

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

PANDIT Bhawani Dayal is to be congratulated for his very successful attempt in bringing out a special Diwali Number of his *Hindi*. One can see from a perusal of it, that it was no small burden for Pandit Bhawani Dayal to have shouldered and the fact should also not be forgotten that, in the midst of his great task came upon him the recent very sad bereavement. Considering these facts, Pandit Bhawani Dayal has every reason to be pleased and proud of his success. There are about seventy pages of reading matter in this Number which is rendered very interesting and instructive by the production of various illustrations and articles in Hindi and English specially contributed by able pens, some of which we reproduce elsewhere in this issue. The Special Number is neatly printed and its price is 2/- which cannot at all be considered too much for the treasures contained therein.

An interesting report of the proceedings of the Town Council sitting as a Licensing Court to hear an appeal against the decision of the Licensing Officer, Col. Molyneux appears in the *Natal Mercury* of the 18th instant which we reproduce below:—

Peer Mahomed Goolam Mahomed, of Durban, appealed against the decision of the Licensing Officer in refusing to grant him a retail licence in respect of premises at 218 Grey Street.

Mr. J. R. Brokensha was for applicant.

Col. Molyneux gave as his reason for refusal his opinion that he did not consider there was any need for it, and because he considered (except for some specially good reason in any particular case) that it was inadvisable to increase the number of licences now on issue to Asiatics in Durban.

The Council retired to consider its verdict, and the voting on the motion that the Licensing Officer's decision be upheld, and the appeal be dismissed, was as follows:—

For:—The Mayor, Messrs. Lennox, Hutt, Thompson, Lea, Mesdames Siedle and Benson.

Against:—Messrs. Hay, Francois, Shearer, Reyburn, Smith, Kemp and Burman.

The Mayor said the voting being equal, he would give his casting vote in favour of the motion.

It was pointed out that the Council sat as a Court, and the legality or otherwise of a casting vote under the circumstances was raised.

The Mayor thereupon said he would withdraw on that point, and the matter would accordingly fall to the ground.

The above is an illustration of how incompetent the Council is to give justice in the true sense of the term. We venture to state that, those who voted in favour of the motion were not inspired to do so with any sense of justice whatsoever, but that they were driven to do so by the fast-growing prejudice against the Asiatic. A person with any sense of justice would immediately have seen that the grounds on which the application was refused by the Licensing Officer were not proper. Unless that the applicant has proved in any way unfit to hold the licence, it is not for the Licensing Officer

to decide as to which section of the community has a sufficient number of licences and which section should be and which should not be granted licences. Even the learned judges sitting on their Bench do not make it their duty to decide a case as does Col. Molyneux. Each case is treated individually on its own merits. This would surely have appealed to those who voted in favour of the motion to uphold the decision of the Licensing Officer if they had sat there to give justice impartially.

A GOOD RESOLUTION

WE reproduce in another column an article by Mr. Harold Wodson, the Editor of the *Natal Advertiser*, published in the Diwali Number of the *Hindi*. The article sets one to think deeply. The views expressed in the article may be taken to be held by all thoughtful Europeans of this Province. If it is true that the Indians themselves are responsible for the acute position created at present in this Province with regard to Indians our sorrow would certainly have no bounds. But are they really to be held responsible? It is a question. "What many Europeans feel is," says the article, "that the more responsible Indians do not want to co-operate in elevating the conditions under which their poorer brothers live." This is a very serious charge if it is true, but we must confess we have no grounds to believe it to be true. Has any real spirit been shown by the authorities to elevate the conditions of the poorer Indians? We find it difficult to readily quote an instance. It is an admitted fact that Indians were first brought to this country under conditions of slavery. They were kept under those conditions for years. A tax of £3 was imposed on them so that they would be forced to remain under those conditions. It was not before very great sufferings on the part of Indians and even the loss of lives of many poor Indians that that cruel tax was abolished. And what has happened after the abolition of the tax? The necessity of the Indian is felt no more; he is a burden to this country. A vigorous propaganda is being carried on under the Repatriation Scheme to remove him. This is what is being done to the poorer Indians, and the responsible Indians are asked to support the authorities in carrying out this scheme. But the Indians have certainly not seen their way to give the support asked for, because they believe that, to deprive Indians who have spent their lifetime in this country, of their own and their children's birth rights and to send them to a land which in reality has become a strange land to them, is a cruel wrong done to their brethren. We know of no other step, taken by the authorities to elevate the conditions of the poor

Indians in which responsible Indians have been asked to co-operate. The charge, therefore, that responsible Indians do not want to co-operate in elevating the conditions of their poorer brothers is, we think, unfair.

The Editor of the *Natal Advertiser* further advises us that, "if only we will refrain from viewing all that is proposed or contemplated as being inspired from hostility to the Asiatics, and will remember that a great deal is being devised with a view to bettering the conditions of Indians in this Province, and making their surroundings more agreeable, we will render the greatest possible aid to our people." We wish we *could* view all that is proposed, contemplated or devised as being done with a view to bettering the conditions of Indians in the Province. But, as silent spectators for no short a period, and with our eyes wide open, we must confess, that we have failed to do so. Let us examine a few facts and see whether they have led, in any way, to bettering our conditions. During the late Mr. Escombe's reign the Parliamentary franchise was taken away from Indians in this Province. That has been a loss to Indians—no gain. It was recently proposed that the Immigration laws as relating to Indians should be stringently enforced—and they are being enforced. It was proposed that legislation should be passed that would restrict Indians to only a limited number of seats on the Durban Trams. It was passed and is enforced. It was proposed that Indians should be prevented from bidding at Corporation Land sales in Durban. An Ordinance to the effect was rushed through and has been sanctioned by the Union Government. It is now proposed to extend the Durban Borough boundaries. They will be extended and the result will be that those restrictions that did not affect Indians outside the Borough will now affect them. It has been proposed that Indians should be deprived of their existing franchise rights in Townships. The proposal was passed twice by the Provincial Council but, thanks to the Governor-General-in-Council, it did not receive his assent. Mr. Hulett is contemplating to re-introduce the Townships Franchise Ordinance and the Rural Dealers' Licensing Ordinance in the next session of the Provincial Council, now for the third time, with a threat that, if the Government does not see its way to sanctioning both these Ordinances affecting Asiatics some of the S. A. P. members will not support the Government. It was suggested, not very long ago, at an election meeting in Red Hill by General Wylie, a member of the last Asiatic Commission, who stood as an S.A.P. candidate for Parliament for Stamford Hill that, "we must make it hot for the Indians" so that they are forced to leave this country. All these instances, and there are many others which would only take up time and space which we are unable for the moment to spare, go to show very clearly that, "a great deal is *not* being devised with a view to bettering the conditions of Indians in the Province" as the Editor of the *Natal Advertiser* would have us believe. To refrain, under the existing circumstances, from viewing all that is proposed or contemplated as being inspired from hostility to the Asiatics would be like saying it is night time when the mid-day sun is burning hot over our heads.

There is one more question raised by the Editor of the *Natal Advertiser* in the above mentioned article which we would like to answer. "A great deal of the animosity of the European to the Indian being in South

Africa at all would die down," says the article, "if more general attempts were made by the Asiatic population to conform to European ideals in respect of hygiene, sanitation, and industrial conditions." As to hygiene and sanitation, there could be but one standard for all human-beings and there need be no limit in the strictness of its enforcement. We must confess, with a feeling of regret, that there are some of our ignorant brethren who do not know the meaning of the word "hygiene" or "sanitation." But this class exists in all communities. It is for the intellectual sections of those communities to educate their illiterate and ignorant brethren. As for industrial conditions, there is but one fault of the Indian in this respect, i. e., that he is not as extravagant as the European; he is more industrious and his needs are not so many as those of the European. This is where his great fault lies. It is owing to this fault of his that in industrial departments the Indian worker is preferred to the European worker; it is this fault of his that has given birth to animosity towards the Indian; and the present hostile movement against the Asiatic is due to only this fault of his. We would venture to suggest that no civilised people could call this a fault.

We have come to the conclusion after what we have seen and experienced in this country that there is *no* benefit "for the Indian himself in much of what the reforming European in this country is seeking to accomplish in Indian affairs." There is, of course; a section of the Europeans which takes a broad-minded and fair view of the Asiatic Question, but that section is in the minority and their voice has no chance of being heard when Hulettism rules the day. The only good New Year's resolution for the thoughtful Indian would, under the circumstances, be to seek what line of action they should take to live in this country, not as helots, but as a self-respecting community with a proper sense of their country's honour.

ANTI-ASIATIC ORDINANCES

MR. HULETT ON THE WAR PATH

Mr. Geo. H. Hulett writes the following letter to the *Natal Mercury* :—

Sir,—I notice that the Minister of Finance, Mr. Burton, at Ladysmith, poohpoohed the idea of there being dissatisfaction with the Government in the ranks of the South African Party. I can assure Mr. Burton and other members of the Government that the action of the Government in vetoing the anti-Asiatic Ordinances has caused intense dissatisfaction. I, as introducer of the Ordinance dealing with the township franchise, intend re-introducing it next March, and if the Administrator will not re-introduce the Retail Dealers Ordinance, I will introduce it. It will then be the third time of asking, and if the Government refuse to sanction them, we—i.e., certain members of Anti-Asiatic League—intend holding meetings in every constituency in the Province, with a view to getting resolutions passed calling on the members of Parliament to withhold their support from the Government until the Government sanction the Ordinances.

Government must realise that the people of the Province are now determined that the Indian shall not govern the towns of the Province, or have unrestricted trading rights, or to acquire any more lands. I notice there are similar movements in British Columbia. I sincerely hope the Government of the Union of South Africa will listen to the voice of the people of

the Union in preference to that of a section of the rulers of India.—I am, &c.,

GEO. H. HULETT.

Umhlali.

TO MY COUNTRYMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE HON. MR. C. Y. CHITAMANY'S MESSAGE

The Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamany, (Minister of Education and Industries, United Provinces, India), writes as follows in the Diwali Number of the *Hindi* :—

Mr. Bhawani Dyal, Editor of this journal, has courteously invited me to say a few words to you. The words will be very few.

I am among those of your fellow-countrymen in the Mother country who have taken the deepest interest in questions affecting your position and welfare. I must confess that latterly I have got a little out of touch, but this is not due to indifference.

I am in deep sympathy with your sustained, public-spirited struggle for the assertion of your rights of common humanity and British citizenship. It is a grievous pity that the Government of the Union should persist in betraying so much reluctance to recognise those rights. But, recognised they shall have to be if we keep up our determination to succeed. Our failure is bound to react most unfavourably upon the future of the Empire itself. For, if discrimination based upon race, creed and colour is not to be moved in actual fact as it has always been in theory, I have not the slightest doubt that the Empire cannot have a bright future before it. A righteous cause may take long in succeeding, but succeed it must in the end unless the moral governance of Providence is a myth. We here have every reason to be proud of you, our fellow-countrymen fighting heroically for the honour of India as exiles in a distant and inhospitable clime. More strength to your elbow, is the devout prayer of

Your fellow-countrymen,
C. Y. CHINTAMANY.

RESOLUTION FOR THE NEW YEAR

"NATAL ADVERTISER" EDITOR'S ADVICE
TO THE INDIANS

MR. Harold Wodson, Editor of the *Natal Advertiser*, has contributed the following interesting message to the Diwali Number of the *Hindi* :—

Your Editor has asked me to forward a few words to the New Year issue of the *Hindi*, and it makes me very happy to do so. To Easterners, as to Westerners, the New Year, I suppose, is a period when one takes stock of events, makes good resolutions, and projects dreams for the future that shall mark a distinct advance on the past. Of course most of the dreams melt away as the weeks wear on; and most of the resolutions get swallowed up in the commonplace realities of the working days. After all, life does not stop at the New Year and then go on again. The division of time is only an arbitrary one; and men have as good reason to make the each tomorrow a "New Year's Day" in their lives as they have to make the commencement of each succeeding twelve months one.

Yet it does happen that, for the Indians in this Province, the present period synchronises with one of great significance in their development. Most people are aware that what we Europeans call the Indian Question is exercising a great deal of attention at the present time, and that the Prime Minister himself discussed it keenly during his recent visit to Natal. No less are Indian interests affected by the proposal to extend the borough boundaries of Durban and to incorporate districts in which many Indians live. It is, for these reasons, probable that we are on the threshold

of a period of unusual interest in Asiatic conditions in this Province.

What, then, I would urge on Indian readers is that they should resolve, so far as is possible, to meet this quickening interest in their affairs in a spirit that will make the solution of some of these questions possible at an early date. If only they will refrain from viewing all that is proposed or contemplated as being inspired from hostility to the Asiatic, and will remember that a great deal is being devised with a view to bettering the conditions of Indians in the Province, and making their surroundings more agreeable, they will render the greatest possible aid to their own people. On the larger political side it may be impossible for the average European and the average Asiatic to see eye to eye. But a great deal may be done by both races to improve the conditions under which Indians live in this country and so benefit them and their children. What many Europeans feel is that the more responsible Indians do not want to co-operate in elevating the conditions under which their poorer brothers live, and this feeling, in turn, breeds a sort of hostility to everything Asiatic in our midst. Yet probably a great deal of the animosity of the European to the Indian being in South Africa at all would die down if more general attempts were made by the Asiatic population to conform to European ideals in respect of hygiene, sanitation, and industrial conditions. A very good New Year's resolution for the thoughtful Indian would be to find out if there were not a great deal of benefit for the Indian himself in much of what the reforming European is seeking to accomplish in Indian affairs.

GOKHALE MEMORIAL HALL

OPENING CEREMONY AT TONGAAT

The opening ceremony of the Gokhale Memorial Hall and the Viswaroop Hindu Temple took place last Friday at Tongaat when there was a large crowd of the Calcutta Hindi section of the community present which was practically wholly responsible for the accomplishment of this task. During the morning hours religious ceremonies were performed and at 12-30 a. m. Mr. Manilal Gandhi was asked to perform the opening ceremony of the Temple in the name of his beloved father Mr. M. K. Gandhi. In doing so Mr. M. Gandhi said that he had not even an atom of the sacredness which his dear father had, and he was therefore totally unfit to perform so sacred a duty imposed upon him. He, however, prayed that the sacred Soul of his dear father would just at that minute enter into his (the speaker's) hand that was to open the sacred Temple and that that sacred Temple may serve to purify many a Soul that may have been led astray.

At 3 p. m. Messrs Parsee Rustomjee and Omar Hajee Amod Jhaveri arrived by motor and they were accompanied by Mr. M. C. Dadad and Mr. B. M. Patel. The opening ceremony of the Gokhale Memorial Hall was performed by Mr. Omar Hajee Amod Jhaveri on behalf of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee. The Hall was tastefully decorated with flags and bunting and on the walls were hung photos of prominent leaders in India including Mahatma Gandhi and the late Mr. Gokhale. There was also a photo of each of the donor who had donated £25 towards the building of the Hall.

Babu Talwantsingh of Verulam spoke from the chair in congratulatory terms of the admirable work the Hindi people of Tongaat had done in commemorating the memory of their late beloved leader who had done so great a service for India and for their own welfare in this country. He spoke also in eulogistic terms of the services of Messrs A. A. Gandhi and Ram Datt Maharaj of Tongaat whose

able assistance and enthusiasm were to a large extent responsible for the coming into existence of this Hall, the foundation of which was laid by Mr. H. S. L. Polak on the eve of his departure from this country.

The Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Harbans, then explained that the Hall was yet not quite complete and the reason for opening the Hall so early was because Mr. A. A. Gandhi who had taken a very prominent part in the work was shortly to leave for the Motherland. Messrs. Omar Jhaveri, Parsee Rustomjee, The Rev. R. Choonoo, B. M. Patel, Magaral Patel, M. G. Naidoo and several others made speeches suitable to the occasion. Mr. Rustomjee advised those who were responsible for managing the Hall to utilise the Hall for purposes that would be useful to the community, laying special stress on education. He presented a cheque of £25 to be used towards furnishing the Hall.

Mr. Jutha's pupils of the vernacular school of Verulam rendered the occasion interesting by entertaining the gathering with National songs.

There was a sprinkling of Europeans in the gathering among whom was Dr. Bonfa the well-known Doctor of Tongaat who donated one guinea to the Hall Committee.

The European and Indian guests were garlanded according to oriental custom, and tea and fruits were served after the termination of the proceedings and a photo of the Hall and the gathering was taken by Mr. B. Gabriel of the Durban Crown Studio.

"STAND LIKE MEN IN THE SIGHT OF GOD!"

MR. DAS' EXHORTATION TO BENGAL YOUTH

At a crowded meeting in College Square, Calcutta, held on the 22nd August, an address on behalf of the students of Calcutta was presented to Deshabandhu Das on his release from jail. Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray was voted to the chair. A little girl garlanded the president and Deshabandhu Das and Srimati Hemaprabha Mazumdar offered them a handful of flowers. At the direction of the president Deshabandhu Das was presented an address on khaddar, a comforter with silk cotton thread, and a painting with a poem inscribed on it.

ACHARYA PRAFULLA CHANDRA'S ADVICE

Acharya Prafulla Chandra then made the following speech:—

I have been invited to say a few words. I fail to understand why you honour me in this way by electing me as President on this solemn occasion. But though I am old in age I am young in heart and hardly inferior to you in energy and enthusiasm. I do not merely mope within a chemical laboratory; I try to bear a hand in the bread problem, caste problem, spread of *khaddar* and revival of industries. I always claim to be a student because a teacher must himself be a student. Only one who knows a subject a hundred times over can adequately explain it. I shall deal with every kind of topic in a nutshell; I shall even speak of politics. But do not be frightened. I have studied for six years in Great Britain; four times I have been to England; and altogether I have spent about eight years there. There politics is a necessity for the students; but it is anathema to the students of this country. I understand only one thing—and that is Love for the Land of One's Birth. If you realize at heart the message of *Banga amar, janani amar, dhatri amar*, etc., then everything else will be automatically realised. The sacrifice which has been made by Deshabandhu—that has been prompted by this patriotic sentiment. If you really love your country, all else is at your command. I shall just say a word. I speak rather harshly. But I have a claim on you; if any one in Bengal is so entitled, it is myself, because I love the student community.

*Tasmin prithasya priya karya
Sadhanam tadupasanamna.*

Whatever work is acceptable to the Mother—to do that work is to do the pleasure of the Mother. One acceptable work is the stimulation of industries. For that, you must wear khaddar. I am overwhelmed with shame when I see students not wholly clad in khaddar. Some of them occasionally wear a khaddar shirt or coat, but never a khaddar dhoti. But you should cloth yourselves wholly in khaddar. This is an imperative necessity. Another thing you must do simultaneously; you must ply the *charka*. College vacations exceed five months. You can go to the villages and instal the *charka* in every home; you can help your distressed co-villagers; above all, you can take the vow *not to wear anything but Khaddar*. There will soon be another exhibition of khaddar. When you go there, you, your mother. When you go there, you, your mothers and your sisters should all be clad in khaddar. Charity begins at home. Learn to wear khaddar and love of the country will grow in you. Only singing *Banga amar, janani amar* will not do. I do not want to speak at great length. You are all anxious to hear Desabandhu and I make room for him. You have before you in flesh and blood an example of the measure of sacrifice of which one is capable when the national sentiment is once roused. I have told you the other day how he has been nurtured in the lap of luxury. He has given up everything. For the sake of whom?—For your sake. We cannot appreciate how great he is. The name of Desabandhu will be inscribed in letters of gold in the history of India yet to be.

Then a student presented an address on behalf of the students of Calcutta to Desabandhu Chittaranjan Das.

Mr. Das was then called upon by the Chairman to speak. When he rose to reply he was greeted with loud shouts of "*Bande Mataram*."

DESHABANDHU'S REPLY

I do not intend to speak at length on the address of welcome which you have presented me. There is one matter, however, which I shall speak out. If I have to speak about the various kinds of eulogy with which your address of welcome is filled, I shall have to draw upon my present feelings. But I am bound to point out that that eulogy is a gross exaggeration. It may haply be that I am in reality what I appear to be, in your unsophisticated gaze; perhaps I am unable to apprehend it. Would o God that I may be worthy of your vision and actually become what you imagine me to be! I assert that you yourselves belong to the category in which you place me.

Some are found to urge that the student community shirk their duty, that you are selfish, that you have not taken a part in the national struggle, that having joined it you have turned back from it. The idealism which I have observed in you is one day bound to find expression. If there is anyone in Bengal who has made sacrifice, it is you Students and not We.

At this point Mr. Das was so overwhelmed with emotion that he was unable to speak for some minutes. Tears were seen to flow down his cheeks and his voice grew husky.

Resuming, Desabandhu said:—When I was touring over the whole of Bengal, then I saw many students in town and—village—

(Sentence unfinished owing to onrush of tears.)

REALISE THE TRUTH IN YOU

I appreciate to-day what sacrifice they have made. Day after day without food (tears), uncared for, amid a hundred hardships they carried on the work of the country. If even they were only five in number, the whole student community would be covered with glory. I see that aspect of service and sacrifice in you. When I invited you to join this struggle, I was told that I was labouring in vain and that there would be no response. I knew it would get a response; I know I got

it. Do we not feel the touch of the spirit in external conduct? Is not the fierce glare of noon-tide latent in the soft radiance of dawn? Those who have not understood this upheaval, this endeavour, this search after truth in this newly-awakened nation, those who have rushed forward—they all will come, are sure to come. That is the first axiom of Swaraj. Why should we despair? What does nationhood matter? Is not Truth manifested in the *Uta* of the Universal Dispenser? Awake, arise! Try and realise that Truth that is immanent in you. Step on to the field of work like men, like heroes. Some say that you are students your business to study. I ask you to understand what study is. Is knowledge external accompaniment? Is it a jewelled ornament which can be tacked on to some part of the body? The knowledge which does not bring reverence towards father and mother, attachment to one's country and faith in God—that knowledge I do not want; let it be wiped off the face of the country. That knowledge which blossoms in the heart is true knowledge. Literature, philosophy, science and mathematics—Oh, the sham of it all! when they do not hear the Mother's call! Mathematics does not produce knowledge, unless it expands the heart. If you cannot stand like men in the sight of God, then that knowledge is but a chimaera—forsake it. What I have been saying during the last two days has not been understood by many. Acharya Ray has said that he does not believe in anything but patriotism. I say that I do not believe in patriotism even, I believe in nothing which does not lead us to love of God. This opportunity comes in many a shape; we must embrace it as it comes. What is the meaning of *Banga, amar, janani amar, dhatri amar!* Why is the heart inflamed with this song? One's country is but the manifested glory of Providence, a part only of His *Uta*. When we invoke Bengal, when we invoke India, our heart overflows with the beauties of the Almighty.

I do not understand patriotism. I am not a patriot. I do not care for that patriotism under the influence of which one people kills, ruins and destroys another. That is the type of patriotism to which India is a stranger. To-day I saw in an English paper that they have not been able to understand what I am after. They know not what I want; they do not understand it. And that is exactly what I desire. I want the people of India to be alive to the *Uta* of God. I do not want your parliamentary institutions. I do not want economic salvation.

I want to be Myself. I want my countrymen to be of their own country. We want to fall in with God's *Uta*. Some ask me to say explicitly what I want. I shall not trespass beyond my province. I do not presume to dictate the lines along which the nation shall progress; no one can. God alone knows. That is self-determination—no one knows what it will be. I am ignorant of the route itself; only a faint glimmer flickers before me. Schemes there are none; details are wanting. To all who want a scheme I say, I do our duty; nay, the right is there—it is but to be recognised. We demand nothing from them; they can give nothing. Call it patriotism, call it Swaraj, the path that leads to freedom—we want you to recognise the right to search for the path. Let those who think they possess immeasurable power, let them wallow in their belief. Swaraj is coming, is coming positively; all must be for us to see that this recognition is forthcoming.

As long as we conceive of life as divided into compartments like pigeon-holes, with one compartment for social reform, another for politics, and so on, so long shall Swaraj evade us. That is not the meaning of Swaraj. Swaraj demands that you dedicate the whole of your being. That is what I want. The Europeans do not understand it; I know they will not understand.

CLAMOUR FOR SCHEME.

The clamour for schemes is a weakness like the

shouts of one groping in the darkness. When the beacon of Swaraj flares up in your breast, it will lead you along the right path. If moral precepts are trotted out they will merely be repeated parrot-like, but will not be acted upon. But when the grace of God descends on you, the gates will be of themselves flung open. We want Man—the whole of him. Stand up as such. If you think that this agitation is artificial, not through fear but out of real conviction, then stand aside. And if you think it genuine, as I do, then stand bold upright, kicking aside all obstacles and impediments. There is no room for falsehood, speak out the truth. There are many who are in favour of violence; but they dare not speak out, because the police is there. They are cowards. If you hold that violence is indispensable, have the courage to say so; and if you cannot, you are cowards. I emphatically say that violence has never brought Swaraj to any country. One tyranny has been replaced by another. Italy, France, America and other lands bear witness to it. They have not Swaraj anywhere. It is my firm belief that through India the world will taste Swaraj. *Dharma* is the unfolding of self. All politics and social reforms are included in it. If 'Dharma' is cribbed and cabined, *Dharma* can never be realised not to speak of politics or social reform. I feel in the strength of countless legions; I cannot say if I shall be able to achieve anything. If I am not worthy I shall not be sorry to be spurned and cast aside. But I pray that before I close my eyes I may witness my motherland grown into the glory of her own true form. I now like to conclude in the words of Bengal's greatest poet—

"If there are any who cannot reach unto the care and yet slip sermons—let us not have anything to do with them dear; let them stay on outside."

The proceedings terminated with an expression of gratitude on the part of the students to Acharya Ray.

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