconciles itself to the inevitable changes effected in its social and political institutions. India, of our times, is in the very midst of the throes of such a mighty transition.

A very instructive comparison is afforded in this book by Miss Takizawa, presenting her researches into a similar period in the economic history of Japan covering about a century and a half of the later Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867). The reader is likely to find himself handicapped by a want of knowledge of the contemporary political history, which could have easily been supplied by the author in a compact but brief paragraph or two instead of in stray chronological references, scattered in the body of the book. The Shoguns may be compared to the Frankish Mayors of the Palace. They ruled over feudal Japan till the social and economic revolution in the country (1867) culminated in a general outburst of sentiment in favour of the Mikiado, the Emperor of the 'Country of the Gods', in his divine right. Japan did not escape the phenomenal activity of the European commercial enterprise in the sixteenth century A. D., and the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Dutch maintained an ever-increasing, though small, trade with Japan, in the early seventeenth century. The proselytising zeal of the Jesuits succeeded in creating a sort of misapprehension in the mind of the then Shogun, who in 1641 restricted all outside communication and virtually maintained a complete seclusion for Japan for well-nigh two hundred years. The present study by Miss Takizawa covers this same period of exclusive Japan, thus constituting almost ideal conditions for an economic and social experimentation, very rarely afforded in nature. It is a story of feudal Japan reacting to the introduction and development of money economy in the 18th and 19th centuries, of itself and without any stimulation or interference from any outside influence. Without hazarding any opinion as to the desirability of any particular frame of economic organisation, we may assert the general proposition that with the introduction of money, which is decidedly a very convenient invention, events naturally move in such a way as to make the old solidarity of compact village communities or joint family system an impossibility. History is replete with instances. Greece faced its problems, Rome had to face them, and if India has to face hers let her not attribute them to the accursed contact with the ruling West. Here is Japan to testify to the rolling tide of economic evolution, which could not be stayed even when the Shoguns hurled their full weight of absolute power against it, restricting coinage, managing currency, debasing it when overcome by a shortage of purchasing power, trying frantically to maintain a desirable level of rice prices once in the interests of their retainers, another time in those of the clamouring consumers, suppressing the artisans and the rising moneyed class of merchants, encouraging their old agricultural allies by investing them with honours and rewards. Do whatever they might, they could not prevent the proud samurais, the higher caste of Japan, from coming down or the middle moneyed class from rising up or the poor peasant class from forsaking

thankless agriculture for a fortunate town life; all this when they could not complain of any untoward intervention of an evil genius from without, when the country was enjoying self-government and when that government strove its level best to maintain the old order, which very much resembled Indian conditions but a few decades before.

The first of the eight chapters deals with the economic organisation of Japan preceding the penetration of money economy, which bears a close resemblance to the mediaeval organisation of agricultural India. The foundations of the economic life of Japan lay in the production and distribution of rice; the most essential and hence the only taxable factor of production was land; it was tilled by the indigenous peasantry under conditions of poverty and ignorance perpetuated by the heartless neglect of the feudal lords or daimyos, to whose sole benefit the produce redounded, under the exorbitant exactions of their greedy servants. The villagers lived under a sort of organisation which pressed very heavily upon individual cultivators in the interests of the exploiting overlord. Such a time was of course suited for a rigid distinction of social classes into Samurais and the ordinary peasantry. The language in which similar descriptions are worded seems to read the sentiments of the modern scientists in the institutions of the past and hence obscures the fact that those institutions were very natural to those periods of history. The author seems constantly to assume the rôle of a patriotic historian rather than that of a scientific economist. Much of the point therefore of an otherwise interesting book is marred, as the reader cannot help believing that the author is only trying to illustrate, after all, certain economic tendencies taken for granted and not seeking to prove them inductively.

The second chapter tries to give a connected account of the part played by coined metal in Japan, especially in the 18th century and after. After rather a full description of the introduction of the use of money in Japan we are introduced to the interesting effects of money economy upon the price level of necessaries, especially rice. Both the rulers and the ruled were bound to be adversely affected by the fluctuations in prices, which were sought to be controlled by many wild schemes which may better be perused in the book. The development of money economy was accompanied by the same features of growth of luxuries, indebtedness and usury as were evident in ancient Greece and Rome. The judicial courts began to be pestered by cases between debtors and creditors which they tried to suppress in their bewilderment for want of law or precedent.

Chapters III and IV continue the narrative through the growth of commercial towns and the consequent decline of the peculiar village community, from the distintegrating effects of the favourable chances afforded in towns in comparison with the villages. A further chapter deals with the downfall of the Crown of the Japanese social order—the Samurai class. Entrenched within the citadel of old prejudices, from which he would not condescend to budge an inch, he very naturally fell a victim to the shrewd order of the newly rising commercial class, which soon monopolised even the sales of the Samurai's own property in rice, leaving him the sullen recipient of a meagre pension in instalments of the merchant's choice. The lowest strata of society was further impoverished into a virtual class of wage-earners which, so early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, emerged into a clear opposition to the pampered class of capi-

talists. The money fluidly enters into the stolid family of Japan, promises independence to the younger proteges of the patriarch, who venture into the charmed circle of town and city life, violate the dictates of selfish demands on their filial piety and local patriotism and indulge in their pride of a new family of their own. The chief stays of the shogunate crumble down one after another. The close rice organisation gives place to the payment in money. Money facilitates commerce and raises towns. Towns harbour a class of merchants, who create an insatiable demand for labour and artisan-ship of every kind. The latter is recruited from the villages, thus effecting irreparable breaches into the family life. The family depended ignominiously upon agriculture. But agriculture failed to offer as much ease as town life did. So the whole superstructure broke and pulled down the keystone—the Shogunate itself. And all this was done by money. This is the moral of the story already evident from a number of other studies.

This book has a peculiar interest on account of its dealing with an era in Japan's economic history immediately preceding the very fruitful era of the wonderful industrial revolution in Japan, the way for which—and this is the subject of the thesis—was already prepared by the quiet and untrammelled evolution of economics in Japan itself. One learns a good deal of the social life of the Japanese especially of the family and the village, the Samurai and the Namushi, which will lead to a better understanding of the Japanese from an economic point of view.

D. V. KALE.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### ROYAL INDIAN NAVY.

#### WILL THE CONTRIBUTION BE REMITTED ?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I noticed in last week's issue of the SERVANT OF INDIA, the writer of the first leading article, referring to the cost of the Royal Indian Navy, said:

"As against this additional expenditure, however, there will very likely be a saving of £100,000 a year, for the annual contribution of this amount which India makes to the naval expenditure of Great Britain cannot continue after India has her own navy. But it is surprising that no authoritative statement was made on this subject in the debate in the Commons. We may take it, however, that this contribution will now be withdrawn."

We were no less surprised at this omission of a statement on this aspect of the subject and I immediately got a Member to put a question asking whether it was proposed that the Government of India should continue their contribution of £100,000 a year to the Imperial Navy in addition to bearing the cost of the Indian Navy. He replied, I quote from Hansard, that as indicated in paragraph 19 of the Departmental Committee's report, the question of revising the contribution would arise when the Indian Navy was in a position to perform an appreciable position of the services in respect of which the contribution is paid. The cost of the Indian Navy would be borne by Indian Revenues; but the total cost of the new organization was not estimated to exceed the present cost of the Royal

Indian Marine by more than a relatively small amount.

I hope Indians will deal with this answer as it should be dealt with, and will press that in common fairness, even if the contribution cannot be reduced by the whole amount, a substantial reduction in the charge to Indian revenues on this account should be made.—Yours, etc.

The British Committee on Indian Affairs,  
5th May.

CHARLES BARNES.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS. By C. A. BEARD. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York.) 7½ × 5. pp. 99. \$1.50.
- L'AGE ET LE CONSENTMENT DE LA VICTIME EN MATIERE D'INFRACTIONS CONTRE LES MOEURS—PERPETREES ENVERS DES FILLES MINEURES. ETUDE DE DROIT COMPARE. B. PIERRE NISOT. (Association International Pour la Protection de L'Enfance, Bruxelles.) 1927. 9 × 5¼. pp. 155. 10frs.
- CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE 20TH CENTURY. By E. ROY CALVERT. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 99. 5s.
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