

to the census of 1891, in the Bombay Presidency alone. Brides in some castes have become scarce. Plague and famine have increased the scarcity. Several remarriages in Gujerat have taken place as a result of this necessity. We thus see that widow remarriages must be allowed not only on the grounds of humanity, fairness, justice, necessity and social economy, but also on the grounds of true religion and morality.

The census of 1901 shows that this number in ten years increased to 75,491. The Hindu widows below 20 years alone numbered 69,291, *i.e.*, 2.3 per cent. of the female population, and nearly 7.6 per cent. of the married females of that age.

I now come to the question of caste. People think that the Hindu religion is centred in the maintenance of castes and sub-castes. But castes, as they now exist, were unknown to Vedic and ancient religion. Our religion makes mention of only four Varnas—Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra—and not of castes. The four Varnas were based on their qualifications and actions and not on mere birth. The Bhagavat Gita says चतुर्वर्णं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्म विभागशः (I created four Varnas according to their qualifications and actions). The Shastras prescribe वर्णाश्रम धर्म (*i.e.*, duties of the four Varnas and four stages of life) and not of castes as they now exist. In former times one could by his own actions ascend or descend in the scale of Varnas. The text जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद्विज उच्यते. (by birth everybody is a Shudra and he becomes द्विज by training) establishes this position.

Manu also says :—

(A Shudra can become a Brahmin and a Brahmin may degrade himself to the position of a Shudra.) There are several instances of persons of the lower Varnas having ascended to higher Varnas. Inter-dining was allowed among all the four Varnas,

and a male from any Varna could marry a girl from a Varna lower than his own. Such an excellent arrangement produced its good result. It made the Brahmins maintain their moral, intellectual, and spiritual superiority by learning and good actions, and it encouraged the other Varnas to make efforts to qualify themselves for promotion to higher Varnas. The nation was thereby enabled to advance in civilisation. The reformers aim at such an amalgamation as may limit the castes to the four Varnas as they existed in the Vedic times and the establishment of such intercourse between them as then existed.

Time does not permit me to discuss how such a good system happened to be so degenerated as almost to ruin the nation by innumerable divisions and sub-divisions. It is sufficient if we bear in mind the evil consequences and try to remedy them. It cannot be denied that the effect of the present caste divisions is very harmful in many directions. Caste organisations create a spirit of clannishness and narrow-mindedness. They destroy the feeling of brotherhood that must exist between the different communities. They give rise to intrigues and breed a desire of preferring caste interests to the general interests of the community. They give rise to caste jealousies, create a feeling of hatred between the different sections of a community, and tend to destroy the idea of common nationality. The caste organisations may have some advantages, but, on the whole, I am of opinion that strong caste organisations do more harm than good. There is no authority in Shastras prohibiting a Brahmin of one caste from dining with a Brahmin of another caste, and yet if a Brahmin of one caste dines with one of another Brahmin caste, he is excommunicated on the ground of committing a breach of religious duty. How can society make

progress and rise so long as such notions prevail? Everybody who has the good of the country at heart should seriously consider this question and try to introduce the old system which is supported by our ancient religion.

The question of foreign travel is nearly solved. People returning after a visit to European countries are now readmitted into the caste on certain conditions. Very few now think that foreign travels are against religion.

One of the most important problems of reform is about the raising of depressed classes. They form a large proportion of our community. Is it open to us, who are never sparing in commenting upon the conduct of Government in making race distinction and in giving preference to one community over another, to be making like distinctions and worse, between the different sections of our own community? To treat those as out-castes, who are outside our society, is to lop off an important organ out of our social constitution. By treating them as lepers of society we force them to leave our own society and embrace other creeds and religions. These considerations must not be lost sight of in looking at the question from a religious point of view. As shown above, our religion allows a Shudra to become a Brahmin by learning and good actions. Valmiki was a Shudra but his name is even now respected as a great Rishi. Tukaram, Kabir, Nanak, and other saints, who were not Brahmins, are held in high veneration even by Brahmins. The great Bhakta Narsi Mehta did not lose his caste though he openly associated himself with people of the depressed classes. Thus in elevating the depressed classes we are not acting in opposition to religion. I think we must take more interest in the elevation of the depressed classes and should help them in raising

their status and improving their condition and in increasing their usefulness to society.

The purity question includes both bodily and moral purity. Both these are enjoined by the Shastras. Owing to ignorance and superstition our people look more to the letter than to the spirit of the Shastras in this matter. The rules of sanitation being natural laws, no society can violate them with impunity, and the disregard of these rules has led to much unhealthiness and suffering in the country. As a matter of public health Government are attempting to do what they can, but success cannot be achieved unless we arouse ourselves to the importance of the question and devote our earnest labours in the cause. As regards the question of moral purity, it requires no saying that we must try to free ourselves from all immoral surroundings and associations.

Thus the cry of "religion in danger" raised against reformers is groundless. I think, as shown above, that true religion is in danger in opposing reform and in allowing the evil customs and practices to continue. I earnestly appeal to the opponents of reform to calmly and seriously consider this.

It is sometime asserted that reforms in old times were effected by Rishis, that the Acharyas and Shastris are the proper persons now to lead the reform, and that the reformers have no right or authority to guide the people and to introduce changes in their customs and practices. This brings us to the question as to who should undertake the work of reform? It must be remembered that nobody in old times asked the Rishis to undertake any reform. They were philanthropic and were the well-wishers of the people. They knew their duties and responsibilities. They cared not for praise or censure from the people. When they saw that any

social practices produced evil effects on society, they spontaneously of their own accord came forward and exerted themselves to introduce reform. If our Acharyas, priests and Shastris act like the old Rishis, realize their duties and responsibilities, and work for reform, we would all respect them and follow them. But many of them are not qualified by general education to take a broad view of the important social problems; their sympathies are generally not on the side of making reforms; they are mostly averse to introduce changes which may not find ready popularity with their followers, and their interests are more in the direction of opposing than making reforms. The question then arises, what should be done? Should important social problems remain unsolved, should society continue suffering and should we remain inactive in the face of these evils until these religious people are made alive to their duties towards the people? Our society has suffered sufficiently long and we cannot afford to wait.

Under the British rule we have got the benefit of western education and western ideas. We have come to know the social customs and conditions of the people of other countries. We have become more widely and more intimately acquainted with our own ancient literature and religious works, and new ideas, conditions and circumstances have sprung up. These circumstances combined opened the eyes of the early reformers to the magnitude of the evil that some of the customs and usages were inflicting on the country. They saw the necessity for reform and, actuated by a strong sense of duty, they devoted themselves to work earnestly in carrying it out. The spread of education has convinced many persons of the paramount importance of social questions in promoting the welfare of the country, and they consider it their duty to continue their efforts in the cause.

Some critics allege that there has been no appreciable results of the efforts of the reformers. It must be remembered that in a vast country like India, of which the people are enslaved by peculiarly rigid caste system, sunk in ignorance and superstition for several centuries, and imbued with conservative ideas, the work of reform must necessarily be slow. Substantial and all-pervading reform must take a long time to engraft itself on a society. The work done, however, during the last 60 years is not discouraging. Primary female education is spreading in all parts, and some ladies have acquired higher education and have obtained University degrees. A steady progress in raising the marriageable age is observable in all parts of the country. The number of widow remarriages is fast increasing. In this year there have been 15 widow remarriages in the Bombay Presidency alone. In four of these the brides' guardians were consenting parties and took part in the ceremonies, and the bridegrooms were graduates of the University. But the success is not to be measured merely by numbers. About a fortnight ago a large number of Brahmins and others attended a widow remarriage between the members of two respectable Brahmin families which took place under the patronage of His Highness Sayajirao, the illustrious Ruler of Baroda, to whom the cause of reform owes much for its advance. In the Anavla Brahmin caste a widow remarriage took place only a few days ago. A caste meeting was convened for the purpose of outcasting the marrying pair. But instead of outcasting them they, under the presidency of one of the leading and the most respectable families of the caste, approved of the marriage and rejected the proposal for excommunicating them. In a similar way a large number of the Lad Vaniyas of this city at a caste meeting expressed themselves in favour of introducing

widow remarriages in their caste. This shows how far the soil has been prepared for this important reform, and to what extent the sympathy for it has permeated through the masses of the most conservative communities. The question of foreign travel is nearly solved and the current in its favour is growing so strong in force and volume that the castes are unable to stem it, and have to yield to its forces. Caste prejudices are diminishing. Inter-marriages in some sub-divisions of castes have begun. More attention is being paid to religious and moral education. All this is encouraging.

The acts of the social reformers are often criticised by opponents as well as by friends. We welcome all discussion and criticism for the purpose of finding the truth, arriving at a right conclusion and acting wisely. There are some who think that we must try for revival of ancient institutions and not for reform. But mere revival will not suit our present condition nor will it serve our end. Call it revival or reform; we need not fight for words when we agree as to the necessity for change in the present customs. There are others who suggest reform on national lines. But, as well said by our friend Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, there is nothing in our programme which is against "rationally national."

One great point often urged is that the reformers are talkers and not workers, that they are lip-reformers, and that they have no moral courage to act according to their convictions. We must calmly consider these remarks and if there is any truth in them we must try to remove the complaint as much as possible. Our opponents lose no opportunity to misrepresent and abuse us. Their object in making such criticism is certainly not to help the cause of reform. They attack reformers with a view to dissuade people to

join our cause. Our reply to them should be that they are not fit to guide or advise us as to how we should act and what we should do to advance our cause, and that such criticism will not discourage us.

I wish to say a few words to friends and sympathisers who make such criticism with a view to advance the cause. In my humble opinion, their remarks are not well-considered, are often incorrect, and do more harm than good to the cause, inasmuch as many persons, though reformers at heart, do not join our cause and do not come to the front, for fear of being harshly criticised. Those who find fault with reformers for inaction, ought to remember that words are actions when they produce convictions in the minds of others, or actuate others to do an act. Different steps to complete an action are so many different acts. Doing anything that encourages others to do an act is a sort of action. In doing an act, one should always keep the ultimate object in view. No wise man does an act which would frustrate the purpose aimed at. We are working not for a few but for the masses and for the whole society. The moral influence that can induce others is likely to be lost by isolation. Our actions must be such as would advance and not retard our cause. Our work to be effective should, therefore, be done by remaining, as far as possible, in society. Circumstances of different places and different communities are different. An act which at one place may prove useful, may be harmful at another place. Different kinds of actions at different times and places are, therefore, necessary for the success of our cause. Our friends should bear in mind these points before finding fault with the workers for inaction. Those who criticise fellow-workers should seriously consider whether their criticism does not apply to

themselves. I do not in the least defend any person who fails to do an act which he ought to have done to further our cause. All I want to say is, that every reformer instead of criticising a fellow-worker should do what seems to him to be right and just, and set an example to others. If leaders fail to do their duty by not acting, those who criticise should come forward and take the lead. This, I believe, ought to be the position of friends of the cause.

In conclusion, I beg to offer a few suggestions as to our future plan of work. Our field of labour is very large, we have to contend against prejudices of very long standing, and our number is small; difference of opinions must exist as to methods. I think we must not waste our time and energy in fighting about methods when we agree as to the common aim. Let each try his own method and do some work, and sympathise, if not co-operate, with others who adopt other methods. Prominent workers in a province should meet often at different centres to discuss and decide as to what steps should be taken to further the cause in different parts of the country. Efforts should be made to establish associations in as many places as possible. Agitation* must be kept up and carried on by lectures, pamphlets, and leaflets. We must not proclaim our victories in such a way as to offend others and create unnecessary opposition, but continue to work step by step to attain the final goal. We must not be disheartened by harsh or unjust criticism, or on account of a fellow-worker's weakness, but go on working with a sense of duty and responsibility, with earnestness and singleness of purpose, with devotion and perseverance, regardless of praises or censures, and, God helping this noble cause, success will be certain. Our motto should be, as said by a saint:—

“ Love to God,
Service and love to the fellow-man.”

WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

MR. MANUBHAI N. MEHTA,

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Conference held at Surat.*

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to accord you a hearty welcome to this twenty-first Indian Social Conference. I bid this welcome on behalf of myself, on behalf of the Reception Committee, and on behalf of the city of Surat. The Social Conference meets this year in a city which has a proud heritage of historical traditions and an undeniable claim to the gratitude of all lovers of reform. Surat was once the chief emporium of the trade of the East and a rich mart for the exchange of merchandise from the East and the West. Under the Moghul Emperors it was the chief port in Gujerat for all the varied exports and imports of the land and was also known far and wide as the Gate of Mecca, whence pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet embarked for Arabia. Its markets bristled with the flowing robes of merchants from Khorasan and Baghdad on the one side and Mongolian Mandarins on the other. Its fabled riches excited the cupidity of the illustrious Shivaji who sacked it again and again and carried off from its people a large amount of spoil for distribution among his sturdy soldiers. Surat was among the earliest towns in India that received the impact of European merchants from beyond the

seas. The Portuguese and the Dutch established their first factories on the banks of the Tapti, and the British East India Company, which soon followed, had its earliest settlement in this town. Bombay was then a fishermen's hamlet and it was from Surat that the East India Company transferred that island to their sovereign, the second Charles, as a dower for his royal consort. The "Queen of Western India that sits sceptred on the seven isles" was thus a protege of Surat then and it was only when Surat was wrecked that Bombay found its opportunity and waxed fat at the expense of the elder city. Even the French people had their factory here and you will be interested to learn that the ground on which you stand to-day and which to this day is known as the French Gardens was once the cradle of the enterprise of that large-hearted and chivalrous nation. The French people have been well known for their love of liberty and affectionate hearts; and standing on this once French soil we offer you a characteristically affectionate and warm welcome.

We citizens of Surat are known in Gujerat as an impulsive and reckless people. We are believed to have amongst us no cold calculators, no subtle sophists, and no hard-hearted economists. We leap in the dark without looking ahead. Our local poet has taught us to cast circumspection and caution to the winds and rush to fill up the breach where our stronghold is being stormed. The circumstances under which we have invited the Indian National Congress and the Social and Industrial Conferences to unprepared Surat this year well illustrate this reckless rashness. We must have had a poor idea of your comforts and of our duty to make you happy in our midst to have undertaken to invite you at such short notice. We therefore crave indulgence for any shortcoming in the arrangements we had to improvise. We may assure you, gentlemen, that the defects you

might have noticed have not been due to any want of cordiality ; our welcome is all the more genuine, our goodwill all the more true. .

It is but meet that the Social Conference meets this year in this city. Surat has been known as the home of reformers in Gujerat and the first pioneers of social advancement hailed from this town. The names of Durgaram and Mahipatram, of Nar-madashankar and Navalram are writ large in the history of the reform movement. They endeavoured to elevate the standard of female education in this province and to ameliorate the status of our women. They endeavoured to bridge the gulf between one sub-caste and another and to dispel the terrors of ostracism consequent upon foreign travel. They exposed the gross superstitions of our social and religious dogmas and endeavoured to dissipate the darkness of ignorance from our homes. They had a goodly following and their stern band of social reformers did a good deal to popularise the cause which we have met to celebrate to-day.

“By ceaseless change everything subsists;” so thought Heraklitus of old ; so sang Cowper ; and the European savants have pinned their faith to this belief in the immutable law of Evolution. Life is synonymous with change and growth, and is the negation of stagnation. To subsist one must move and adjust himself to the changing environments. Success in life depends upon the degree of skill with which you adapt yourself to the shifting surroundings. Nations that have been unduly rigid in lending themselves to the everchanging circumstances have gone and perished. Society is a complex organism, which in order to live must grow. And that growth, in order to be healthy, to be really helpful to progress, must be multiferm. You cannot exercise only one limb of your body and neglect the rest.

The result would be an unequal advancement, a disparity of growth. The limb over-exercised would grow elongated or crooked and become loose or over-flaccid by constant use. The muscle neglected would suffer from atrophy and become too rigid for any healthy use. A nation cannot strive to be politically free and be yet content with its industrial serfdom. It cannot seek its political or economic emancipation and also wear the chains of social bondage. If you are seeking political rights and privileges, it equally behoves you to shake off the manacles of social prejudice, ignorance and superstition. If you shut your eyes to the social activities and exercise only your political limb, the balance of power in the social frame is liable to be disturbed beyond all hope; there would be a certain deformity of the whole structure and a possible paralysis of the whole organism.

Society must advance on all lines if there is to be any stability in the progress achieved. It is no doubt true that there are some elements in our environment which it is not possible to change. Man is the architect of his own fortune no doubt; but he has to use the stone and mortar as he finds them; he cannot make them. He is a free agent to a great extent; but he is also subject to philosophical necessity and cannot control the law of causation. He cannot change his heredity for instance, nor his time or place of birth. If Luther had lived in times when Galileo was persecuted and Giordano Bruno burnt on the stake for their heresy, the Protestant Reformation could not have been associated with his name. If Aristotle had been born to Negro parents in Timbuctoo or Milton had seen the light of the world in Jericho, the world's literature could not have been enriched by the subtle politics of the Greek Metaphysician or the brilliant Paradise

Lost of the English Poet. If Bounaparte had only flourished in the time of Louis XIV. he could not have risen to be the Dictator and the Emperor. Times were not ripe then and they could not have anticipated time. There are these immutable factors in our destiny which no free will on our part can modify. But there are enough of other malleable elements in our environment which we need not despair to conquer. It is these factors in our surroundings which we must either alter or adapt ourselves to them if we want to survive the eternal struggle for existence.

What then have we to do? Before I request you, gentlemen, to deliberate on the ways and means of social advancement, you will permit me to take a stock of our humble achievements. It is a necessary formality of handing over charge of the sacred trust from the 20th to the 21st Social Conference. The subjects of social reform have been so well understood and so thoroughly discussed, that I will not detain you long with any scholastic dialectic on the points involved therein. We all know that the programme of the social reformers can be easily reduced to three main heads. They are: (1) matters relating to the individual, like social purity and temperance; (2) matters relating to the family of the individual, which comprise questions of marriage and the status of woman, her education and her rights; and lastly (3) matters relating to the community or caste to which the individual belongs. Thus though seemingly many they are all one; and relate to the perfect individual. A man is not a whole man without his family, without his wife, who is only the man's complement and without his children, who supplement and prolong his existence. Man is a social animal and without the community or caste in which he has his being he is not perfect. Social reform concerns itself with the perfect man and aims at his infinite perfection.

To take an account of our successes and reverses then, we have yet no reason to despond. There has been an appreciable increase in the age of marriage. We do not very often see baby marriages now as we did thirty years ago. There are no doubt some communities yet where superstition still prescribes the marriage of infants and of girls before they attain puberty. I would appeal to you to organise a vigorous public opinion in the matter, so that it would be as impossible to offend it as it is now believed to be in those several departments of our activity where prejudice still reigns supreme. If concerted action on your part fails to achieve the desired end, you have the examples of Mysore and Baroda before you. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, as you all know, has testified his benevolent solicitude for the welfare of his people by enacting a law prohibiting the marriage of girls below twelve and of boys below sixteen. You will be interested to learn that the law has been working smoothly and has not been accompanied with any of those violent cataclysms with which every move in social legislation is associated by the ignorant masses. The law has now been four years old and there is absolutely no desire on the part of the people to revert to the old order of things. The number of applications for seeking exemption from the Act are decreasing every year, and the percentage of infringement of the law among the higher classes has been very low. The percentage of convictions among Brahmins and Vaishyas ranges between two and four, whereas among the low castes and Shudras it was as high as 39. The working of the Act is specially kept under the supervision of the Legal Remembrancer to ensure that no cases of infringement pass undetected. The success of this measure has engendered such faith in social legislation amongst the people that we have been receiving numerous applications from various

castes or communities for the prevention of their social abuses. Thus the Kathiawad Kunbis have sought for legislation to regulate the marriageable age for their boys and girls and to control their nuptial expenses. The Brahmins of Okhamandal have applied for a law penalising the sale of girls in marriage or the acceptance of exorbitant sums of money in the name of dowry. You will be most surprised to learn that recently we have received applications from the Banias of Sinore to make the remarriage of widows compulsory. Plague has exacted a large toll of human life and the large increase in the number of young widows added to the usual paucity of females in their caste has accentuated the situation. They pray to the Maharaja, as the father of his people, to enforce such remarriages if only for their sheer self-preservation and the perpetuation of their lineage.

Such an attitude of mind may cause you astonishment, but is easily explained when once the ice is broken and people have learnt to trust in State legislation. In Baroda there is the Early Marriage Prevention Act and there is the Compulsory Education Act. His Highness the Maharaja has undertaken to open a school for boys and a school for girls in every village, at an expenditure which will amount to sixteen lakhs when the whole scheme is matured. Boys have to attend these compulsory schools till they are twelve and girls till they are ten years of age. Female education is thus making satisfactory progress in the State. Even before education was made compulsory the percentage of literacy among the girls was 9 as against 5.6 in the Bombay Presidency and .8 for the whole of India. With the new measure it has already exceeded 26 and it is probable the percentage will steadily swell until it reaches its utmost limit.

Female education is likely to prove a potent solvent of great value for the prejudices and superstitions that are still rampant in our society. Woman is the strongest of orthodoxy in our country and is often a great obstacle in the way of reform which aims at her own elevation. Educate her and you will be able to counterpoise half the weight of the opposition which her conservative nature offers to you. Take recourse to legislation in the last instance if your combined efforts at persuasion or the communal efforts at coercion with the fear of penalties to be imposed by the caste are of no avail. If the State takes minors under its wings and leaves them free to repudiate contracts entered into during their minority, there is no reason why it may not be appealed to protect minor girls from the contract of matrimony. You may not penalise the offences against such law as we do at Baroda; but there would be nothing unjust if your law courts decline to recognise marriages contracted below the statutory age when either party aggrieved by it seeks to avoid them afterwards or the validity of the marriage is disputed. There have been provisions for fixing the minimum age for marriage even in systems of jurisprudence which look upon matrimony as a sacrament and not a contractual relation.

Again, if the State legislature has salutary provisions for the pupilage of minors and their guardianship of person and property, should it have none for the protection of minor widows? We appoint curators and committees for lunatics and prodigals but think there is no need to safeguard the interests of helpless widows. There are schools of correction and reformatories maintained by the State for delinquent children to reclaim them, but we see no necessity for similar institutions for child widows. There are asylums for lepers and asylums for thieves, who have

violated the laws of nature and the laws of the land ; but we have no home for the hapless widow, the person you have yourselves wronged and the victim of the tyranny of caste and social injustice. Has not woman a soul ? Emasculation is a crime and the cutting of nose is regarded as grievous hurt under our Penal Code as it mars the facial beauty of the person injured. Has not the enforced disfigurement of young widows an equally injurious effect on their personal appearance ? Does it not aim at defeminising them ? If there is a legal age for consent, should there be none for assenting to this compulsory disfigurement, and to this compulsory putting on of sackcloth and ashes by the young widow ? But who thinks of the poor wretch, condemned for no fault by the tyranny of custom ?

The question of widow remarriage is indeed a difficult nut to crack. We may not agree with the Sinore Banias in seeking the aid of State legislation to prevent the iniquity. But we can still do a good deal. Widows who are of an ascetic temperament and are not prepared to budge from their exalted ideal of conjugal fidelity will always win our greatest esteem. We have the greatest reverence for all such noble exemplars of self-adjuration and self-effacement. But there is no element of constraint in their case. Theirs is a self-imposed disability, which can in no way justify our putting a restraint on the will of their frailer sisters. It ought to be our duty to treat such widows as are prepared to remarry with respect and sympathy ; and we must be ever ready to help them and remove all disabilities likely to attach to their altered status.

Only recently there was such a remarriage in high life at Baroda ; and the moral support received by the unfortunate bride and the bridegroom from the enlightened Maharaja Saheb

the Antyajās or the depressed classes are labouring can hardly be defended. Even Shankaracharya, who brought about the revival of Brahmanism, allows salvation to the Shudra. If the regenerate classes pride themselves on their supposed origin from the mouth and the arms of the primæval Being, the Shudras emanated from His feet and are no less important factors in the economy of every village community. And yet we spurn them for the accident of their birth and deny them the commonest privileges of a citizen. It is curious to observe how their conversion to Christianity and anglicised habits renders them acceptable to the Hindu society, wherein as Hindus they could find no entry. Theocracy is well known as the worst form of tyranny and the Antyajās have long suffered under the Brahmanic sway. It is gratifying to observe that there has been a gradual revulsion of feeling of late in their favour and the efforts of the Arya Samaj bid fair to secure some recognition of their status. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar has, in this instance, also evinced his great desire to secure some measure of justice for these depressed classes at the hands of his people. Numerous schools have been opened in the State for the boys and girls of the Antyajā people, among whom also education has been made compulsory. Educated Antyajās find employment in the State as teachers in Vernacular schools for their castes and as mukadams under the Municipalities. Every endeavour is made to redeem this unfortunate class from the abysmal ignorance in which they are steeped. They are allowed free access to public buildings, schools and courts of law. If Sri Krishna has taught us—

समोऽहं सर्वं भूतेषु नमो द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।
 ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥

I am alike to all beings; to me none is hateful, none dear; but those who worship me with devotion dwell in me and I, too, in them. Is it not sacrifice to spurn them and heresy to hate them? They are chips of the same block from which we have emanated and are entitled to all our rights and all our privileges.

Connected with caste is the subject of sea voyages, a question on which I fain would hold my tongue, being myself an offender and a victim. I would not, however, let this occasion pass without conveying my sense of gratitude to my Surat brethren for agreeing to take me back within their fold. Surat in this as in many other matters has served the cause of reform and has proved how difficult social questions can be practically solved if only approached in a broad and liberal spirit of compromise. I would appeal to the other cities and towns of Gujarat to show a similar spirit of considerateness when handling this delicate question. I would remind them that it would not be always safe to hold their strings tight and oppose an unbending attitude to all endeavours at conciliation. Let not our necessity be seized as your opportunity. The victims are not likely to have an unbounded faith in the efficacy of all the prescriptions, especially when they are dictated more by greed than by any true sense of piety. By remaining too inflexible they are likely to defeat their own ends. The social exile, if he is not readmitted to the pale, is lost for ever to his old community; and with him is foregone all the benefit of the experience he is likely to have acquired from foreign travel. The loss of one valuable member counts for much when our society is fast dwindling and ever narrowing. We are not known for any proselytising spirit; we do not make converts or admit converts to our fold. Have we not a greater reason to

economise our resources and prevent the secession of any important member of our own community. Is there no truth in what is known as **आपद् धर्म** or the Religion of Necessity, which has no law and clearly dictates to us **पथि शुद्रवदाचरेत्** you may adopt the Shudra's mode of life when on travel. I have, on the other hand, read that at Darjiling most of the names that figure on the signboards of liquor shops show their Brahmanic descent and that Brahmin contractors supply mutton and even beef to the Army Comamissariat in Northern India. But they have not travelled in foreign countries and are not put out of caste. Can greed for worldly gain achieve a more decisive victory over purity or piety?

This, then, is our present position. We must swim with the tide and move on lest we be swept out of existence. We must change and change for the better. If our nation is suffering from moral myopia, the spectacles we used ten centuries ago will be of no avail; we must have a new pair of larger power. The earth is moving; the heavens are moving; and if we want to retain a clear perception of what the heavens have to tell us, we must adjust and keep shifting the focus of our telescope and not keep it rigidly fixed. What are then the lines on which we should advance. I may assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you will do best to follow the true old ideals, the truly national ideals of our own true Shastras. Reform is not revolution, it is not innovation, or an apeish imitation of foreign ideals. To be effective with the general masses it must aim at ideals which we call our own. When I request you, therefore, to reform your usages and customs, I do not ask you to rebel; we have rebelled enough against the laws of Nature, against the laws of morals. I do not ask you, for instance, to divorce your sacred ideal of marriage and turn it from

status to contract. To reform is only to alter or change the form, the outward manifestation, of the same old and true ideal. If the nation has outgrown its present forms, you have to enlarge them and not let its spirit feel cribbed, cabined or confined in its wornout habiliments. If you seek these true ideals in your ancient scriptures you will really find in them little to scoff at and much to pray to. The lives of Agastya and Lopâmudrá, of Arit and Anasuyá, of Vasishtha and Arundhati, of Yájnyavalkya Maitreyi and Gárgi hold forth before you noble examples of sturdy independent men and learned, intellectual women. You will find in those times no parallel for the modern mockery of marriage where a baby bride hanging at her mother's breast figures with a baby bridegroom feeling sleepy before the sacred altar. Tara and Mandodari remarried the brothers of their deceased husbands under the orders of Sri Ramachandra. Damayanti gave no shock to her parents' feelings when she proposed to hold another Swayamvara after the loss of her dear lord, Nala. The legend of Narmada tells us how she remarried five times one after the other at the behest of the Supreme Being. These women are still revered by us as Satis, and yet you will turn askance if a young virgin widow in your family proposes to remarry. It is urged by some that the second marriage of a widow is कलिवर्ज्य or prohibited in these degenerate days, though sanctioned by the ancient Smritis. With these men we have no patience. Is there any reason why, if such unions were allowed in those blessed eras, when free man and free woman lived on equal terms and lived a simple life of piety, they should yet be disallowed in these luckless times when the habit of self-control has weakened, the society has grown complex and artificial, and plague carries off human hostages by millions. It is no doubt true that these old ideals of the Vedic, Epic and Rationalistic

epochs of our national history could not long retain their pristine purity and gradually got corrupted by the advent of foreign ideas. The invasion of the Scythians and other barbarians from the North-West destroyed, among other things, our noble ideal of womanhood. She gradually ceased to be regarded as the comrade and helpmate of man; and was looked upon as an inferior being, a mere chattel and an instrument of man's pleasure. With the death of the chief of the clan his wives were immolated on the pyre with his slaves, as a provision for his pleasure and his comforts in the future world. The practice of Sati deprived the woman of her separate individuality and fell in with the perpetual tutelage of women. Personal comforts of life came to be regarded as unessential for woman's existence, and vows and penance became the emblems of piety. The asceticism of the Buddhist Reformation finished this work of transformation out of which the old Hindu ideals emerged scarcely recognisable. They rallied for a time under the Brahmanic revival inaugurated by Shankaracharya, but the Mahomedan inroads and the conquest of India by foreign invaders sealed them up beyond reprieve. It is these old ideals that you are asked to revive; and it is in this sense that revival is not antagonistic to reform, as it is sometimes supposed to be. Society, like language, or constitution, must grow and cannot be made to order after the pattern of foreign ideals; but when it is only our own true ideals that we are asked to revive and resuscitate, there is no insurmountable difficulty. You have to apply boldly the surgeon's knife to the parasitic excrescences that have grown on the social body. The later transformations in the ideals were not necessary links in the evolution of those ideals; but were only accidental accretions of ethnic or political origin. Apply the pruning knife to these weeds and the glorious land-

scape will be restored to its original splendour. These are the national lines of reform, and they are the rational lines. There is no paradox here. There is eternal harmony between reason and the essential ideals of our Being. Forms are only empty husks and accidents and it is by reforming these forms that you can revive the true ideals.

What, then, are the methods that we have to follow? The problems confronting a social reformer are often more exacting than those his brother of the political association has to deal with. They demand of him an immediate personal sacrifice to a degree not insisted upon in the case of the latter. The most difficult of these problems, however, is about the method, the *modus operandi*, to be safely pursued by the lover of reform. You will observe that the one ingrained habit among our people is that of passive submission to authority in the political, in the religious or in the moral field. The influence of authority in matters of opinion has grown so strong that we have hardly retained any independent judgment or the capacity to think out for ourselves. This has engendered two opposite evils; excessive dogmatism, which brooks no questions on the one hand, and servile credulity which lacks the courage of original thought. Whenever we need any fresh light we endeavour to seek it in the revelation of the Vedas, in the Smritis or in their latter-day commentaries. Whatever we find in them we take on trust, not daring to interrogate our Reason, if it is just or unjust. This complete subordination of Reason to Faith has induced a deplorable helplessness of thought. We become fatalists and resort to *kismet*; or take shelter under the authority of a scriptural mandate and thus excuse our inaction. शब्दप्रमाण is no doubt a kind of testimony, but it is blind faith alone that can give it precedence over perception or reason. It is

no doubt necessary that we ought to have reverence for our superiors, for our elders, and for what they dictate to us. A due regard for antiquity, said Burke, is a necessary cause of a due solicitude for posterity. We should not, at the same time, forget that the old times were not really old; the world was then fresh and young; it is the modern times that are really old with all the wisdom and experience of age on their back. Revere the voice of the old scriptural commentators, but not when it conflicts with the voice of Reason, the voice of God from within. We are all manifestations of the Brahma and the Brahma resides within us; He sits enthroned in our conscience and let not His voice be drowned amid the dialectics of subtle debates. Learn self-reliance; it will help you in many ways. In obeying the call of Reason, the voice of your conscience, remember that you are only listening to the commandments of the Supreme Being.

There is an equal danger on the other hand against which we cannot sufficiently be on our guard. Do not let your self-reliance degenerate into license; let not any exaggerated notion of self-sufficiency make us despotic dogmatists. Impatience of hostile criticism is only an indication of an unphilosophic mind. Restrain your feelings and your emotions, your senses and your appetite. Neglect of self-control and neglect of discipline often landed our ancient preceptors and heroes into license. The ancient forms of inferior sonship, of polyandry and polygamy were types of this license and we need not acquiesce in them or seek to revive them. We must recognise the Divine element in our being and subordinate to it the brute in our body. Self-restraint will give you a tower of strength which you would do well to conserve for its right use at the critical moment.

The recognition of the Divine spark in our being will help us again to cultivate self-reverence. Knowledge of our ultimate destiny, of the Eternal and the Immutable Entity from whom we have all emanated and towards whom we all converge will acquaint us with the sacredness of the charge committed to us. Due recognition of this sanctity of our mission will purify the national character and justify the self-reverence we ought to feel for our participation in the Supreme Being. The development of sound character is even more important than the development of reason and of the intellect. Without a moral backbone the Greek and the Roman civilisation could not long endure. Pericles and Plato, Aristotle and Alexander were towers of strength in the political and the intellectual arena; but Greece lacked a moral stamina under the Selucides which hastened her downfall. Similarly, at Rome, Cæsar and Cicero were intellectual giants, but the license which prevailed under Caracalla and Caligula sealed the fate of the Roman Empire beyond redemption. With the development of our moral faculties it will be easy for us to appreciate the luxury of doing good to others. Self-sacrifice and self-effacement will then seem nobler than self-indulgence and self-advancement. These then are the three "R.'s" of moral culture—Self-reliance, Self-restraint and Self-reverence—which I commend to your attention. They are no less important than the other three "R.'s" of intellectual culture with which we are all familiar. Above all, the prime need of our country is the culture of our sense of justice. Man has no inherent superiority over woman, and they are both entitled to their just rights. We are all children of God and must not spurn the depressed classes for the accident of their humble birth. Our sacred song chants in our ears—

“All this Universe is Brahma
All that live and move and die,
Born in Him, in Him subsiding,
Ending in that Being High.”

The Divine voice thus inculcates the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood which forms a watchword of this Conference. As you love the glorious antiquity of India, give your descendants a just cause to love you. If we are proud of our past let us act in such a manner that the future may be proud of us. If we thus conduct ourselves as rational beings we shall have discharged our mission and will be giving our successors hereafter when referring to the present times the satisfaction of repeating with the Roman hero—

“Then none was for a party ;
Then all were for the state ;
Then the great man helped the poor ;
And the poor man loved the great ;
Then lands were fairly portioned ;
Then spoils were fairly sold ;
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old.”

Ladies and Gentlemen, I welcome you again and ask your sage advice on the points referred to by me.

THE ALL-INDIA TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

BABU NORENDRO NATH SEN,

Editor of The "Indian Mirror."

Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is the Fourth All-India Temperance Conference, and I think, I may say without any exaggeration, that it marks an important advance in the activities of the Temperance workers in this country. Last year, about this time, the Conference met in Calcutta under the shadow of an overwhelming grief in consequence of the death of that great apostle of the Temperance cause and sincere and ardent lover of India—the Right Hon. Samuel Smith—a death, which was all the sadder, because of its tragic suddenness, happening only two hours before that venerable figure, consecrated to the cause of suffering humanity, was to make its appearance on the Conference platform. Alas! that we shall have only to recall the memory of his hallowed name where his inspiring words should have once more poured upon our souls.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful to you for the honor you have done me by calling me to the Presidential chair of this Conference—an honor which I attribute to your kindness rather than to any merits of my own. I feel that this great honor might have been more suitably bestowed upon any one of the many worthy workers present here, who have done yeoman service to the cause of Temperance both in this country and in

England. I feel my unworthiness the more when I think that, of the past three Conferences, the first was presided over by our late veteran leader—the Right Hon. Samuel Smith—and the others by such distinguished pioneers of the Temperance movement as Sir Bhalkrishna Chandra, and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. Since, however, you have called me to this duty, I must not demur. I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that, however poor my worth, I yield to none in this assembly in my appreciation of the good work which the Temperance movement has been doing in every part of the globe. Some of you may be aware that I represent a journal—the *Indian Mirror*—which has been advocating the Temperance cause for nearly half-a-century. The late Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, who was connected with that journal for many years, was the first Indian to lift his voice in England on behalf of the movement which has now established itself so powerfully in this country. His brother, the late Babu Krishna Behari Sen, M.A., who also had a long connection with the *Mirror*, was a member of the Bengal Temperance Commission of 1883. I think, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, that I may claim a family interest in the Temperance movement.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I come from a Province which has distinguished itself as one of the most active centres of the Temperance propaganda. The Calcutta Temperance Federation, which has proved itself a mighty power for good, counts among its workers many earnest, self-sacrificing philanthropists. Such men as Dr. Harold Mann, Mr. E. A. Goodwin, the Rev. Mr. Herbert Anderson, and Mr. B. R. Barber, who have devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause of temperance and purity, have laid the people of Bengal under a debt of obligation, which it is beyond their power to repay. From such a Province, I have come to another, which, too, through that excellent organisation

—the Bombay Temperance Council—has made a great name for its Temperance activities.

It is in the fitness of things, ladies and gentlemen, that this Conference should be held in a Presidency, where, on account of low taxation and of the prevalence of the District Monopoly system, intemperance has assumed colossal proportions. Bombay stands first in the list of consumers of alcohol; and it is strange that this ancient historic city, where we are met to-day, is one of the strongholds of intemperance. We know how strenuously has that great reformer—Sri Sankaracharya of Dwarka—laboured in this city to cure several castes of the vice of intemperance. It is well that the Bombay Provincial Temperance Conference should have held its last session in this city, on the 30th of March of this year, under the presidency of such a distinguished Temperance worker as Dr. Gostling.

Ladies and Gentlemen, of all the gatherings which will have been held at Surat during this Christmas week, none, to my mind, is fraught with such importance as this gathering of the Temperance workers, because the Temperance movement is not only a fight against vice, pauperism and misery, but an effort towards a higher manhood, a nobler civilisation. I attach the greatest importance to this movement, because it endeavours to make us good and efficient citizens—because it solves in a manner the problem of existence—because it affords a platform on which all nationalities can unite for their common welfare—because it is the strongest link in the chain that binds India to England. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales has said that sympathy is the key-note of British rule in India; and Mr. John Morley has also given expression to the same sentiment. British sympathy has ever been strikingly displayed with all movements tending to the social and moral elevation of the people. English-

men and Englishwomen come to India at great sacrifice to themselves on the sacred mission of Temperance. The names of such great pioneers of the movement as the late Mr. W. S. Caine, the late Right Hon. Samuel Smith, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Lord Radstock, Mr. William Jones, M.P., Mr. Kerr, Lord Kinnaird, and others will ever be remembered in India with feelings of the deepest gratitude. The Temperance movement admits of no political or sectarian differences—it stands on the broad basis of Universal Brotherhood—and its object is the redemption of those of our unfortunate fellow-beings, who have fallen from temptation to sin and from sin to misery. I cannot in this connection speak in sufficient terms of praise of the immense good which the various Christian Missionary bodies are doing in this country in the direction of the social and moral improvement of the people. Observed from all points of view, the Temperance movement, to my mind, is of the greatest importance to India and the Indians.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we meet this year under the most happy auspices, for it has been a year of marked advance in the work of the Temperance movement. It was on the 7th of September 1905, that the Government of India appointed a Committee to examine the excise administration of the country. The report of the Excise Committee was submitted to Government on the 4th July 1906, but was not published till December 1906, and a series of resolutions thereon appeared between May and August of this year. The Excise Committee, as you are aware, was appointed to devise measures for the establishment of uniformity in the excise administration of India. The scope of the inquiry was certainly not wide enough, for what the Temperance reformers wanted, was that there should be a systematic investigation of the causes of in-

creased intemperance, together with the formulation of definite measures for the mitigation of the evil. Even so, the Temperance workers rejoiced that some of the recommendations of the Excise Committee were of considerable value, and they hoped that effect would be given to them by the Government of India. It has been a matter of great disappointment to us that these recommendations, though falling very short of the public demands, have not been accepted in their entirety by the Imperial Government. It was with a view to representing the case fully to the authorities in England that a deputation representing the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, headed by Lord Kinnaird, waited on Mr. Morley at the India Office on the 1st of August last. The deputation pressed for a further inquiry by a Committee composed of officials and representative non-officials, to go into the whole question of the Indian Excise and to impose further measures of restriction on the consumption of intoxicants. Mr. Morley was sympathetic, as he always is, and he went so far even as to admit that the drinking habits of the people were on the increase, that the drink traffic in India was a "new, dire and additional plague," and that there was a case for putting down the abnormal growth of the evil. He remarked: "It was shocking to think that while we were flattering ourselves that we were spreading Western civilisation to the East, we were spreading what was one of the main causes of the ruin of much of the social work done in the West. From these remarks, it might be supposed that Mr. Morley readily fell in with the suggestions of the deputation, but it was not so. The words of sympathy were the words of Mr. Morley, and not of the Secretary of State. With all that, ladies and gentlemen, we must confess that we have scored a victory—a great moral victory—for we have conclusively proved the need of effective action.

I do not propose to go into a detailed examination of the Excise Committee's report, nor of the measures and methods of excise administration in this country. But there are one or two points, which it is necessary to allude to in this great gathering of Temperance workers. It is an indisputable fact that what is known as the auction system has been the cause of an increase in the general consumption of spirituous drinks. We want to have this system abolished. Our second demand is that the power of licensing should be withdrawn from the Revenue authorities. We next ask that what is known as the system of local option should be rigidly enforced, and that effective safeguards should be prescribed against juvenile drinking. I do not think that our demands are either unreasonable or excessive. "A Government should legislate," said Mr. Gladstone, "as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong." We hope to see this wise maxim of the greatest Liberal of England carried in practice by his faithful disciple who presides over the fortunes of India to-day. The Government of India have declared explicitly that "their settled policy is to minimise temptation to those who do not drink, and to discourage excess among those who do." They have further laid down that "fiscal considerations in connection with the liquor traffic are important, not as an end in themselves, but simply because** the most effective method of forwarding the policy of Government in regard to consumption, is to make the tax upon liquor as high as it is possible to raise it, without stimulating illicit production to a degree which would increase, instead of diminishing, the total consumption, and without driving people to substitute deleterious drugs for alcohol or a more for a less harmful form of liquor." Well, ladies and gentlemen, we take our stand on this declaration. We ask

Government nothing more than that they should faithfully follow the policy which they have laid down.

But though Government have not been able to overlook the fiscal considerations altogether, inasmuch as they rigidly adhere to the auction and other systems, which can be justified on the ground of bringing more revenue only, we must give them due credit, by acknowledging that their attitude has, on the whole, been one of sympathy towards the Temperance movement. The appointment of the Excise Committee, coupled with the concessions which Government have promised to make, would seem to show that had the revenue question not stood in the way, Government would have struck a destructive blow at the liquor traffic in India. A Government like the British Government cannot be supposed to be inimical to the social and moral interests of its subjects in India. Having regard to the results achieved, I have no doubt, you will agree with me in thinking that we have made a great advance in our work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I hear it often remarked by some of my countrymen—and you hear it too—that the mendicant policy of the old Indian leaders has done no good to the country, and that, if we are to succeed in any of our national endeavours, we must take up a fighting attitude. I am unable to accept this proposition, and those who have watched the rapid growth of the Temperance movement on the lines of constitutionalism and moderation, will, I feel sure, say with one voice that the proposition is radically wrong. As a body of non-aggressive, peaceful workers, the Temperance reformers have achieved victories which are, in every respect, more renowned than those obtained by political combatants in any country. There is no part of the globe where the Temperance Missionary has not made his influence felt. In England, the drink evil has

received a decided set-back through the efforts of the Temperance propagauda. We hear of a vast Temperance organisation even in Russia, where the liquor traffic is solely controlled by the Government and forms the bulk of its revenue. We cannot say that drink, in some form or other, was unknown in India before the British came to the country, but it goes without saying that the Indians in the olden days were a proverbially sober and abstemious nation. Drinking is interdicted in the strongest terms by Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and many other religions of India. The evil struck its root in India in the middle of the last century, as an outcome of the false aspect of English civilisation, which was prominently held up before the Indians of those days. In the Province from which I come, the evil at one time grew to what I may call the most alarming proportions. In the days that I speak of, drinking was the prevailing fashion among the educated Bengalis. The first Temperance movement that was started in Bengal was the Bengal Temperance Association, the founder of which was the late Babu Peary Churn Sircar. The Association had a monthly organ called the *Well Wisher* and it memorialised Government time and again to appoint a Committee to investigate the drink problem. The campaign was taken up with whole-hearted zeal by the Brahma Somaj under the leadership of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen. Bands of Hope were established, tracts, journals and pamphlets published, and lectures incessantly delivered by the Brahma Missionaries to produce a wholesome horror in the mind of the rising generation against the vice of drink. When Keshub Chunder Sen visited England, he spared no efforts to convince the British public of the immense harm that the Government policy in relation to the liquor traffic was doing in India. It was on account

of his powerful advocacy that the Government of India caused an inquiry to be made into the working of its liquor policy. It was then that Lord Northbrook, against the wishes of his financial advisers, recorded an emphatic decision "that the number of liquor shops should be reduced to the utmost degree compatible with the requirements of the neighbourhood." In the revision of the Bengal Excise system, consequent on these discussions, several steps in advance were taken as embodied in Act II. of 1876. The Brahma Somaj fought the temperance battle valiantly through a long series of years. Babu Krishna Behari Sen, the brother of Keshub, was a member of the Commission that was appointed by the Government of Sir Rivers Thompson. The most valuable concession resulting from the Commission was the declaration made by the Government of Bengal, about 21 years ago, that "no considerations of revenue can be allowed to outweigh the paramount duty of Government to prevent the spread of intemperance, so far as it may be possible to do so." The good work of the Brahma Somaj has borne its fruit. Although the Government policy has not materially changed, the tendency among the educated Bengalis to "follow the fashion," has received an effective check. The drinking habit has perceptibly declined among the educated Bengalis, but, I am sorry to say, that it has, on the other hand, made considerable progress among the illiterate labouring classes, especially those employed in mills, factories, collieries and tea plantations. I regret very much that the Brahma Somaj, in recent years, has relaxed its Temperance activities.

The history of Bengal, I fancy, is more or less the history of every other part of India. The demon of drink is to be reckoned with now-a-days not so much among the educated as the ignorant classes. The Temperance workers

and the Government alike recognise that the evil is increasing. In 1874, the amount of revenue drawn from liquor in India was £2,755,000, and in 1906-7 it had come up to £6,510,000. The figures show that in the place of one there are now three habitual drinkers in India. However, we have no cause to despair. The Temperance movement is doing more good than appears on the surface. The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, which was founded by the late Mr. Caine in 1868, to obtain reforms in the excise policy and administration of Government, has now nearly three hundred branches in India affiliated to it. We have in Bengal an excellent organisation, called the Calcutta Temperance Federation, founded in 1904, and there is a similar organisation in Bombay, called the Bombay Temperance Council. The two temperance journals—the *Abkari* in London, edited by Mr. Frederick Grubb, and the *Indian Temperance Record* in Calcutta, edited by Mr. E. A. Goodwin, which are powerful organs of the Temperance cause—deserve prominent notice. What good the various Temperance Societies are doing in India, will be judged from the fact that the Army Temperance Association, of which our present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, is a staunch supporter, has over 26,000 members on its roll, the result being, that there has been a steady decrease of intemperance among the British soldiers in India. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Imperial Order of Good Templars and other organisations, with which are associated thousands of earnest Christian men and women, are also doing considerable good. Among the purely Indian organisations taking an active interest in the question, are the Indian Social Conference, the Kayastha Conference of Behar, the Arya Somaj and the Deva Somaj of the Punjab, and also the Brahmo Somaj, although, as I have already remarked, its

activities have greatly fallen off as compared with the past. Among the great Temperance pioneers who have passed away, the name of Mr. W. S. Caine is one that will live longest in the grateful memory of the Indian people. It was Mr. Caine who, after two successive visits to India during which he instituted a careful inquiry into the liquor laws of the country, got Mr. Samuel Smith to move the following memorable resolution in the House of Commons on the 30th of April 1886 :—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the fiscal system of the Government of India leads to the establishment of spirit distilleries, liquor and opium shops in large numbers of places where till recently they never existed, in defiance of native opinion and the protests of the inhabitants; and that such increased facilities for drinking produce a steadily increasing consumption and spread misery and ruin among the industrial classes in India, calling for immediate action on the part of the Government of India with a view to their abatement.”

Mr. Caine himself, it may be mentioned, seconded this resolution in a vigorous speech. Among other distinguished Temperance workers whom we have lost recently are the Rev. Mr. Thomas Evans, Mr. Kali Churn Banerji and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. However, it cheers us to find in our midst our English brothers and sisters, encouraging us by their presence to carry on the sacred mission which they have entrusted to us for our own social and moral elevation. Miss Agnes Slacke, Miss Florence Balgarnie, Dr. Rutherford, and Mr. R. Laidlaw are all towering personalities on the English Temperance platform. Lord Kinnaird, Mr. J. H. Wilson, M. P., Mr. Herbert Roberts, M. P., and Mr. William Jones, M. P., are among the other names with the Temperance movement. Such men and women constitute the salt of the race to which they

belong. So long as there are such warm-hearted philanthropists and friends of India, we need have no misgiving as to the relations between England and this country. •

I think our Provincial Associations deserve the full meed of praise for their successful operations. There is evidence on every side that the Temperance cause is winning. We have it on the authority of the esteemed Joint Secretaries of this Conference—Sir Bhalchandra Krishna and Mr. D. D. Gilder—two names well-known in India—that the aboriginal tribe of the Gonds in the Central Provinces have organised a movement among themselves for total abstinence. Through the efforts of Dr. Mann, no less than fifteen grog shops have been closed in Calcutta, and the authorities have been prevailed upon to enforce a stricter observance of the law with reference to hours of closing. Dr. Mann has, indeed, as aptly observed by a well-known publicist of Calcutta, “realised the religion of citizenship.” A Committee, composed of officials and non-officials, is now sitting in Calcutta to inquire into the conditions of the liquor traffic in the city. This is another result of the work of the Calcutta Temperance Federation. The Bombay Temperance Council has also been the means of closing many liquor shops in that Presidency. These results would not, of course, have been possible without the sympathetic help of Government. The Government attitude towards Temperance work cannot be other than sympathetic when we see the Governments of Madras and Bombay prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to juveniles under the age of fourteen, and the Directors of Public Instruction in the United Provinces, the Punjab and in Bombay prohibiting the use of cigars and cigarettes in schools. These are welcome signs. The Government, I may say, appreciates Temperance endeavours, but is

unable to carry out excise reform as fully as it may wish for fear of loss of revenue.

• After all is said, ladies and gentlemen, the work of the Temperance reformer must continue to be an up-hill work for a long time yet to come. The drink curse has laid a firm hold on the country. A perusal of the excise literature will show that the consumption of foreign spirits is increasing among the middle classes, which was not the case before. As regards country spirits, which, like foreign spirits, are distilled, the several Provinces stand in the following order according to the quantities consumed: 1, Bombay; 2, the Central Provinces; 3, Sind; 4, the United Provinces; 5, Madras; 6, Bengal; 7, the Punjab; 8, the North-Western Frontier Province; and 9, Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Bombay Presidency, which tops the list, consumes more than one-third of the distillery liquor, and Surat is the capital sinner in the whole of this Presidency. Drinking, as you know, is strictly prohibited among the followers of Islam: and that is apparently the reason why Eastern Bengal, the bulk of whose population is Mahomedan, is the smallest consumer • along with the North-Western Frontier Province, another Mahomedan Province. Noakhali, in Eastern Bengal, is the most sober district in all India on account of its large Mahomedan population, and it is a prosperous district on that account. Baluchistan is a very poor consumer of alcohol for the same reason. But, as among the Hindus, so among the Mahomedans, religious interdiction notwithstanding, the poison has made its way. At one time Eau-de-Cologne was sold largely in the Backergunj District in Eastern Bengal, and the duty on it, therefore, was enhanced. It was found that this article of perfumery, on account of its alcoholic properties,

was used as an intoxicant by the Mahomedan population. The Tantric system is responsible for the introduction of the drinking habit among the Hindus. Drinking is prohibited among the Jains and Vaishnavas who are the most sober sects among the Hindus. Monghyr, in Behar, stands high in regard to the consumption of liquor, and toddy-drinking has found the greatest vogue in Madras. Among the Beharis, certain religious rites proscribe drinking. There is a large consumption of beer by the Indian population, especially country beer. There is a widespread belief that spirits are a prophylactic, and, therefore, the consumption of liquor has been unusually large in those parts of India which have been attacked by plague year after year. On this subject, we have a noteworthy statement by the Hon'ble Mr. J. M. Douie, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, to the effect that the plague has been most severe and most persistent in those very districts in the Punjab where drinking habits already prevailed. He says that "it will be an addition to the tale of evils which plague has brought in its train, if it leads to any permanent increase in drinking habits." Famine, however, leads to diminution of consumption.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have dwelt so far chiefly on one aspect only of intemperance—drink. But there are other intoxicants, such as ganja, charas, opium, cocaine, &c., which are poisoning the Indian population to no small extent. Ganja, including charas, is most prevalent in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Eastern Bengal, Behar and Calcutta. Bombay also is a consumer of this drug. Charas is very prevalent in the Central Provinces. In Mymensingh and Dacca, in Eastern Bengal, ganja is consumed mostly by the *manjis*, that is, boatmen. The Naogaon Sub-Division in the Rajshahi District is the only tract in Bengal where ganja is grown, and the

drug manufactured within an area of 10 square miles under strict supervision. It is a good policy that Government does not allow ganja to be grown anywhere else. The Hemp Drug's Commission of 1897 found that the Bengal system was the best, and recommended its adoption by other Provinces. Between seven and eight thousand maunds of ganja are grown every year. The price of the drug has gone up in consequence of an increase of the license fee and duty—and that is certainly a matter for congratulation. Charas is prepared in Yarkand in Central Asia. With regard to opium, the recent policy of Government has been most satisfactory. It was in the fitness of things that England having demoralised China, should have come to save her from destruction. The opium edict, enacted by the Chinese Government, has had the effect of reducing the opium cultivation in India by one-tenth. The quantities of opium disposed of at the periodical sales held by Government, have shown a marked reduction which will continue from year to year for a period of ten years, after which the opium traffic will be given up. The loss of revenue therefrom will amount to three crores of rupees. The opium policy of the Indian Government has been greatly modified in recent years, and Government will give full effect to its policy in ten years. The opium habit is greatly prevalent in Assam, as in Burma. The Beharis are strongly addicted to intoxicating drugs and all kinds of excisable articles generally. Cocaine is the most recent addition to the deleterious drugs prevalent in India. You are aware that cocaine is derived from the coca plant grown in Peru in South America. Like alcohol, it is a purely Western vice introduced in India. Cocaine, in its deadly effects, beats all other intoxicating drugs put together. It holds out a stronger temptation than drink. The immediate effect is a delightful feeling of languor; the ultimate effect is ruination

of mind, body and soul. In Europe and America, the drug is usually taken by injection, but the "pan supari" is the Indian method of assimilating the poison. Cocaine was introduced in Calcutta from Monghyr (not Bhagalpur) in 1904, and it spread to such an alarming extent all over the country, within a short time, that Government found it necessary to prohibit the sale of the drug by any one other than a licensed vendor. The drug has been brought under the operation of the Excise law, and, no doubt, the restrictions placed upon its importation and sale have checked further growth of the vice. It was claiming its victims by hundreds among the juvenile population. In 1904, a shipment of cocaine, worth a lakh of rupees, arrived in Calcutta, but the Excise Department fortunately intervened, with the result that the shipment, which was enough to poison the whole of the population in India, was sent back to England. Cocaine is a good thing for medical purposes, but produces the contrary effect if taken as a stimulant. These are the enemies which the Temperance reformers have to fight in India.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this necessarily hurried sketch of the Temperance movement, I need make only a passing reference to the most recent excise measures of the several Provincial Governments. Turning first to the Madras Presidency, I am glad to be able to say that the policy of the Provincial Government has been to restrict the output of liquor by enhanced taxation and by curtailment of the number of shops. As a result, the consumption of country spirits in 1905-06 fell off by over fifty thousand gallons, as compared with the preceding year. The Madras Government has increased the taxation on country spirits in certain districts, with a view to preventing an increase of consumption. The question

of enhancing the tree-tax in order to check the toddy evil has also received attention. The number of licenses issued for the sale of foreign liquor has been reduced from 808 to 799. The increase of excise revenue in 1905-06 was only 1.7 per cent., due, it is said, to the higher rentals obtained for the shops. As regards the Bombay Presidency, we hear a distinctly mournful note regarding the financial results of the excise administration, in the pages of the Annual Report of that Department for the past year. It is distinctly admitted that one of the reasons for the very small increase of revenue is the spread of the Temperance movement. One fact stands out prominently in the resolution of the Bombay Government, and this is that, as a result of the auction system, shopkeepers, who have paid highly for their shops, use every endeavour to attract customers and stimulate sales of liquor. The most discouraging feature, from the temperance point of view, is a sustained increase in consumption among the primitive agriculturists, such as the Bhils, and the labouring classes. The greater demand for labour would appear to have occasioned a greater rise in wages, the latter leading, in turn, to greater consumption of what is regarded by the ignorant classes as the fashionable beverage. The revenue derived from the sale of intoxicating drugs appears to have risen very appreciably in the Bombay Presidency. The accounts from the Punjab are less satisfactory. The Government of the Province announces a continued growth of the excise revenue, amounting in three years to a rise of 8½ lakhs of rupees. This growth is apparent in every class of receipts. It is attributed to the stimulus of plague and to general prosperity and high wages. The replacement of outstills by the distillery system in certain districts, the raising of the duty on country spirit in others, and alterations

in the duties on hemp drugs, are the leading features of the excise administration of the United Provinces. The total receipts in the past year amounted to Rs. 9,129 lakhs as compared with Rs. 10,907 lakhs the year previous, the decline being mainly attributable to the falling off in the receipts from foreign spirit. The Provincial Government has had under its consideration some important modifications of the local excise system. In the Central Provinces, the chief feature of the excise administration is an enormous increase of the revenue from country liquor. The Local Administration thinks "that industrial development connoting high wages among the labouring classes must infallibly be accompanied by a greater indulgence in liquor," in spite of the measures taken to increase duty, to reduce and regulate shops and to improve the excise administration. It is gratifying to learn that a reduction of nearly 25 per cent. has been effected in the number of liquor shops in those Provinces. In Bengal proper the excise revenue of the past year exceeded that of the previous year by $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Country spirit and opium appear to have contributed to this increase, while there was a decline of about half a lakh in the receipts from ganja. More than one-fourth of the total revenue from country spirit was collected in the town of Calcutta. The increase of population and the increase of wages are given as reasons for the rise of the drink traffic in the metropolis. There was at the same time a large increase in the number of convictions for drunkenness in Calcutta and suburbs. The full effect of the contract system of supply is being carefully watched by the Excise authorities in Bengal, and it is said that the new system has checked drunkenness in the district of Darjiling. Large reductions in the cultivation of opium are in progress in Behar. The opium habit which was for-

merly most prevalent in Assam and Chittagong, next to Burma, appears to have spread to Orissa. Calcutta, the 24-Pergunnahs, Hughli, Behar and Chota Nagpur are the greatest consumers of country spirit. The use of ganja is most prevalent in the Dacca Division and also in Calcutta. The measures taken against the spread of the cocaine habit have been successful in checking illicit supplies, but it is said that persons who have acquired a debased taste for such stimulants are turning to other like stimulants. In the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam country spirits, ganja and opium are the principal sources of the excise revenue. There was an increase of 96 per cent. in the excise receipts last year. Sales of imported liquor have been very largely diminished in Eastern Bengal by the Swadeshi movement. The opium habit would appear to be increasing in Eastern Bengal, especially among the cultivating classes and the hill people. Burma is a consistent patron of opium, but there was a marked decrease in the revenue derived from it last year. Ganja, morphia and cocaine are also very much in vogue in Burma, and the latter especially is said to have taken a real hold on the Burmese in some districts. The Lieutenant-Governor has ordered the publication of leaflets in Rangoon and other places, describing the harmful effects of morphia, so as to induce the people to abandon this most pernicious habit. It may be mentioned that the recent Excise Committee did not include Burma in their investigations.

From the foregoing sketch, you will see, ladies and gentlemen, how stupendous is the work that lies before the Temperance reformer. Much—very much—has no doubt been done in the past, and, indeed, it may be well said that but for

the Temperance movement, the country by this time would have been ruined by drunkenness. Drink is the chief enemy we have to fight against. I do not think that Government will hesitate for a moment to accede to the demands of the Temperance party, but that fiscal considerations stand in the way. Yet, time and again, Government have made valuable concessions to the Temperance cause. I may refer, in particular, to the Despatch of the Secretary of State to the Government of India, dated the 4th February 1890, which enunciated four important principles, *viz.*, (1) that the taxation of spirituous and intoxicating liquors and drugs should be high, and in some cases as high as it was possible to enforce; (2) that the traffic in liquor and drugs should be conducted under suitable regulations for police purposes; (3) that the number of places at which liquor or drugs can be purchased should be strictly limited with regard to the circumstances of each locality; and (4) that efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to it when ascertained. This Despatch, which was the outcome of Mr. Caine's vigorous agitation in Parliament, is regarded as the Magna Charta of the Temperance movement. Ladies and gentlemen, I would draw your attention in this connection to the opinion expressed by such a high authority as Sir Frederick Lely, C.S.I., late Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. He stated in a communication to the Government of India: "Abkari revenue, though it represents the chief means of repression in the hands of the Government, yet bears a stain upon it. The money could be better got in almost any other way. There are large tracts of country where reductions and remissions of land revenue and increase of labourers' wages only mean

more expenditure in drink. There are large numbers of young men of the better class who are lost to the State and their families by acquiring the habit. Numerous shops exist in frequented high roads, near markets, near mills, veritable traps to catch the weak, the thirsty, the tired, at their most susceptible moments. It should, in my opinion, be made a standing order that all shops should gradually and considerately, but as soon as it is possible, be removed to not less than half-a-mile from places of common resort, such as main thoroughfares, markets, mills, docks, villages." There is another passage in that admirable document which will bear repetition : " I have never met a native, official or unofficial, intelligent or otherwise, who does not firmly believe that Government fosters the traffic for the sake of revenue and would not willingly let it go."

Ladies and gentlemen, it may be hard to give up long-standing interests, but they can and should be given up if they clash with righteousness. I do not believe that the abandonment of the excise revenue will mean any financial disaster to the Indian Government. It may be possible to find other sources of revenue or to balance the loss by proportionate reduction of the admittedly too heavy expenditure of the Indian Administration. Larger employment of the Indian agency in the administration of the country is one of the means by which India can be governed on economical lines. I will just give an instance to show that a Government without any excise revenue can be more prosperous than a Government that draws all its revenue from excise. On the 15th December 1904, there was introduced into the House of Representatives of Japan's Imperial Diet, a Bill prohibiting the use of any and all kinds of liquor by young persons under twenty years of age, and also prohibiting the sale of any kind of liquor to minors. The Bill was strongly supported and became the law of

the land. In 1900, a Bill called "the Anti-Smoking Bill for Minors" was passed by the Imperial Diet to have effect from the 1st of April 1905. You can well understand from these facts that Japan's excise revenue is merely nominal. On the other hand, from time immemorial the greatest income in the Russian Empire has been from the liquor tax. But can it be said that physically, morally and intellectually, Russia is better than Japan to-day, or that Japan has become poor, while Russia has become rich? I do not believe, therefore, that the Indian Government cannot go on without its excise revenue—a revenue that is clearly ill-gotten revenue.

Ladies and gentlemen, a solemn and sacred responsibility rests with England, in governing this country on moral and righteous lines. Drunkenness has been described as England's national sin, her national shame. The demoralisation of the "native" races governed by England has assumed gigantic proportions, and it is time that England should awake to this fact. Of what use is the preaching of Christianity to the "heathens," so long as Christianity is associated in the "heathen" mind with drink and drunkenness? The Indian people have adopted the Christian habit of drinking, and in this lies the disgrace of the Christian Government that rules over them. The drink traffic has been "a grievous injury—a burning iniquity" to the "native" races all over the world, and I may be permitted to tell my Missionary friends that this Drink Demon has been the greatest foe to the progress of Christianity. The Maoris of New Zealand and the Indians of North America have been degraded by the accursed fire-water. They say that because of it they spit at the name of Christian. That is the case also with the wild races of Australia, the fighting Kaffirs, the Hottentots, the West Coast

Negroes, the Singhalese and the aborigines of Canada. An Australian legislator has said: "Christianity and civilisation mean to the natives gin and syphilis. For every native converted to Christianity a hundred are made drunkards. By drink they melt before us like snow before the sun." No wonder it is said openly that Christianity and drunkenness are synonymous terms. China has been demoralised with opium and India with alcohol only for the sake of England's revenue greed. In 1874, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain speaking at Sheffield said: "If I had an enchanter's wand, if I could destroy to-morrow the desire for strong drink in the people of England—what changes should we see? We should see our taxes reduced by millions sterling a year. We should see our gaols and workhouses empty. We should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed in a century of bitter and savage war. We should transfigure and transform the face of the whole country." Similarly, we, the Temperance workers in India, may exclaim: "If we could but make Government give up its greed for excise revenue, what changes should we see? We should see our taxes reduced by lakhs of rupees a year; we should see the poverty, misery and physical and moral degeneration of the people removed. We should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed by famine and plague for a series of years. We should make India healthy, wealthy, happy and wise."

Ladies and gentlemen, having once admitted that of all social reforms, Temperance reform is the most essential—the most beneficent, we must recognise the supreme necessity of organising a strong force of public opinion, such as Government will not be able to withstand, for a substantial modification of the rules of excise administration. Public opinion, as our English friends present here know very well, has done wonders in

England. Statistics collected a short time back showed that there was an average expenditure of £4-3s-6d on drink by each man, woman and child in the United Kingdom. The drink expenditure of the British nation amounted to £250,000,000 a year. In twenty-five years, more than four million "drunk and disorderly" cases were brought before the English Courts, irrespective of the aid of the Police. So alarming was the drink traffic at one time that Mr. Chamberlain remarked at Birmingham : " If we are silent, the very stones will cry out." The British public did speak shortly after—in a voice that shook Parliament. They found that the evil lay in vested interests—in powerful monopoly, and they put forth all their power to break the unholy confederacy. Ministries had favoured the publicans, because a considerable portion of the revenue was derived from the drinking habits of the people. Some 197 Peers, 129 M. P.'s, 880 titled personages and—more shocking still—upwards of 1,000 Christian religious ministers were found pecuniarily interested in the maintenance of the liquor traffic. Could national disgrace have gone further? Well, ladies and gentlemen, public opinion has turned the tide in England. The signs of healthy and progressive reform are now visible in the English Statute-book. Temperance endeavours have yielded the most fruitful results in all English-speaking Western countries. Local option is the law throughout Canada. There are only four of the United States out of the forty-six which have not either Prohibition or Local Option. Sunday closing is practically the law throughout America.

Our first duty, therefore, in India is to create a healthy public opinion in favour of Temperance. Government are as much conscious as ourselves of the fact that India is being debauched and demoralised by the liquor traffic ; we have only to bring our

influence to bear upon them to make them act up to their conviction. Government have repeatedly given us their assurance that their object is to minimise temptation and to discourage drinking habits; we must try to keep Government to that line of policy. To my mind, ladies and gentlemen, nothing short of absolute prohibition will save India from the drink peril; and if prohibition has been successfully adopted in parts of America, I do not see why it cannot be introduced in India which has hitherto been distinguished as the most abstemious and sober country in the world. The Indian constitution is unsuited to intemperate living, because a large portion of the population are vegetarians. It has been proved by the medical science even in England that a diet without meat immensely diminishes the craving for intoxicants. The strongest and fleetest of animals, such as elephants, horses, &c., are graminivorous.

We have to bear in mind the fact that we have in India some forty millions of people who do not get sufficient food to keep body and soul together. If drink be allied to poverty, nothing on earth will save India from destruction. I say, therefore, that total abstinence, and not mere temperance, is the panacea for India's evil. Let us have that object in view. We cannot, of course, gain all we want in a day. For the present, we should demand of Government the concessions they have promised us from time to time. Let Government fully carry out the principle of local option—let them make it plain to Revenue officials that their duty should be to restrict and not facilitate the consumption of liquor—let them put a stop to the sale of intoxicants to persons under 18 years of age—let them begin with these reforms, and they will be blessed by Providence. I am a believer, ladies and gentlemen, in the

British sense of justice and righteousness. I know there are hundreds of British officials in India who detest the liquor traffic, but as officials they are bound to see that the revenue does not suffer. I am confident that, with the growing influence of public opinion, Government will feel compelled to reform the excise administration, and will thereby reform themselves. The outlook is hopeful. The Conservative Government was purely for electioneering purposes a friend of the publican; but the Liberal Government is not. The present Parliament has been described as a Temperance Parliament. There are no less than 38 Welsh Members who have consecrated themselves to the Temperance cause, besides many others who are supporters and sympathisers of the Temperance movement.

But, ladies and gentlemen, as the saying is, legislation cannot make a people moral against their wish. Parliament and Government can at best help the people; the reform must come from within. Mere repression is not an ideal policy either in political or in social government. A purely repressive policy, in connection with the excise administration, has this danger, that it may lead from one intoxicant to another. Therefore, there must be systematic instruction of the masses, so as to kill the propensity for intemperance. Along with this, there should be a provision of counter-attractions, such as innocent pastimes, amusements, etc., and, above all, an awakening of the religious sentiment of the people. The masses should be made to realise, by means of lectures, object-lessons, &c., the serious evils resulting from indulgence in intoxicants. Efforts should be made specially to give such instruction in our schools as will impress upon young, impressionable minds the beneficial results of temperate and good living. The Western world has made considerable progress in this respect. In

Canada, with the exception of two Provinces, hygiene and scientific instruction on the effects of alcohol are compulsory subjects in all schools. In Victoria and South Australia, the teaching of temperance is regularly carried out. In America, the teaching of physiological hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcohol and ether narcotics, has been brought up to a very high standard. About twenty-two million children are receiving temperance instruction in America. Let the youth of the country be made to understand that their future is bound up with this question. Let the ignorant masses be made to realise that intemperance means disease, destitution, demoralisation and death. Let our educated men read the statistics of the world to realise the utter abomination of drink. They will find that intemperance has caused 63 per cent. of the crime, 75 per cent. of the poverty, seven-tenths of the disease and sixty thousand of the annual premature deaths in one of the foremost Christian and civilised countries in the world—England. Therefore, Gladstone said of drink that “it is a greater curse than war, famine and pestilence combined”.

Above all, as I have said, let the religious sentiment of the people be awakened against the curse of intemperance. Intemperance has been condemned by all religions in the world. “*Madyam adeyam, apeyam agraijhyam.*”, that is, “wine should neither be offered nor drunk nor accepted”, is the injunction of the Hindu Shastras. “At the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder”, said Solomon. The Christian religion forbids intemperance, and so does Islam. Let the Missionaries of the different faiths combine all their efforts and resources to drive this great enemy of the human race—this “insidious poison,” as Sir Frederic Treves has called it—out of existence.

Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to advert to one point more,

and this is the necessity of educating the Indian home on this question of temperance, as well as on other social problems. The greatest victory of the Temperance cause has come from the noble women of England and America, who have dedicated themselves to this sacred mission, and some of whom we have the honour of meeting in this Conference to-day. Woman's influence has achieved almost unbelievable results in the field of social reform in the Western world. How fervently we wish that our Indian women could follow the example of their Western sisters. That day will certainly come, although I may not be spared to witness the happy consummation. Meantime, let the educating process go on both within and without the Indian home. She who rocks the cradle rules the world. Let the Indian mother be taught to take her part in the making of the Indian nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very little more to say, and I must thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. I have great hopes of the future of the Temperance movement in India. The success which has attended the labours of the past seems to me to be a guarantee of the progress of the future. I ask you, one and all, in the name of India, to keep up the agitation in this sacred cause, so that, with the help of England, you may make India once more the land of simplicity, purity and sobriety. History teaches us that the sanctity of national life is the condition precedent to national greatness. Let redemption from the power of alcohol be the rallying cry of educated India of the twentieth century. May the Almighty, in His infinite loving kindness, open the eyes of all concerned to the dire harm which is being done by the Drink Demon in India—and may He so influence the hearts of our rulers that they may stay the hand of this arch-enemy of the Indian population. Believing as I do in the mercy of Providence, I say—Erethren, Onward! Onward! Onward! Those of us who pass away before the consummation is attained, will see the victory from the battlements of heaven. I ask you, each of you, and all of you, to say :—

“ Conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, ‘ In God will we trust ’.”