

Indian Opinion

No. 19—Vol. XXIII.

Friday, May 8th, 1925.

Registered at the G. P. O. as a Newspaper
Price Fourpence

NOTES AND NEWS

THE *Natal Provincial Gazette* of the 30th April (the date of the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales) contains the Ordinance "To amend the Local Township Law No. 11, 1881, in respect of the Qualification of Voters" duly assented to by His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council. This Ordinance disqualifies Indians in the Townships of Natal from exercising their vote.

While the Durban Corporation has offered a gift of £200 to the Indian community on the happy occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to present the Indian community with the above mentioned Ordinance in remembrance of that auspicious occasion. The gift of the Durban Corporation Indians have been strong enough to reject. But what about the Governor-General's gift which has been thrown upon the Indians whether they may or may not like to accept it. Are they strong enough to reject that? It is high time that they were.

A Meeting was held last Sunday at the Rawat Bio Hall, Durban, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, to consider, in view of the reply received from the His Worship the Mayor, the steps to be taken in connection with the celebrations in honour of the Prince of Wales during his coming visit to Durban. Mr Amod Bayat presided. While His Worship the Mayor was very sympathetic he was not able to meet the wishes of the deputation of treating the Indian community on an equal basis with the other sections of the burgesses. A resolution was therefore passed to the effect that, in view of equal status not being granted Indians could not participate in the official celebrations. The resolution was passed by a majority. A further resolution, that negotiations with the Town Council be still continued was also passed and the meeting was adjourned till next Sunday.

On Monday morning, having received a call from His Worship the Mayor, Mr. V. Lawrence, the vice-president and Mr. S. Rustonjee, the Secretary, Natal Indian Congress went to the Town Office and were definitely informed by His Worship the Mayor that Indians will not be allowed to participate in the Civic Dinner in honour of H. R. H. nor will they be allowed to enter the Town Hall as spectators during the Civic Ball.

We are requested by the hon. Secretaries to announce that the adjourned meeting of the Natal Indian Congress will be held at Rawat's Bio Hall, Durban, on Sunday the 10th instant at 3-30 p.m.

India is so much surrounded with her own difficulties that she can hardly be expected to have time to raise her head to look what is happening outside; and yet, we note with not a little sense of gratification that both the Press and the leaders in India

have been showing deep concern in the cause of their fellow-countrymen overseas. We note that the *Indian Social Reformer*, a well-known journal published in Bombay, has commenced publishing an Overseas Monthly Supplement to be devoted especially to questions relating to the condition and status of Indians in foreign lands. It is intended to publish this Supplement with the third number of the *Reformer* every month. The first publication to hand contains an editorial and various articles, speeches and letters dealing with the conditions of Indians in Kenya, South Africa, Fiji, the West Indies and other places. "In conveying our greetings to our countrymen abroad," says our contemporary, "we invite their co-operation in our endeavour to be a living link between them and the Mother-country." While heartily reciprocating the kind greetings we wish to express our sincere thanks to our contemporary for ably advocating our cause and assuring it of our co-operation at all times.

At the Natal Municipal Association held at Vryheid a Maritzburg resolution that the Government be asked to expedite legislation dealing with the Asiatic question was withdrawn Councillor Kemp pointing out that similar resolutions had been passed by all the Municipalities and Local Boards on the Asiatic question just recently, and the Government had already promised to introduce legislation. The Minister of the Interior had informed the Durban Town Council that the legislation was being drafted and would be introduced at an early opportunity.

The Labour situation in Britain, it is reported, is causing grave uneasiness. On April 13 the number of unemployed on the registers was 1,204,800, being 38,447 more than a week ago, and 165,613 more than a year ago.

Speaking at a ratepayers meeting Councillor Immink reviewing the unskilled white labour position in Johannesburg is reported to have said, unskilled white labour had cost Johannesburg £763,000. If Natives had been employed, about £858,000 would have been saved.

The African Native National Congress which met recently at Johannesburg placed on record its protest against the action of the Natal Boroughs Ordinance "which militates against and is an infringement of the political rights and social privileges of our kith and kin, the Indian residents of Natal."

During his tour in Southern India Mahatma Gandhi was presented with an address by students of the Law College at Thivardrur. In the course of his humorous reply, he is reported to have given some very interesting personal reminiscences of his academical career as also some of his experience as a Barrister in South Africa. A mastery of facts and a correct understanding of human nature, he said,

was so essential for success at the bar. Above everything else they had to be careful that they did not sell their conscience for a mess of pottage. He wished they should have as their ideal a lawyer like Manomohan Ghose who was a friend of the poor and did so much for them. They should not be mercenary and had to devote themselves to the service of their country and humanity at large. He had given up his practice as he found it difficult to secure justice in law courts and he could help the poor and the distressed better even if he did not practice as a lawyer.

At the Bombay Legislative Council a reply was given in the negative to a question put by Mr. K. F. Nariman whether the Government could give any idea as to how long they propose to continue the ban against Mr. B. G. Horniman (the able and fearless editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* who was deported owing to his fearlessness in exposing the wrongs of the Government.) A further question being put as to whether the Government proposed to continue the ban perpetually the reply given by Sir M. Hayward was: "I have nothing to add to my answer."

DURBAN INDIANS AND THE PRINCE'S VISIT

IT will be remembered by our readers that the Durban Indians were offered a sum of £200 by the Town Council to celebrate the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. As a self-respecting section of the burghesses Indians considered this action on the part of the Town Council to be insulting, and they could have, without much ado, refused the offer and sat quietly. But out of loyalty to the Throne and respect for His Royal Highness they felt it was their duty to participate in the general celebrations if they could do so in an honourable way and without in any way losing their self-respect. With this object in view they went out of their way to ask, through their Congress, for a deputation to be heard by His Worship the Mayor. The deputation expressed their willingness to participate in the general celebrations but pointed out that the sum of £200 offered for the purpose by the Council was most humiliating and they could not accept it. If, however, they were treated on equal terms in every respect with other sections of the burghesses they would take part in the general celebrations. From the report of the deputation we are able to see that His Worship the Mayor was himself very sympathetic and was willing to meet the requirements of Indians in every way; but the Council members were not all of the same mind. Of course the methods of the Town Council barring a few individual members whose voice is in the wilderness—notwithstanding, however, whose sympathy the community much appreciates—are well-known, and Indians have suffered quite sufficient humiliations at their hands. But, it was felt that, on a most important occasion like this, when the Heir Apparent was coming to visit His Majesty's subjects they would be moved, if by nothing else, by their British birth to give way and treat Indians with equality to which they were entitled. It would not only have redounded to their credit, but whatever their past actions may have been and their future are going to be, they would

have for once been able to show to the highly honoured and most respected representative of His Majesty the King how truly British they were and how they believed in the British principles of freedom, justice and fair-play and how they practised those principles. This was, however, not to be. Race prejudice is deeply rooted in them and they are determined to show to His Royal Highness that it is not only the Boer element in this country, as it is believed, that ill-treats Indians, but it is the British (so called in our opinion) element that is up in arms against His Majesty's British Indian subjects. They have not seen their way to meeting the requests of the Indians even by an inch.

From the final reply given by His Worship the Mayor to the officials of the Natal Indian Congress we learn that Indians are totally debarred from all civic functions to be held in honour of His Royal Highness—although they are held with their money and in their name!

It should be clearly understood by our people as well as by the authorities that when we ask for representation in all the general functions such as the Civic Dinner etc., it does not necessarily mean that Indians are anxious, or seeking the honour, to dine with the Prince. It is the principle of equality that they wish to be maintained by the authorities.

There may be public prejudice. That there is we are fully aware. But it is for Indians to understand that and to give way wherever it is possible to do so without losing their self-respect, and this the Indians have been doing all along. It is however wrong for the authorities to be guided by public prejudice. This attitude of the local authorities is much to be regretted. It only amounts to this, that they refuse to recognise Indians as burghesses, and this slap in the face given unhesitatingly by the Council on a most important occasion in the history of Durban should be sufficient to awaken the Indians from their slumber. No self-respecting Indian can even think, in the circumstances, of participating in the general celebrations or to have anything to do with any alternative offer made by the Council. Last Sunday's meeting has passed a resolution to the effect that in view of equal status not being granted Indians cannot participate in the official celebrations. It is to be hoped that every Indian will abide by this decision. Our non-participation does not mean that we are disloyal, nor that we are lacking in our respect for His Royal Highness. Durban Indians have sent a welcome message to His Royal Highness on his arrival at Capetown and they may present him with an address on his arrival here if the authorities will allow that to be done. More than that, as we have already stated previously, this is not a time for Indians in South Africa for jollification but for mourning for all the humiliations they are being subjected to, and the latest of them is in the shape of the Local Townships Law Amendment Ordinance passed by the Natal Provincial Council and just assented to by His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council.

WELCOME TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES

NATAL INDIANS

The Natal Indian Congress telegraphed the following welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his arrival at Capetown:—

"Private Secretary, Prince of Wales, Capetown,— Natal Indian community join other sections of South African community in extending heartiest, sincere and cordial welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the future King Emperor, to the Union, and confidently hope and pray that his first visit to this portion of his Majesty's Dominions will be happy and pleasant, and will be conducive to the happiness, peace and prosperity of the cosmopolitan community of this Sub-Continent."

The following reply has been received from the Private Secretary to His Royal Highness:—

"Prince of Wales much appreciates the message of welcome from the Natal Indian Congress and thanks them all for their good wishes."

CAPE INDIANS

A welcome address was presented to His Royal Highness by the Cape Indians.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

The *Indian Social Reformer* in its Indians Overseas Supplement dated March 21 writes:—

Among the problems which claim the earnest and immediate attention of the Indian public are those which relate to our countrymen in foreign countries within and without the British Commonwealth. . . . India and Indians have a long tradition of successful colonisation in distant lands. The torch of Indian religion and civilisation was carried all over Asia and beyond by Hindu and Buddhist and, in later centuries, also by Mahomedan merchants and missionaries. This expansive phase of India's national history ceased not much more than a thousand years ago when the country had to conserve all her resources to defend herself from foreign invasions. The re-establishment of internal peace and external security under British rule, has enabled us to presume the interrupted process of national evolution in many directions. One of the most important of these is the settlement of Indians in foreign lands. Whatever may be the circumstances which led to their emigration from India, they represent her culture and civilisation, and it is laid upon us in the Motherland as an imperative duty to see that they are in a position to do it well and worthily. It has been said that we can do little or nothing to help them against oppression and humiliation till we get Swaraj. But the only way of getting Swaraj is to stand up for the rights of our people especially of those who, either through ignorance, racial custom or social antagonism, are in a position of disadvantage as compared with their fellow-citizens, whether at home or abroad. In the case of our countrymen abroad our duty is all the greater as the distance from the Motherland is a special disadvantage demanding special efforts on our part. In the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, we have the nucleus of a great organisation which is needed to keep watch and ward over the interests of our fellow-countrymen overseas. It is our purpose in this Supplement to focus Indian public opinion on this important national duty. In conveying our greetings to our countrymen abroad we invite their co-operation in our endeavour to be a living link between them and the Mother-country. The *Indian Social Reformer* is especially concerned with the social evolution of the country which, after all, is the most secure basis of national solidarity. That evolution will have to take account of the needs and conditions not only of the communi-

ties at home but also of those abroad, in order to be worthy of Great and Greater India. In fact our countrymen abroad with their wider outlook upon the world can make more valuable contributions to the national life than those of us whose vision is bounded by the geographical limits of India.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

A Reuter's message from Calcutta states:—

In the course of his presidential address to the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Faridpur, Mr. Das said that Swaraj was attainable within the Empire, because Dominion status implies all the elements of Swaraj. In condemning violence he declared freedom could not be won by revolutionary violence, but the present distrust must be dispelled in order to open the way to co-operation.

If no response was made to the Swarajists' offer of settlement they must continue to make administration impossible and be prepared for ultimate disobedience. Mr. Das said he did not think that such a contingency would arise, as he sees signs of reconciliation everywhere, opening the prospect of a federation of States of India within a greater federation of free nations.

Another message states:—Addressing the above Conference Mr. Gandhi disclosed that differences had arisen between members of the "Subjects Committee."

It is surmised that these centred around the proposals of Mr. Das for conditional co-operation, and his desire to pass a resolution condemning anarchist activities.

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of a long speech, announced that the differences had been amicably settled.

Referring to a speech made a few days ago by Mr. Das, in which the latter, addressing the same Council, said that Swaraj was attainable within the Empire because Dominion status implies all the elements of Swaraj, but that if no response were made to the Swarajists' offer of settlement, they must continue to make administration impossible, Mr. Gandhi said Mr. Das was unable to hurl defiance at the British Throne, and had to admit his own incapacity and that of his countrymen.

Mr. Gandhi added that freedom was only attainable by Hindu-Moslem unity, the removal of untouchability, and the adoption of the spinning wheel. The Conference unanimously passed a resolution condemning both revolutionary methods and the Bengal Ordinance.

In a resolution the Conference also expressed its faith in the innocence of those detained as suspects under the Act of 1918, unless the contrary was proved by open trial.

INDIAN REFORMS

The *United Empire*, the Royal Colonial Institute journal, in its April number writes:—

Lord Reading is coming home on four months' leave to confer with the Secretary of State for India the Majority and Minority Reports of the Reforms Enquiry Committee which last year investigated the workings of Dyarchy have been published, and the Indian Budget has proved surprisingly good, with a substantial surplus. Speculation as to the reason of the Viceroy's visit is naturally keen. Does it portend some modification of the Dyarchy *regime's* half-way on its allotted period of ten years' trial? It is very difficult for the ordinary citizen at home to understand exactly what the situation in India is. Whilst newspaper reports suggest one day that India is seething with discontent and impatience, and the next describe rifts in the Swarajist lute, Sir Atul Chatterjee, out of the intimacy of his knowledge, makes the reassuring statement that India is going

about its business in the main undisturbed by political forces that secure so much publicity. The reports of the Reforms Enquiry Committee serve to show that there are, as there must be, in so novel a system as Dyarchy, many points which call for consideration; if the system has worked badly, the explanation is that extremists have sought to discredit it in the hope of securing immediately the complete measure of Swaraj favoured by the Minority report. Lord Rawlinson (who is to be succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by F. M. Sir William Birdwood) in a speech on the Indian Army evinced genuine sympathy with Indian aspirations, but pointed out the perils of forcing the pace. What is true of the Army is true of the Government itself. Racial considerations complicate the problem of Indianisation on the military as on the political and administrative side, and Lord Rawlinson refused to be a party to measures which might be fraught with "vital consequences."

BISHOP ON NATIVE PROBLEM EVILS OF THE PASS SYSTEM

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. Karney, made an important reference to native problems at the Diocesan Native Conference held at Potchefstroom. He spoke of the principle of the Colour Bar Bill as being absolutely un-Christian, expressing the hope that it would not go through Parliament.

The present, said his lordship, was a time of great anxiety and uncertainty, as they did not know what was going to be the results of certain Acts and measures before Parliament, in addition to which there was much poverty and unemployment among the native population.

Nothing was so bad for any country as uncertainty, but it was clear that greater opportunity should be given to Bantu people, both for education and for farming on their own lands.

DRUNKENNESS

It was a matter of great regret that drunkenness appeared to be on the increase. The church had to make a tremendous stand against that, because from drunkenness came other crimes, such as assaults on women.

There was, too, a great deal of liquor selling, and the Bishop had been informed that much of this was done by native women themselves.

He admitted there was temptation, even to church-women, to earn more money by selling liquor on Sundays than they could by working hard all the week.

Referring to passes for native women, the Bishop said a conference had just been concluded, over which he had presided, and at which it was decided to make representations to the Prime Minister, the main suggestions coming from the natives themselves.

These had not been published in the newspapers, but a despatch had gone forward to the Prime Minister at Capetown.

HATED THE PASS SYSTEM

When the Minister of Justice suddenly announced that he was going to revive the old Ordinance about passes for women, a deputation interviewed General Hertzog, who said that something must be done in the interest of native women themselves, and with that many of them agreed, but they hated the pass system just as they hated the thought that hundreds of native women who had to run away from their homes went wrong in the towns.

His heart had ached at the sight of native girls in the streets of Johannesburg on Sunday night, and he knew that great temptations were placed in the

way of good native boys, and so many women were selling liquor and selling their bodies, too.

They had pleaded with the Prime Minister not to make native women carry passes, but to try and prevent native girls from running away from their homes, and giving increased power to parents or natural guardians.

A PROPOSED SOLUTION

That agreed with the best native opinion, and they urged that no girl should come to the city without the written permission of her parent or guardian, such permission to be countersigned by a responsible Government official or Minister of religion, who was a marriage officer.

It was not a perfect solution, but as the Prime Minister had said, something had to be done.—*Daily Mail*.

INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

BENGAL ORDINANCE

STATEMENT BY LORD BIRKENHEAD

Lord Olivier asked the Secretary of State for India for information as to the outcome of action recently taken under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1923, and, in connection therewith, under Regulation III of 1818, in Bengal, and as to the results of the investigation of the cases of persons arrested under that Ordinance or that regulation, and moved for papers. He said that the form of the Ordinance was settled by the late Government in complete accordance with the Governor-General of India. It was very carefully and precisely agreed that the Ordinance should not aim at any kind of political activity, whether that activity might be described as seditious or revolutionary or as likely to disturb the public tranquility or not. It was to be carefully guarded so as to apply only to the commission of acts of violence specified in the Indian Penal Code. The Ordinance gave very unusual powers to the police and to the Administration, and really took away from a person who was charged or proceeded against under its provisions many of the protections for liberty which our criminal law had established for accused persons. After the promulgation of the Ordinance, Earl Winterton stated in the House of Commons that about 56 persons had been arrested under it and 28 under Regulation 3 of 1818. That was rather surprising, because the late Government had been informed by the Governor-General that the regulation did not give him sufficient power for preventing these crimes, and consequently he was given a stronger measure, which the late Government presumed was sufficient to cover all cases. Nevertheless, a certain number of persons were arrested and imprisoned under Regulation 3. That regulation, as he said, applied only to "the danger of internal commotion," and it had been resorted to in former years only when it was necessary to avoid disturbances of the public peace. It was not the desire or the intention of the Government of India to take action against persons when it was feared they might be engaged in internal commotion, but solely on the ground that they were engaged on activities of physical violence or physical intimidation. He asked whether the Secretary for India (Lord Birkenhead) could tell the House what had been the upshot of the operations carried out either under Regulation 3 or under the Ordinance in demonstrating to the satisfaction of the Government of India that all the persons arrested had been actually engaged in criminal conspiracies and outrages, what was the reason for the discrimination between the arrests under Regulation 3 and the Ordinance, and whether that discrimination had been done away with.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S REPLY

The Earl of Birkenhead (Secretary of State, India), in replying, said that Lord Olivier had not exaggerated the severity of the course which he and his colleagues in the Labour Government had authorised the Viceroy to take. When he (Lord Birkenhead) first became aware of the drastic nature of that course, he felt it his duty carefully to examine the justification which was alleged for the authorisation of powers so remarkable—almost unprecedented—in India, and he had been satisfied that Lord Olivier was absolutely justified, having regard to the nature of the evidence which was before him.

Revolutionary conspiracy existed in Bengal between 1912 and 1917. It was only successfully repressed when the leaders were confined under Regulation 3 of 1818, and many of its subordinate members were dealt with under the Defence of India Act. Most of those persons were released after the Royal Proclamation of 1919, and it was psychologically interesting to note that many of them had since abstained from revolutionary acts. To the remainder an amnesty was gradually extended, but a large number of those speedily returned to their previous methods and reorganised their old association. By the end of 1922 two main terrorist organisations had been revived. Arms and ammunition, mostly smuggled from abroad, were collected, and a new type of bomb was manufactured and elaborate and carefully conceived projects for assassination were devised. During 1923 and 1924 outrages took place and plans for assassination continued to be made. Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, from the first took an enlightened view of the situation, but that view did not immediately recommend itself to the Viceroy or to the Government of the day. Some of the ringleaders were arrested early in 1924, under Regulation 3 of 1818. That did not check the movement, and it became necessary to devise special measures. That resulted in the Ordinance.

TERRORISM OF WITNESSES

One of the main needs for employing special measures to counter conspiracies of that kind, instead of resorting to the ordinary provisions of the law, was the terrorism of witnesses and juries, which resulted in a failure of justice. That was the only justification for withdrawing from persons accused of crime the protection of an ordinary Court of law. In one instance, from the moment that a man did his duty by honestly and fearlessly giving evidence against conspirators, he and all his family were treated like pariah dogs.

At the time of the promulgation of the Ordinance, the Government of Bengal, not realising at that moment that it was so soon to receive the sanction of his Majesty's Government, took the responsibility of confining 27 Bengalee terrorists under Regulation 3. He had satisfied himself that none of these men was arrested for the purpose of restraining political activities, however extreme, but because of their connection with conspiracies to commit crimes of violence or to collect arms and explosives for such purposes. Two Sessions Judges, after reviewing the facts, had reported that the Government of Bengal were justified in applying the Ordinance. Therefore it would be seen that Lord Olivier was quarrelling with his own progeny, which was functioning properly. (Laughter.) So far as he (Lord Birkenhead) had been concerned, nowhere had the dice been loaded against these men, and nowhere had there been any critical suspicion or any tendency toward inhumanity. The Ordinance, which was promulgated on October 25, and had force only for six months, had now been replaced by two Acts.

EFFECT OF THE MEASURES

As regarded the general effect of the measures taken, it was significant that the promulgation of

the Ordinance coincided with a marked improvement in the situation in Bengal, and it was clear that, for the moment, at all events, the terrorists' plans and associations had been disorganised. (Ministerial cheers.) He gave the credit for that to Lord Olivier and to the Governments of India and of Bengal. He must make it plain, however, that attempts were still being made to recruit and collect arms and to carry on propaganda in favour of violence. Those activities required, and they would receive, unremitting vigilance. The powers conferred by the Ordinance must, at present be continued. The existence of these powers, apart from their exercise, operated as a powerful preventive. One notable feature was that the moral of the police had been strengthened and forces of law and order felt that they could take effective initiative. There had been considerable agitation in the Press and among politicians against the Ordinance, but there were no indications of any deep and widespread resentment among the general public, either in Bengal or elsewhere.

THE POSITION OF MR. DAS

It has just been reported in the Press, Lord Birkenhead continued, that Mr. Das has issued a statement which every true friend of India, believing it to be sincere, must warmly welcome. Founding myself on the fullest report which the Press has made available, I understand that he has expressly and formally dissociated himself and his party entirely from all forms of violence, and that he has given utterance to a plea to the youth of Bengal to abandon the adoption of all such methods. Mr. Das asks us to lay aside undue suspicion. There is nothing which I am more anxious to do, nothing I would more gladly do, in dealing with the responsible trust I have to some extent in my hands, than lay aside any suspicion. I shall watch the results of his appeal to those who accept his guidance and act under his advice with hopeful interest. If I see that the revolutionary societies begin to atrophy for want of monetary and moral support and the channels of communication between the political and the anarchical worlds are effectively closed, then, indeed, a new era in Bengal will have begun, and the need for what Mr. Das calls repression will have disappeared.

But let there be no ambiguity about this. When Mr. Das speaks of repression, he apparently means the repression of political opinion, and he seeks to put this interpretation in our mouths, too. But the late Government, who sanctioned this legislation, the present Government, the Government of India, and the Government of Bengal have constantly and justly repudiated any such intention and any such practice. The repression which the Bengal Act contemplated is the repression of crime, and no one who is not a criminal is entitled to express a grievance against that legislation.

I invite Mr. Das to take a further step. He has publicly dissociated himself from political assassinations and violence in any shape or form. I make allowance for the difficulties of his position, but I would suggest that a conscientious citizen cannot quite stop even there. I ask him to go forward and co-operate with the Government in repressing the violence which he deprecates. If he will do that he will find that the way is open and easy for that which we all desire—co-operation between the British Government and Indian political parties with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India, as an integral part of the Empire, upon the understanding of a real and honest partnership. That road still remains open to be trodden by the populations of India, but never will the goal be reached by the road of violence, attended by desperate crime. (Cheers.)

The motion for papers was withdrawn.

