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Topics of the Week.

Burma in Distress.

THE distress and devastation caused by the recent earthquakes in Burma call for instant sympathy and assistance from all over India. In Pegu, where the damage has been the greatest, over two-thirds of the houses have been destroyed. Hundreds of people have been killed and thousands rendered homeless. Buildings of all kinds, mills, offices and homes, and the famous and ancient Shwehmawdaw Pagoda, have suffered serious damage. Heaps of people have been buried under the debris. This is an occasion when India should demonstrate in a practical manner that however much Burma and India are separated by physical barriers and are sought to be divided by political exploiters, they are yet one and that the joy and suffering of the one are the joy and suffering of the other. Intensely preoccupied as India is with her political troubles and tribulations, we hope she will not overlook the distress that has overtaken one of the members of her family and will promptly and in no niggardly fashion run to the help of Burma.

Bravo, Engineer !

EVERYONE in India will rejoice to hear that Mr. A. M. Engineer has landed at Karachi at the end of a solo flight from England to India and has won the Aga Khan Prize. The event amply proves that if suitable opportunities are given, Indians will show themselves as experts in aviation and will not be found wanting in mechanical aptitudes and courage required for aerial ventures. We regret that Mr. Manmohan Singh has been declared to be ineligible because he took more than four weeks and one of the conditions

of the award was that the flight must be completed within a month from the time of starting. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, President of the Karachi Municipality and Chairman of the local Aero Club, congratulated Mr. Engineer on his having won the honour. Great credit is due to the father of Mr. Engineer who made all the arrangements for his son's successive flights. Mr. Manmohan Singh, the other competitor, was unsuccessful in his first two flights but with wonderful pertinacity he undertook the third one and actually reached Bhengazi a few hours ahead of Mr. Engineer but the latter made up time during the latter part of the journey. Although Mr. Manmohan Singh is declared technically ineligible it must be remembered that the total number of days on which he actually flew is eleven, the rest of the period having been spent in repairs to his machine at Lyons in France. Great sympathy will be felt for him all over India for having missed the prize owing to unforeseen accident and we endorse the proposal made in some quarters that a consolation prize should be awarded to him.

* * *

Patiala Enquiry.

IT is a matter for satisfaction that the Government of India have at last ordered an enquiry into the grave allegations made against the Maharaja of Patiala. The Maharaja has done well and saved his prestige by voluntarily asking for an enquiry. We must, however, hasten to express our great disappointment that the enquiry is to be held *in camera* and by the Agent of the Governor General, Punjab States. The A. G. G. is, in the first place, the nominee of the Maharaja for the Commissionership. In the second place, the Government of India have been bracketted with the Maharaja of Patiala in the allegations made in the "Indictment of Patiala". In the third place, it is very likely that the A. G. G. himself may have to appear as a witness in the enquiry. And in the fourth place, the enquiry ordered by the Government of India cuts across the principle enunciated for such purposes in the Montford Report. An enquiry conducted *in camera* by the nominee of the principal accused and the executive agent of the alleged abettor will fail to inspire confidence in the public. It is highly regrettable that the enquiry was not entrusted to one or more of the judges of a High Court. This is just another example of the Government of India doing the right thing in the wrong way.

* * *

Boycott of British Cloth.

NO small significance attaches to the fact that so level-headed a contemporary as the *Leader* of Allahabad has been driven in despair to support the boycott of British goods and, in particular, British cloth. Equally significant is the action of

the various important Indian commercial bodies in the country which have consented to an immediate or prospective boycott. Partly the motive is economic, but primarily political. Even so, it is partly inspired by the desire to inflict hardship and loss on Lancashire in retaliation for all the wrong that Lancashire has done India in the past: just hitting off old scores. But partly, it is advocated in the hope that by putting such economic pressure on Lancashire, the British Parliament might be induced to accelerate Indian constitutional progress. But is that result likely? Will Lancashire gain by persuading the British Government to grant Dominion Status to India? What repercussions will the attainment of Dominion Status by India have on Lancashire? India bitterly complained in the past that Lancashire stood in the way of the rapid development of the cotton industry in India and that Lancashire opposed fiscal autonomy for India for the reason that India would as certain as fate stimulate her own cotton industry and, if necessary, sacrifice the British industry. The fiscal policies of the British Dominions have justified the apprehensions of Britain in this respect. It is not, therefore, an advantage to Lancashire that India should be given Dominion Status, for then Lancashire is doomed. There is some hope of continued trade as long as the British Government can impose its, or Lancashire's, will on India, or if the boycott fails. From the point of view of Lancashire, boycott is the lesser evil than Dominion Status, for boycott will never be complete and will not hit Lancashire as effectively as tariff legislation by a Swaraj Government.

India under Swaraj may be an advantage to Lancashire if India agreed to give her preference; if India had accepted imperial preference Lancashire would then lose less by Indian Swaraj than by Indian boycott, and that consideration might induce Lancashire to throw its weight on the side of early conferment of Dominion Status on India. But India has all along opposed, and vehemently opposed, imperial preference. Under Indian Swaraj Lancashire will be sacrificed to protect Bombay but it has no hope that it will, under any circumstances, be protected against Japan, for instance. And Japan will eliminate Lancashire from the Indian market in no time. It appears, therefore, that they are rather too optimistic who advocate boycott of Lancashire in the hope that distressed Lancashire will plead with the British Government to accelerate the advent of Dominion Status in India.

* * *

Transvaal.

FROM a message that appeared in the *Times of India* on the 10th inst. from its correspondent in Cape Town, it appears that the Select Committee of the Union Parliament which sat to consider the Indian licensing question have submitted their report. The recommendations of the Committee have not yet been made available in this country. But according to the correspondent of the *Times*, one of the recommendations seems to be that the present occupiers of stands on proclaimed ground, not protected under the law of 1919, should vacate such stands within five years. If this is correct, it spells disaster to the Indian traders in the Transvaal, 75 per cent of whom, it is said, are without the protection of the law of 1919. It will be recalled that under the law of the Transvaal Indians are prohibited from even renting business premises in certain areas; but the law was never strictly enforced. As a matter of fact, the Government of the Union and the Municipalities and Licensing authorities were all parties to the perpetration of the illegalities of the Indian traders. The illegalities as on the 1st May 1919 were condoned

by the law of 1919. But a good number of the Indian traders who then received immunity lost it for one reason or other, not always because of their own fault. But their vested interests have been allowed to grow and it is not only a hardship but a piece of cruelty now to tell all these Indian traders to close their businesses within five years. Under the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government solemnly undertook to see that the permanent Indian population in the Union did not lag behind other sections of the population. The Union Government also undertook to give due consideration to the proposals advanced by the Indian Delegation to the Round Table Conference calculated to regulate the issue of trading licenses by law instead of by the discretion of the licensing authorities and to restore the jurisdiction of the judiciary in licensing disputes. It may be that Government finds public opinion not sufficiently advanced to permit them to repeal all the repressive and anti-Indian laws; it may even be that they do not find it feasible even to liberalise the licensing laws; but as a civilised Government, they cannot do less than protect the vested interests, which right under their nose and with their connivance, have been allowed to grow up. It is a species of barbaric cruelty now to attempt to extinguish these vested interests in the course of five years. The tyranny of prejudice can go no further.

It is some slight consolation that this cruel recommendation is not a unanimous one but has only a majority behind it. If the Government and people of India make timely and vigorous representations to the Union Government, the grave danger may yet be staved off. We feel confident that Gen. Hertzog and Dr. Malan, who in the Cape Town Agreement forged a solution of the Indian problem which other statesman of South Africa and of Great Britain failed to achieve, who solemnly promised that the permanent Indian population would be uplifted, will shrink from doing anything calculated to deprive them of the unique fruit of their statesmanship, to tear up the Cape Town Agreement, and write them down as violators of their most solemn promises.

* * *

The Opium Conference.

AN inter-provincial Conference was held in Simla recently to discuss the 'black spots' administration and the unification of the lines of policy adopted by Provincial Governments to check the evil of excessive consumption of opium. His Excellency the Viceroy in his opening address referred to the marked reduction in the consumption of opium in India during the last ten years and the reduction of poppy cultivation to 25 p. c. consequent on the policy of extinguishing the export to the Far East by year 1935, by progressive annual stages. In his opinion there was no need to start a fresh comprehensive enquiry since no new facts had been brought to light which invalidated the main conclusions of the Royal Commission of 1893; but he admitted the desirability of appointing local committees for devising means to reduce the consumption in 'black spots' to the normal level. H. E. the Viceroy further pointed out that the question of coordinating measures for the suppression of illicit traffic in opium and other pernicious drugs had been tackled by the appointment of a special officer who had collected a mass of information on the subject and invited the Conference to consider it and offer their advice to the Government of India for putting a stop to the nefarious traffic. His Excellency did not exaggerate the importance of the problem of substantially reducing the consumption of opium in India when he said that the successful solution of the problem

affected the physical and moral welfare of millions of human beings in other countries as well as those in the 'black spots' of India. In view, however of Lord Irwin's declaration that there was no need to depart from the findings of the Royal Commission of 1893 it should be noted that in a memorandum submitted to the Government of India by a group in London who are studying the opium policy in India authorities are cited to show that even a moderate use of opium is harmful in tropical countries like India and that all non-medical use should be recognized as an abuse. The memorandum also refers to the researches of Col. Chopra, I. M. S., which have proved that the opium habit once formed cannot be easily eradicated and that facts did not substantiate the statement that Indians had a greater degree of tolerance to opium and were less susceptible to its ill-effects. Medical opinion in Malaya, Java and Persia is also, according to the memorandum, converging on the opinion the effects of opium eating are as harmful as those of opium smoking, especially on the nervous system. In the light of these revelations which cannot be easily brushed aside we think the Conference would do well to get rid of the belief in the sacrosanct character of the report of the Royal Commission of 1893 and recommend the modification of the present policy of tolerating an "age-long habit" in favour of a policy aiming at complete prohibition of opium, except for strictly medical purposes.

Travancore Administration.

TRAVANCORE is undoubtedly one of the most progressive States in India as judged by the Report of its administration for 1928-29. The Legislative Council is composed of 50 members, of whom 28 are elected and it is invested with powers of voting on the budget and women are placed on a footing of equality with men in the matter of franchise. The revenue for the year was Rs. 251 lakhs and the budget showed a surplus of Rs. 23 lakhs. The Report says that the policy of the State has been to make it increasingly difficult for the consumer to obtain liquor by enhancement of duties and reduction of the number of shops; in spite of this one cannot help deploring the fact that nearly 25 per cent of the total revenue is derived from Excise. More intensive temperance work is clearly needed. In view of the agitation in British India it is reassuring to be told that the policy of the State has been in recent years to refrain from further reservation of extensive forest areas and to release forest land for cultivation. Agricultural experimental farms have been established in various parts which popularise improved manures and methods. Industrial education is well represented by a school of arts, a technical institute and 55 industrial schools and recently an Economic Development Board was constituted to develop the economic resources of the State and to establish new industries. Co-operation shows steady progress and the number of societies has increased from 1688 to 1738 during the year and the total share capital amounted to Rs. 27 lakhs; the State has been directing special attention to the societies among the depressed classes. The progress of the consumers' societies, however, appears to be distinctly slow, the total sales of all societies having hardly reached the figure of Rs. 1½ lakhs. The total expenditure on communications during the year was Rs. 26 lakhs, the State being responsible for all the roads. It is necessary, however, in the interests of local self-government, to hand over some of the roads to local bodies if only for training them. The absence of any local bodies except the urban municipalities is a grave defect and steps ought to be taken to institute rural boards. As is well-known the publication of Sanskrit manuscript has been the great pride of the State

and four new works have been added to the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series which has gained a world-wide reputation. The State Life Insurance Scheme is an excellent innovation which ought to be copied by every other State; the scheme caters for the needs of the employees in pensionable service and at the end of the year, 860 policies were in force. The State also maintains Saving Banks and the total deposits at the end of the year amounted to Rs. 74½ lakhs.

Medical Conference.

THE Syndicate of the Bombay University did the right thing in calling together a conference of the representatives of the medical faculties in the various Indian Universities to consider the situation created by the action of the General Medical Council in withdrawing their recognition of Indian medical degrees. All the representatives who attended the conference were Indians. The Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, the Hon. Justice Mirza Akbar Khan, in a well-reasoned and judicial statement, reviewed the position. His statement makes it clear beyond any shadow of doubt that the grievance of the General Medical Council with Indian Universities was more political than medical. The General Medical Council raised no trouble as long as medical education was directly under the control of the Government of India; they raised trouble when it was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in the Provinces under the Montagu scheme. That this constitutional change did not bring about any deterioration in the standards of medical education is fully borne out by the report of Sir Norman Walker and Col. Needham. The latter was engaged in inspecting medical institutions in the country from 1922 to 1927 and submitted favourable reports to the satisfaction of the General Medical Council. "The report made by Sir Norman Walker in June 1927 to the Secretary of State for India showed that the Medical institutions in this country were then in a remarkably efficient state and were fulfilling more than the minimum requirements of the General Medical Council. The same satisfactory progress was maintained in 1928-29 as is shown by the various reports." The dissatisfaction of the General Medical Council must be sought elsewhere than in any lowering of the standards of medical education. All the same the G. M. C. were entitled to their opinion and "there is no need" as the Vice Chancellor observed, "for us to quarrel with any one, much less with the General Medical Council." The remedy lies in our own hands.

The Conference then passed several resolutions. It recommended that, pending the constitution of a General Medical Council for India, an Inter-University Board, consisting of a representative of the medical faculty of each of the Indian Universities, presided over by the Director General, Indian Medical Service, should be constituted to supervise medical education in India. Another resolution desired the Government of India to secure information from various countries on the subject of medical registration, standards of medical education and medical Acts, to make it available to the public and to seek the advice of the Conference before drafting proposals for the creation of a General Medical Council for India. In this connection, it would be well if the Conference itself selected a competent Indian medical expert to tour the countries and make independent enquiries and make a report. The Universities may co-operate in deputing such a mission. Another important resolution referred to the desirability of reserving all appointments in India to medical men registered in India, and to hold the competitive examinations for the I. M. S. in India only.

Articles.

THE LAST HOPE.

ALL eyes turn to the Sapru Conference as the single ray of hope amidst the encircling gloom. There is enough in the situation to drive everybody, including the Government, the Gandhites and the constitutionalists, to despair for the times are a field day for the *goondas* in the camps of both the Government and the non-cooperators. The Dyers and O'Dwyers have gained the upper hand in the counsels of the Government of India. Government have despaired of governing by conciliation and goodwill and are relying more and more on repression. The excesses of their own subordinate officers, the spread of the movement of civil disobedience, the loss of their moral prestige, clinched by the arrest of the Mahatma, the annoying delay in the publication of the Simon Report, and considerations of prestige, all these have made the task of Lord Irwin and the Labour Government very reactionary.

The non-cooperators themselves, at any rate such of them as believe in non-violence, must have been shocked by the happenings at Sholapur, to mention only one instance. The burning of the court house, the destruction of records, the burning of liquor shops, and the brutal attacks on the police, culminating in the murder of policemen, and, as some reports say, the burning alive of some three policemen—these are acts of horrible violence the responsibility for which they can by no trick of Jesuitical argument escape.

Even more significant is active sympathy of the "non-combatants" with the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth. Sober business men have been impelled to join the movement, cancel contracts and dislocate world trade, for other countries than Britain have been affected. We do not believe that these shrewd businessmen are convinced that the boycott campaign is either from the economic or the political point of view advantageous to India, except to the mill industry. Their support of boycott is more the signification of their distressed and indignant temper than their reasoned and deliberate economic and political programme, even as is the action of a distressed child when it knocks its head against a stone wall. Even so level-headed a contemporary as the *Leader* of Allahabad has been driven to support the boycott of British goods and, in particular, British cloth. Several resignations of membership of the Councils have followed the arrest of the Mahatma. Among those who resigned is Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, a nominated member of the Madras Legislative Council and its Deputy President. It should not be surprising that even some of the members of the Liberal Party should be compelled by pressure of public opinion to resign their seats in the Councils. Boycott of foreign cloth and resignations of membership in the Councils are no favourites with the Liberal Party and are no part of their regular

programme: they are no advantage to India. Nevertheless, so deep and all-pervading is the feeling of indignation and despair that even unreasonable and unprofitable courses of action are being advocated and adopted in order to signify the feeling. The Government are forfeiting more and more the moral support of the "non-combatants."

There is just one ray of hope. The results will be anxiously awaited of the Sapru Conference which met yesterday in Bombay. Here were gathered from different parts of India some of the most eminent statesmen who have kept their heads above the gloom, who are sustained by their own inner faith, and who, in the face of contumely and jeering opposition, have persisted, in spite of defeats and disparagements, in their quest for a way out. Theirs is a difficult task. Political unity between the Congressmen and others and communal agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims are farther away today than they were when Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his collaborators set out to organise the Conference. The Mahatma's campaign secured a greater following than was at first anticipated, and everybody is sore about the Mahatma's arrest. The atmosphere is anything but propitious. The situation demands more than average faith and courage. Those who under such adverse circumstances undertook such difficult tasks deserve well of the country.

The Viceroy's statement of the 12th inst. as the earlier one made by Mr. Wedgwood Benn are welcome in their own way and the personal note struck by the former is characteristic of him. It is Lord Irwin's personality and the faith in him that accounts for the fact that all India has not made common cause with Mr. Gandhi. The hope still lingers that recognising as he does "that at the present time there is a widespread desire throughout India to see real political advance," he will do his utmost to conciliate India and arrest the drift towards anarchy.

Nevertheless, his statement is disappointing. The reiteration that recent regrettable events in India have not deflected him or His Majesty's Government from their policy announced in November last takes us no farther. It was the vagueness of that policy, its interpretation by responsible politicians adverse to the expectations in India and the consequent doubts created in India that account for the present lack of understanding between the Government and the people. The Viceroy's statement does nothing to dispel these doubts. The only new information that it contains is the approximate date of the Round Table Conference about the end of October. If the Government propose to wait, as they seem to, till the Simon Report is published before they make a fuller and more satisfactory statement, the announcement in Parliament that the Report will be published on June 24th is cold comfort. We reiterate our suggestion that Government should not wait for the Report but announce at once the terms of reference and the personnel of the Conference.

THE EXCHANGE MUDDLE IN INDIA.

THE ratio controversy, which has been in the forefront for the last four years, has now been overshadowed by the great political events following on the heels of the civil disobedience movement inaugurated by the Nation's leader, Mahatma Gandhi. The importance of the issue involved in the ratio question is, however, of such vital importance to the trade, industry and agriculture of the country that it is worthwhile pointing out again and again some of the salient points connected with the question and the injury inflicted on the country. It is a great pity that the subject of currency and exchange, so vital to the interests of the nation, is not properly understood by many of our public men.

The British came to India for trade and they remain here principally for trade. Trade could be carried on peacefully to the benefit of both nations if political power was not utilised to give undue advantage to one side. Unfortunately, time and again it has been shown—the cotton excise duty and the fixation of the exchange ratio are notable examples—that this power has not always been used with an eye on the advance of Indian national trade. Herein lies the real secret of the political unrest so widespread in the country at this moment.

The loss that could be inflicted on a nation by the manipulation of currency and exchange is immense. The sufferings of the Russian and the German people through excessive inflation of currency is too recent and well-known to need recapitulation. The loss that could come through undue deflation is not the less severe and unjust in its incidence. India is the only country in the world whose currency has been fixed at a higher than pre-war value. India has, therefore, to deflate her currency to a larger extent than is justified by the world level of prices.

It will be easily understood when we say that an individual who spends more than his income is rapidly heading for ruin. He can only save himself by reducing his expenses or increasing his income. And he can make himself financially strong by the sole method of having a net excess of income over expenditure, and going on in the same way year after year. As with an individual, so with a nation. The amount of excess of annual exports over imports represents the savings of the nation for the year. Exports and imports consist not only of merchandise and treasure but also of the value of services rendered, interest and other items. The importance of maintaining a favourable balance of trade is recognised everywhere, and a perusal of the American financial magazines will show the vigour with which that country is crying out for "more exports" and the anxiety with which huge tariff walls have been built up for reducing imports. Already the balance of trade is very heavily in favour of America, and consequently wealth is increasing by leaps and bounds. Still, America is not satisfied and intensive propaganda is being carried on not only to maintain but to increase her favourable balance.

In India, owing to its natural advantages we have always a tendency to a heavy excess of exports over imports, i. e., an inflow of wealth. But the currency and exchange policy of Government have had a most damaging effect on this inflow of wealth. To take only the recent events of the last 10 years, the nation has lost hundreds of crores of rupees by the damper the export trade has received by repeated deflation of currency necessitated by the maintenance of an unnatural ratio. In 1919-20 India's exportable commodities were fetching very good prices in the international markets. This gave us a favourable balance of merchandise trade to the extent of Rs. 119 crores. In the following year the inexorable economic law that a high exchange operates as a bounty to imports showed itself, and imports of foreign goods increased tremendously, from Rs. 208 crores to 336 crores and exports went down from Rs. 327 to Rs. 256 crores. That is, the balance of trade went against us to the extent of Rs. 80 crores instead of being Rs. 119 crores in our favour. And what was this due to? It was due to the rigging up of the exchange to over 2 shillings in the face of the brilliant minority report of Sir Dadiba Dalal.

Rs. 200 crores! Does it not take one's breath away? What an amount of service could this amount have done to the country? How many industries could have flourished with its aid? How many starving millions could it have fed? How much medical relief could it have provided and what a number of ignorant people could it have educated? A nation's lifeblood has been drained by a single stroke of the pen.

This is only one year's direct loss. Years of depression and trade anæmia followed this deprivation of the nation of its natural advantages. In 1924-25 and 1925-26 India again had a heavy credit balance of trade in merchandise to the extent of Rs. 151 and Rs. 159 crores respectively. The exchange was again tampered with and the rupee was fixed at a rate higher than that of any country in the world. The Secretary of State wanted, it was said so then, to put up the exchange to 20d., but the fear of the practical difficulties in carrying on the administration made the Government pause at 18d. The immediate effect of putting up the rupee to 18d. was that the favourable balance of merchandise trade fell from 159 crores in 1925-26 to 79 crores in 1926-27 and the country's industry and agriculture have, in consequence, been suffering from an anaemic condition from which they have still not recovered.

The following table will show India's overseas trade in merchandise for the last 18 years. It will be seen that each time the trade surplus began to swell heavily—in 1920 and 1926 they were highest—the raising of the value of the rupee gave it a knock on the head, and India's annual savings were reduced to such a negligible figure, that they do not allow of her paying for her invisible imports, let alone making provision for her foreign indebtedness.

Year.	Total exports of merchandise in crores.	Total imports of merchandise in crores.	Balance in favour of India in crores.	Balance adverse to India in crores.
1912-13	246	161	85	...
1913-14	241	183	58	...
1914-15	182	138	44	...
1915-16	197	131	66	...
1916-17	211	150	91	...
1917-18	231	150	80	...
1918-19	254	169	85	...
1919-20	327	208	119	...
1920-21	256	336	...	80
1921-22	244	266	...	22
1922-23	314	233	81	...
1923-24	362	228	134	...
1924-25	398	247	151	...
1925-26	385	226	159	...
1926-27	309	231	78	...
1927-28	329	250	79	...
1928-29	338	253	85	...
1929-30	318	241	77	...

To a casual observer it might appear that a credit balance of merchandise of Rs. 80 or 90 crores per annum means wealth coming into the country. But India's invisible imports in the shape of interest on sterling debt, civil and military expenditure outside India, profits of foreigners remitted out, payments for banking, insurance and shipping services, expenditure incurred by our Maharajas and students abroad and such portion of gold and silver imports as are necessary for purposes of consumption, aggregate to a figure higher than this balance of Rs. 80 or 90 crores. There is, therefore, a net balance of imports unfavourable to India every year. If India is to have a real surplus of trade the visible balance of merchandise trade should annually be at least near the figure shown for the years 1923-24 to 1925-26.

We do not know if India's exchange troubles are over with the fixation of the ratio at 18d. It is not impossible to conceive—a few years hence perhaps—of a situation when exchange may again be rigged up to a higher figure. It is hoped, however, that the new Government of India Act—expected to operate in another two years—will provide sufficient safeguards against tampering with the exchange. But if the past is any index to the times to come, he would be a bold man who could say that exchange will never again be put up higher than 18d.

It was a great boon to India that the Legislative Assembly was able to force Government to drop the Reserve Bank Bill. If the Bill had been passed, the odium and the difficulties of maintaining the ratio would have fallen on the bank. These would have been exploited by the country's enemies to discredit India's ability to manage her own currency. Further, the methods open to Government for manipulation are not open to the bank, such as the unlimited issue of Treasury Bills, borrowing in England and restricting Governmental capital [and revenue expenditure. Government would simply have asked the bank to supply the Secretary of State with funds, and under the law the only course open to them would have been to export the Rs. 32 crores gold in the Paper Currency Reserve or the bulk of it, thus draining away all the

gold when other countries are carefully accumulating it. There can be no question of again starting a Reserve Bank until either the exchange is put back to 16d. or it stabilises itself at 18d. during the next 3 to 5 years, attended with intolerable sufferings to the millions of this unhappy country.

We are of opinion that the civil disobedience movement is bound to react adversely on the economic prosperity of the country. It cannot, however, be doubted that the success of the movement is due largely to the economic *malaise* the country is suffering from. Heavy fall in the value of agricultural produce, adverse balance of trade, losses in trade and industry, large scale unemployment, all have gone to feed the Satyagraha movement and the bands of volunteers breaking the law. The only way to uproot the Satyagraha movement is for the Government to take such steps as may be necessary—in consultation with the leaders of Indian trade and commerce—to improve the economic condition of the country. Until the Government realise that India's ills are in the main economic, there can be no lasting peace in the country. We for one are prepared to remain under the British Raj for an indefinite period of time, if the economic development of the country is left in the hands of the accredited leaders of Indian trade. Ten years of trade under conditions where a national economic policy is followed will make India rich, contented and happy.

“VERITY.”

ETHICS OF LAW-BREAKING.

II

I do not for one moment suggest that revolutions for upsetting a settled government may not be justified. Nor do I suggest that mere passive resistance may not in a country like India be as effective for revolution as violent resistance. But, in the first place, revolution is justified only in the last resort. The consequences of a revolution on the whole framework of society are so upsetting and the chances of things coming out all right in the end are so uncertain that nothing but the direst necessity can furnish any normal justification for a revolution. It is no answer to say that the French Revolution started when the King was willing to make every reasonable concession or that in Russia the arm of revolution was raised when the utmost concession was made by authority. An adventure may succeed by a happy chance, but its success is no normal justification for rashness in every case. It is far more pertinent to remember that the direct effect of the French Revolution was anarchy followed by a most powerful military autocracy. But for historic accidents Napoleon might have left a dynasty to rule France after him. In Russia, too, Lenin established a most powerful autocracy and Russia got freedom because Lenin happened to have no desire to establish a tyranny but a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the second place, the only revolution which has a moral justification is one which seeks not merely to break the existing rule but to substitute something better in its place. Gandhism, so far as

its details have been vouchsafed to a listening world, seeks only to break. If the Mahatma has any constructive scheme for a free constitution for India up his sleeves he has kept his own counsel. What he asks his followers to seek is mere *in-dependence*, a thoroughly negative concept which may or may not mean anything in the shape of freedom. It was far different with Lenin. He had a scheme for a free Russia on a communistic basis of which he made no secret and which he had worked out to very minute details before he even wrenched authority out of the hands of Kerensky or the Mensheviks. By all appearances the Mahatma expects all India to follow him blindly to the point at which Englishmen sail away from India and then wait for the Saint and Seer to have the revelation of a scheme by contemplation. This we know that from 1920 till to day he has not said a word as to what he would like to be the future political condition of India beyond giving his passive support to the Nehru scheme, which has since been unceremoniously scrapped, not merely in respect of the provision about Dominion Status, but wholesale.

In the third place, in the progress of a revolution every safeguard ought to be provided against anarchy. When an inch of ground has been gained it should be consolidated. Where authority is broken down it should be replaced by another authority. The Sabarmati programme has no thought of consolidation. Its end and aim is to break the authority of Government without a thought being given to establishing conditions under which the bare existence of society at any rate could be safeguarded. The Mahatma would not hear of undertaking any responsibility for himself and his party. He unceremoniously rejected Mr. Subhas Bose's amendment for the establishment of parallel government, which, at any rate, would have given some safeguard against anarchy. In his revised version of non-cooperation he has even dropped his old favourite, village organisation, which might have saved the country from an anarchy in case of the success of his present adventure.

It is all very well to say in answer that no successful revolution has in fact mapped out its programme with all that care. The great thing has always been to set the ball rolling. My answer to that is, in the first place, that the Russian and the Turkish revolutions at any rate were not so thoughtlessly pursued. The American War of Independence too was not started without a thought about the future. And these have been the least bloody revolutions. In the second place, it is useless to fix your eyes on successful revolutions alone and turn your blind eye to the great number of unsuccessful revolutions thoughtlessly launched which brought disaster in their train.

Besides, and this is the point which I want to stress, there is a radical difference between the other revolutions and the revolution that Mahatma Gandhi is thinking of. In every other revolution the central authority of the State has been attacked and captured. When that was done, the revolutionary Government

obtained control over the whole organised society in the State and proceeded to mould it by the exercise of State authority supported by military force. The whole fabric of society was kept more or less intact, only the centre was captured by a comparatively short though violent action. The Mahatma, however, seeks to attain his end by beginning from the bottom bringing down the central government by undoing every little tie that makes existence of society possible. He does not seek to capture the citadel by a direct attack on it so that the whole castle would be at his feet. With his eye to the citadel he goes burrowing underground and undermines the structure till the whole castle collapses. In the one case society is not absolutely upset, only the authority changes hand, while in the other the whole society is unhinged and broken to pieces.

When a revolution aims at the capture of the central authority the question of reconstruction is of secondary importance. When the central authority is captured reforms can be initiated at leisure. Society would in the meantime go on as usual. But where the whole fabric of authority is made to collapse it would be fatal not to have a framework ready for your new structure. For every brick you displace you have to be careful to lay a new one, unless you want absolute chaos.

Judged by these principles I regret to say the movement which has been launched with such splendid enthusiasm and carried out with a brilliant record of sacrifices fails to satisfy the essentials of a justified revolution. I have nothing but admiration for those who have given their adherence to the programme. All the more I regret that all that great wealth of enthusiasm and sacrifice which, turned to more fruitful channels might have brought real freedom of India within easy reach, is being directed towards a course which can lead only to futility or utter disaster.

I shall be told, as others have been told and I have been told before this, it is easy enough to criticise, and in the midst of this great national upheaval every one should hold his tongue who has nothing constructive to offer. Give us a substitute—will be the challenge flung at me. I should be glad to take up the gauntlet and tell my critics exactly what I think ought to be done if only they would listen. But my countrymen, alas, have no ears for anything now except the war cry that is in every throat. It is waste of breath to utter constructive suggestions now. We must bide our time till a tired country seeks other counsels which may bring them nearer their goal.

NARESS C. SEN-GUPTA.

LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE

THE immediate results of the London Naval Treaty are obvious enough: the elimination of Anglo-American rivalry, the most disturbing factor in international affairs of recent years, the saving of what is officially estimated to be some seventy million pounds in armaments for the British taxpayer, and a stimulus to general disarmament. It

would be a mistake to minimise these gains, small as they may seem to a public weary of the long-drawn-out Conference. To realize the value of the London Naval Treaty it were enough to compare the prevailing situation with the state of affairs consequent upon the breakdown of the Three Power Conference of 1927. Then the delegates had to retire owning defeat: now they have produced a definite result.

Further analysis would, however, reveal other points of difference between then and now. The difficulties of 1927 were much the same as the difficulties of 1930 and the present results are due not wholly to the spirit in which the problem was approached. The method has been different, one may even say, altogether different. In 1927 Great Britain and France were on one side, so to speak, whereas the recent Anglo-American accord has meant virtually the isolation of France. The rift in the *Entente* caused by Mr. Snowden's manner at the first Hague Conference has been further widened by the more fundamental, if less dramatic, change registered by the London Naval Treaty.

The far-reaching character of this change was only lightly touched upon in the discussions in the Conference itself. It is not that the adjustments on which the Treaty rests and upon which it is conditional according to the safeguarding clause, will be upset by the French seeking to increase their armaments. Such an eventuality is most unlikely. The French will probably turn their attention to diplomatic means for attaining their ends and refrain from resorting to any such direct method. It is not even that Franco-Italian relations are in urgent need of being straightened. There is hardly any possibility of France or Italy being able to launch upon a pretty little war between them in the existing situation. And moreover, so long as the strength of the British fleet remains what it is, the question of the comparative strength of the French and Italian fleets is more or less insignificant. Whatever be the strength of their respective fleets, that side will be stronger which has the British fleet on its side. Until recently it was understood that France could reckon on such support. It was at any rate quite certain that the British fleet would be on the side of the League.

The change brought about by the London Treaty (about which there was not a little uneasiness in the closing weeks of the Conference and we are sure to hear a great deal more as the months pass) consists in the impossibility of making the same affirmation any longer. Mr. Garvin has declared in the *Observer* that if Great Britain had to choose between America and the League, she would choose America. The other newspapers, although less outspoken, have also shown appreciation of the change. The current number of the *Foreign Affairs* says, "For several years now there has been a steady tendency in public expression to water down the Covenant commitments in the matter of mutual aid against aggression. The signature of the Kellogg Pact accelerated this tendency. Popular enthusiasm marked its signature—one of these moods of optimism which are one

of the great dangers of the peace movement. Simple undertakings not to go war, except for defence, were surely enough. Why worry about commitments for mutual aid, 'sanctions'? And while in the early days of the League these commitments were seen to be the heart of the problem, in the last year or two there has been an increasing tendency to argue that the sanction clauses should be allowed to become obsolescent."

The French hold that the force of these sanctions has been weakened by the resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1924 to the effect that each League member may judge for itself whether the Covenant has been violated and whether it should impose an economic boycott, as well as by the Annex. F of the Locarno Treaties declaring that in the opinion of the signatories Article XVI of the Covenant meant "that each League member was to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account". In the event of their not being able to obtain the satisfaction they seek from the League as the organization for peace, they would certainly set about consolidating their position in another way. It is not without significance that almost immediately after Monsieur Briand's return to Paris after signing the London Naval Treaty the newspapers announced his taking up the idea of the United States of Europe anew.

It may be that Mr. MacDonald will be as lucky in bringing about a settlement of Great Britain's European naval problems as he has been in regard to the non-European ones. It may even be that through what at present may appear to be the weakening of the League, regional settlements will be reached of which the League will be the co-ordinating point as it should be. Peace has become an absolute necessity not only to the prosperity but even the existence of modern industrial Powers, and it can be obtained only to the extent to which the various political systems gravitating round states such as Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan, are free from disruptive influences and exclude mutual rivalry between themselves. This last is the League's real purpose and for its achievement international understandings of the importance of the London Naval Treaty, with all their implications, must be fitted into the League system in one way or another.

R. R. R.

Our European Letter.

THE I. L. P. CONFERENCE AND AFTER.

THE most notable fact that emerged from the recent Conference of the Independent Labour Party at Birmingham was the extreme dissatisfaction of the Party with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues. The general line of complaint was that the Labour Government, instead of aiming at the destruction of capitalism, was trying to make

the best of a bad system. "It is not the function of a Labour and Socialist Movement", said Mr. Maxton, "to develop and improve capitalistic industry. Its job is to own and control industry and distribute its product". The Conference marks the definite commencement of a new political tendency at work with which not only the Labour Party but the country as a whole will have to reckon, perhaps, in the not very distant future. For the moment and so long as the elder statesmen in the Labour Party can maintain their position, however, the danger to the present Government from this quarter is of comparative insignificance.

All the more so, because there is, as is now generally admitted, political understanding between leading members of the Government and Parliamentary Liberalism. The basis of this understanding is the hope that the work of the Ullswater Committee will be accelerated and that agreement will be reached regarding a form of proportional representation, alternative vote or second ballot, such as will give Liberalism, as a minority, its appropriate share of Parliamentary membership. That the Government will promote the necessary legislation, and if such legislation is rejected by the House of Lords, Liberalism will keep the Government going until under the Parliament Act the legislation becomes effective are obvious corollaries. In that spirit the Government may run for two or even three years, but such a course is dependent on a great many considerations. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues will have to be consulted regarding all the important subjects with which the Government has to deal, and Mr. MacDonald will have at the same time to recognise that nothing definitely raising the Socialist issue can be attempted in the present Parliament. The continued absence of public or personal accident or collision is another very important factor.

These obviously difficult and perhaps frequently trying conditions are to a very large extent rendered bearable by the great changes in the economic structure of the country. Public utilities like gas, water, electricity and railways, with broadcasting and other newer services, have been consolidated under legislation into a variety of forms of public corporation, or are in process of being so consolidated. In the Coal-fields the regulation of output of the Coal Mines Bill, together with the compulsory amalgamations which are due to Liberal initiative, will rationalize coal production. In cotton the Lancashire Cotton Corporation has made progress in the direction of amalgamation. If the Committee of the Economic Advisory Council, which owes its appointment to the present Government, reports in favour of bringing about as much fusion as is possible in the raw material, spinning, weaving, finishing, wholesale and retail branches of the industry the movement towards rationalization will receive notable support. Similar striking developments would seem to be imminent in iron and steel. Mr. Thomas supports the same process in the distributive trades. There is thus a whole range of work in which Parliamentary Labour and Liberalism can cooperate without any violent conflict of principle.

This cooperation is further facilitated by the fact that State Socialism as was once advocated is no longer put forward by noted economists belonging to the Labour party, such as Mr. Cole. Their position is far more in line with the Government's policy than with the doctrines of the Maxton group. The democratic control over industry, which after all is the essence of the demand of the Labour Left Wing-ers, is obtained by public corporation, in so far as their position is not a mere survival of the old Marxian point of view now discarded almost everywhere, except in Russia. On the Liberal side, moreover, there is as much criticism of trusts and as much concern that concentrated economic power must not be allowed to be abused as Labour may desire.

Such are the main lines of the broad background of the at present much reiterated Labour-Liberal Entente. Its character would certainly enable the two Parties to carry on and put off indefinitely any very serious political conflict which the Maxton group assumes is impossible to avoid. This policy of compromise must commend itself to the Liberals as well as to Parliamentary Labour for Liberalism cannot thrive on tactics alone. Its main object must be to employ tactics to obtain the consolidation of its position. In the same way however socialistic the Labour Party may be at heart, it is only too evident that the deliberate exploitation of discontent for purposes of party politics is not the path to power in the conditions, economic and psychological, prevailing in Great Britain.

It should be clear from the above analysis that so far as India is concerned Mr. MacDonald's present position would seem to be far more advantageous and much stronger than it was at the time of the Viceroy's Declaration last November. He may not be able to go so far as the Maxton group or Mr. Gandhi would have him go, or indeed his own past statements would justify him in going in this matter, but there can hardly be any doubt that it is in the power of the present Government to rob the agitation in India of its thunder and bring relief into an admittedly grave situation by taking adequate conciliatory steps.

Geneva
April 30, 1930

R. RAGHUNATHA ROW.

Reviews.

PROS AND CONS OF PROHIBITION.

THE END OF PROHIBITION. By J. O. MONROE.
(HERALD PUBLISHING Co., COLLINSVILLE, ILL.)
1929. 20cm. 205 p. \$1.50.

NATIONAL prohibition has been the law of the land in the United States for over ten years and President Hoover and his party pledged themselves to its enforcement; whereas Alfred E. Smith, the defeated candidate, definitely declared himself in favour of a modification of the Prohibition Act. The election of President Hoover was interpreted by the prohibi-

tionists as a great victory for their cause. The question of questions in America has been "what will Hoover do about liquor." The author has endeavoured in this book to draw a picture of what he thinks would constitute the enforcement of prohibition and what would eventuate from it. He has discussed the pros and cons of the subject in an essay and the chief characters introduced into it are the well-known protagonists in the United States on either side. Messrs McBride, Volstead, and Henry Ford, Bishop Canon, Senator Borah, and others on the one side and the well-known opponents of prohibition like La Guardia, Senator Bruce, Senator Heflin and others on the other side. The author takes care to state that he has used these characters and has adopted the Socratic method to bring out the various opinions on the subject, the sentiments credited to these men being entirely his own. The essay is, therefore, wholly fictitious. At the same time he has done his best to set forth the views as they might be of the various persons concerned without doing any violence to their known opinions or their reputations. The book opens with an imaginary conversation between President Hoover and his supporters as to the best method of enforcing prohibition, eventually leading to the appointment of the prohibition commissioner and a large army of federal officers under him. The Volstead Act makes it penal to manufacture liquor or to sell it. The man who manufactures beer or any other liquor at home for domestic consumption is exempt, with the result that since the enactment of the Volstead law the manufacture of liquor in private homes has enormously increased throughout the United States. Mr. Mc. Bride and his friends take the view that the man who makes a bottle of beer at home is just as guilty of violating the spirit and the specific provisions of the law as a man who brews a barrel of it and sells it. Moreover, the moral quality of his action is the same. They press on Hoover the view that there is no virtue in a man being forbidden to buy beer if he is permitted to make it himself. They hold that "the wrong consists neither in the making of it nor in the selling of it but in the drinking of it and that making and selling are only accessory acts to be treated as such." Hoover is persuaded to consent to a law prohibiting the making of beer and other light drinks at home. The enforcement of this law by federal agents is depicted as having become absolutely impossible. A passive resistance movement to the new law is started and becomes very popular and in the end Commissioner Wilson resigns his appointment. The various phases of the movement to resist the enforcement of the law are vividly described and in the end President Hoover is re-elected and realising the impossibility of effectively enforcing the law he repeals the eighteenth amendment and goes back to local option. The book may perhaps be taken as indicting perhaps what in the author's opinion is likely to be the course of events in the near future in the United States. La Guardia's speech in the House of Representatives, though wholly imaginary, is a clever summary of all the arguments against national prohibition. The author's new Bill of Rights is an amusing skit against the Volstead Act. His general conclusion is that drinking is more a problem of human nature than of Government and he tries to exalt the practice of abstinence from drink rather than prohibition by law.

M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY.

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

By D. E. WELLINGTON. (The Gregg Publishing Co., London) 1927. 23 cm. 325p. 7/6.

THIS volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the subject of the British Empire. The book is divided into two main parts: (i) general economic geography and (ii) the economic geography of the British Empire. In the first part, the author has succeeded in giving to his reader in a small compass a clear idea regarding the general principles of economic geography whose increasing importance in the modern world of commerce can hardly be exaggerated. Economic geography, the author tells us, "treats of commerce as affected by geographical factors, and not only gives a *reasoned* account of how these factors operate in the production, transport, and exchange of commodities, but also considers the settlement of lands and the economic problems arising from the distribution of the different races of mankind". An interesting study of the various constituents of man's physical environment such as, latitude, altitude, slope of the country, distance from sea, prevailing winds, position of the mountain ranges, oceanic currents, and of the various natural regions based on these follows and is interlinked with a discussion of the chief commodities of commerce which are divided into the principal groups of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactures. A special feature of the book, rarely present in other books on the subject, is the prominence which the author gives to the human factor in commerce which is based on the interaction of two sets of factors, human and geographical. A clear idea is thus obtained of the economic basis of the strength of the important countries of the world and of the British Empire.

The second and by far the bigger part of the book is devoted to a fairly intensive study of the economic geography of the British Empire as a whole and of its various component parts, including India. The points particularly emphasised in each case relate to climate, physical features, population, inland transport—railways, waterways and roads—agricultural and pastoral industry, minerals, manufactures, fisheries, sea ports, foreign trade etc. These chapters offer valuable information about the present economic condition and the stage of development of the various countries of the British Empire and their great potentialities. A comparative study of the economic resources and their utilisation reveals many interesting points of similarity and contrast. For example, Canada, like India, is a vast country of untold natural wealth and possesses resources of enormous value, but we are told that unlike India, "from a purely raw material-producing region the Dominion has rapidly developed into an important manufacturing country" and that "she is now the second manufacturing country of the British Empire".

The author is an advocate of the ideal of an economically self-supporting Empire. While conscious of the limitations of this ideal, such as those arising from the relative position of the various parts of the British Empire and of the position as regards the means of communication between them, he does not make allowance for their existing disparity of economic and political development which militates, as in the case of India, against the early realisation of the ideal of the Empire as a co-operative society.

A very commendable and useful feature of the book is the inclusion of a number of maps and

diagrams which help the reader vividly to realise the present economic condition of each Empire country and its future possibilities. Some of the maps are very instructive and suggestive. The map showing the major natural divisions of the world (page 23) provides good scope for geographical reasoning and the maps indicating the communications (pp 63 and 73) are suggestive of what is required to be done in order to make the Empire one political and economic unit and to enable it to compete with the trade of the United States of America. The usefulness of the book would have been enhanced if the author had supported his statement about the principal commodities of commerce by means of comparative statistics.

Being a post-war publication the author's treatment of the subject matter is up-to-date and very interesting and we have no hesitation in saying that the book under review is indispensable to every student who wishes to obtain a true perspective of the economic life of the world in general and the British Empire in particular.

S. G. BERL

THE AFRICAN MIND.

THE SECRET OF THE AFRICAN. By EDWIN W. SMITH. (Student Christian Movement, London) 1929. 20 cm. 142p. 3/6.

THE author commences his thesis with the narration of an experience. It is the experience of Mupumani who ultimately receives a message from the Creator that some of the tribal customs should be abjured forthwith. When the message was delivered the people demanded fresh signs. The portents did come. And the people were stirred. While the people proceeded to propitiate the elements of the experience, the author, who is a missionary, gave his Gospel message. The people showed signs of appreciation and understanding.

With this incident Mr. Smith proceeds to examine the content of the African's religion. To the immature and the uninitiated the demonstration of the African's religion may savour of the rudimentary stage. But the tribe had an overwhelming sense of the divine, they had a name for the Creator and they had a theory of trance. In their midst the awareness of something other than themselves persists. Reference is made to Dr. Otto's 'name for this specific non-rational apprehension of this something'. The *mysterium tremendum* of Dr. Otto has been the object of many a person's search and attainment. The inevitable follows and there is the curious mixture of magic and religion. Mr. Smith prefers to call 'the beliefs and the practices associated with the belief, in this impersonal, all-pervading force, Dynamism, which is the basis of a very large part of the tribal morality of the Africans.

Spiritism, the belief 'in psychic beings, intelligent, purposive, personal powers which may be associated for a time with material things but which have a distinct and separate life of their own' also plays a large part in the life of the African.

Does the African believe that this unseen power is personal? We find that among several of the tribes there is not the consciousness that the Supreme Being is intimately connected with the daily routine of life.

Though much has been done in the way of discovering and exploring the African's soul, there remains a large section yet to be penetrated into. The undiscovered region is not a barren waste of land. Infinite are the possibilities. Three questions are

raised with a view to ascertaining the value of a religion. 'Does it kindle and nourish the highest emotions? Does it rest upon a rational basis which our trained intelligence approves? Does it issue in noble living?' The African's religion shows both strength and weakness. For instance, Dynamism is the cause of certain emotions which are admirable and useful. But it also caters to the lowest desires of human nature.

Mr. Smith's admirable biography of Dr. Aggrey entitles him to a high place among effective writers. In this volume he maintains the standard for lucidity and directness.

H. C. BALASUNDARUM.

INDIA UNDER MUSLIMS.

MEDIEVAL INDIA. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE ARAB INVASIONS TO THE DOWNFALL OF THE MOGALS. BY UPENDRA NATH BALL. (Sudhabindu Biswas, Calcutta) 18cm. 582p. Rs. 3-12-0.

THIS book, in two parts, in the author's words "is an attempt to give a connected account of the life and thoughts of the people of India in the middle ages; when the serenity of ancient India was broken by the advent of a new culture" and "in the period of conflict between the two cultures". With the exception, however, of two short chapters in the first part entitled "the Political and Social condition of India before the Mahammadan conquest" and "Life in the middle ages" and one chapter in the second part on "the Institutes of Akbar", the book deals entirely with the political history of India during the period and the reader can learn but little about the life and thought or the social and economic conditions of the people. The first part deals with the Mahammadan invasions and conquests of India in the pre-Mogul era and the second part with the history of the Mogul Empire. The author states that he has relied entirely upon translations of original sources owing to his ignorance of Persian and Arabic. Moreover, he regards it a merit of his work that he has tried to avoid all controversies. There is, therefore, nothing new in the book. Further, the author covers the whole long period of the Mahammadan rule in India in 582 pages of crown octavo size. The treatment of several aspects of this rule, therefore, is too brief, especially of the rule after the death of Aurangzeb, this portion being covered in less than 40 pages. The work also suffers in some places from a lack of the critical and scientific spirit owing to the author's tendency to rely more or less fully upon the panegyrics of the past historians, especially Mahammadan ones. Three or four instances of this will suffice. Of Muhammad Tughlak, the mad ruler who inflicted great sufferings upon his subjects by oppressing them in a variety of ways and by removing his capital from Delhi to Deogiri and by his foolish currency experiments, Prof. Ball says that "the throne of Delhi was never adorned by a more accomplished or a more competent ruler than Muhammad Tughlak". Again, of Humayun, whose reverses were due to his lack of ability, vacillation, irresolution and too great a fondness for sensuous pleasures, the author says that "he was a prince of uncommon ability" and that "he was constantly buffeted by fortune and when victory came to him, he could not enjoy it long". Akbar's Divine Faith, which was created mainly for personal considerations, which never obtained a hold upon any section of the people and which failed utterly even during the life-time of its founder had, according to the author, "its indirect effect in broadening the outlook of the people and its

influence was felt upon 'the entire administration.' The style of the book is simple but rather unimpressive owing to the writer's predilection for short sentences.

In spite of these defects, the book does possess considerable merit, but as a political history of the Mahammadan rule of India. It gives a clear, connected and, on the whole, methodical account of the political forces and events of this long period of Indian history. The author has condensed with considerable success a large amount of useful information from various sources and has omitted nothing that is important. The college student will find the book very useful for his purposes and the general reader also who wishes to obtain a fairly good knowledge of this period of Indian history without putting forth the special effort that is needed for availing himself of the contents of elaborate treatises, cannot do better than go through this book. The printing and general get up of the book are quite satisfactory.

S. G. PANANDIKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

WITHOUT PREJUDICE. BY S. G. DUNN (The Indian Press, Allahabad). 1929. 30cm. 131p. Rs. 2-0-0

THIS is a pot-pourri of essays (hardly "essays" in the strict literary sense), poems and prose-poems, contributed, from time to time, to sundry periodicals during the last quarter-century by Prof. Dunn of the Allahabad University. These are the lucubrations of a mind which, if it has browsed without restraint on books, has also ruminated every mouthful of it turning it into soul-stuff. Here are no fireside confidences and genial buttonholings, but the easy athletic stride of a thinker negotiating his way through jagged turns of thought until he finds himself and the reader at the goal. Nowhere are we put in mind of the standard psychology of the essayist handling, in Mr. H. I. A. Fausset's words, "filmy themes with an arch modesty and a shy obtuseness of his private character." Whatever Prof. Dunn has to tell us about Dreams, Travel, Remembered Scenes, the Unconscious, Spiritualism, the Romantic in Religion, Friendship, etc., is strictly meditated, without being laboured, and presented in a homespun style that clings like skin to the thought. The language is not without subdued beauties, though our memory craves for the magic phrase and the gnomic sentence. But this is only a momentary *desiderium*, for everywhere the reader is braced by a severe originality of thought suggestive of the author's 17th century namesake, John Donne,—though that is about all of Donne we get here. The prose and verse alike throb with love for India and her people—and particularly the Indian youth with whom the author came in contact during the best part of his life.

In verse, Prof. Dunn is at home; but in poetry, not quite so. His thought is doubtless marked by a serene beauty; nevertheless he remains a poet *Manque*.

The book is not quotable, but, we hope, its readers will go the whole hog as the present writer has done; for, if the author is great as a bookman, he is greater as a teacher—one who blows the ashes of apathy from off the embers of our soul.

R. SADASIWA AIYAR.

PROPHETS AND PATRIOTS. By NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI. (Arya Publishing House, Calcutta.) 1930. 20cm. 62p. Re. 1.

THIS is a re-issue in book-form of pen-sketches of sundry celebrities in politics and letters that the author, in the capacity of editor, had been contributing mostly to *The Rangoon Mail*. Apparently thumb-nail-sketches of C. R. Das, B. G. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, Sun Yat Sun, Sir Rabiindranath Tagore and others, these articles are really so many pages whereon to hang the writer's political slogans. The author is professor of English literature at the Bangabasi College, and as such one takes up the book with eager expectations of at least readable English; but hasn't to travel far to come across grave lapses in grammar and idiom "To the sweet charm of a child he combines the forceful strength of a giant" (p. 8) this of Mahatma Gandhi; and the sentence after the next runs: "A thin, emaciated, undersized physical frame—but within a *robustious* soul, . . ."—obviously, the author means *robust*. Within a couple of pages of this we have a very comic "howler" about Lokamanya Tilak: "And therefore on this sacred day, this day of *Sraddha*, this day of reverent homage to the memory of the nation's idol that is no more *in flesh*. . . ." On p. 3 we have: "such a man implanted on the *rocks* of the eternal verities. . . ." And there is no end to the splitting of idiom and grammar on the rocks—to which hurly-burly the pretentious style acts as a melancholy equipment.

R. S.

THE ARYAN PATH.

An International Monthly Journal, Non-political, devoted to the dissemination of spiritual, idealistic and humanitarian principles.

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