

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE FIFTEENTH
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

HELD AT
WASHINGTON, D. C., U. S. A.
SEPTEMBER 21—26, 1920



EDITED BY
ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, LL. D.
SECRETARY OF THE CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D. C.
AND WESTERVILLE, OHIO
1921

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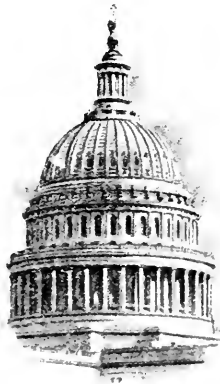
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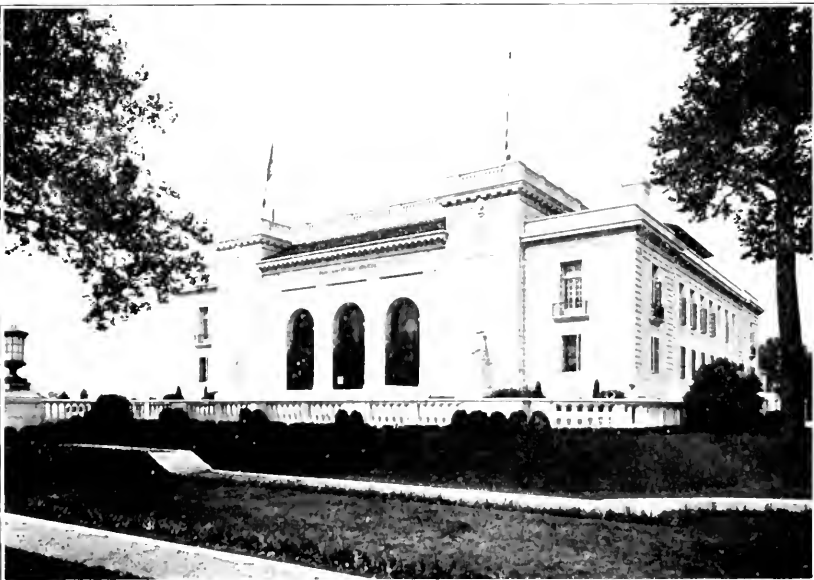
WASHINGTON, D.C.
AND WESTERVILLE, OHIO

1921





UNITED STATES CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.



PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASHINGTON, D. C.
WHERE THE CONGRESS WAS HELD

PREFATORY NOTE

The American delegation to the Fourteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism, held in Milan, Italy, in 1913, tendered the Permanent Committee an invitation to hold the Fifteenth Congress in the United States of America. The invitation was accepted; and the United States Government thereupon authorized the holding of the Congress under its auspices, made an appropriation for the expenses of the gathering, and issued invitations to foreign governments to participate. An American Executive Committee was appointed in 1914 by the United States Department of State, and many of the arrangements for the Congress had been completed, when the outbreak of the World War interrupted the work of preparation.

The Executive Committee was unable to resume its operations before the spring of 1920, when it was decided that the Fifteenth Congress should meet that year at Washington, D. C., on Tuesday, September 21, and continue till Sunday, September 26. The Hall of the Americas, in the building of the Pan American Union, was courteously placed at the disposal of the Executive Committee for the morning and evening sessions of the Congress, and the auditorium of the Central High School for the evening sessions.

In one respect the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism was unique: it was the first of such great gatherings to meet in a country in which Prohibition was the law of the land.

THE PAGEANT AND RECEPTION

The Congress was officially opened on Tuesday morning, Sept. 21, 1920, in the building of the Pan American Union. On the evening of the same day, on the east front of the United States Capitol, an interesting ceremony took place in the form of a pageant arranged by Mrs. Don P. Blaine, a member of the American Executive Committee, and produced under the direction of Mrs. M. A. Forrest. This pageant presented the story of the development of the Constitution of the United States of America from its adoption in 1787 to the date of the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The pageant was followed by a formal reception given to the visiting delegates by the American Executive Committee on behalf of the Department of State of the United States of America, the receiving line consisting of the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, members of the American Executive Committee, and representatives of the local committee.

THE TRIP TO MOUNT VERNON

One of the special features of the Congress was a trip to the city of George Washington at Mount Vernon on Sunday afternoon, September 25.

The visit to Mount Vernon was combined with a very enjoyable excursion from Washington down the Potomac River. The party, which availed itself of the opportunity presented by this trip numbered several hundreds. A walking tree was planted on the Mount Vernon estate, representatives of the several countries participating in the ceremonies.

THE BANQUET

On Saturday evening a banquet in honor of the foreign delegates was held at the Raleigh Hotel, at which addresses were delivered by about a score of the visitors.

THE EXHIBIT

The spacious banquet rooms on the top floor of the Raleigh Hotel were given over to exhibit purposes during the entire week of the Congress. This exhibit was participated in by practically all the national temperance organizations in the United States and by a goodly number of manufacturers of non-intoxicating beverages.

The poster display at this exhibit was of special interest, including as it did not only a very great variety of posters used by various temperance organizations in the United States and Canada, but also a number of posters in different languages from various European countries.

All the exhibits attracted much attention and were visited by a large number of the delegates and visitors attending the Congress.

THE SIXTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

In pursuance of the authority vested in them by the Congress the Permanent Committee duly discussed the important question of the date and place of meeting of the Sixteenth Congress. After careful consideration they decided that it should be held in 1921, at Lausanne, Switzerland.

**PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
AGAINST ALCOHOLISM**

SEPTEMBER, 21-26, 1920

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*Died on his way home from the Congress.

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HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, 1913-1921
THE HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

OPENING SESSION

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1920

The opening session of the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism was held in the building of the Pan American Union in the forenoon of Tuesday, Sept. 21, 1920, Dr. J. R. Slotemaker de Bruine, of Utrecht, Secretary of the Permanent Committee, being the temporary chairman.

THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN announced that the Chairman of the Permanent Committee, Jhr. Ch. Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, was unable, by reason of illness, to attend the Congress. He announced, further, that the Permanent Committee had elected the Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie, D.D., of Washington, D. C., Chairman of the Executive Committee, and he introduced Dr. Dinwiddie as Chairman of the Congress. Dr. Dinwiddie acknowledged the honor of his election and occupied the chair. At the Chairman's request,

THE REV. DR. FORREST J. PRETTYMAN, Chaplain of the United States Senate, offered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have a great deal of pleasure in announcing to the Congress the election, or selection, of a distinguished citizen of our country, and one who is known throughout the world, the Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy of the United States, as the Honorary President of the Congress; and he will briefly welcome the Congress at this time.

THE HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS: Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I think it is peculiarly appropriate that this Congress should hold its sessions at this time in the capital of the American Republic, coming here as you do so soon after this mighty nation has taken the long stride of writing into its Constitution what has been the hope and prayer of this Congress and of men and women all over the world throughout centuries.

The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was not adopted as a war measure. It did not come into being quickly

or rapidly, but after long thought, deliberation, education, and agitation. It was a deliberate expression of a great people, moving forward first from township to county, then from county to state, and from the state to the entire country from ocean to ocean. It is the concrete resolve of this mighty people that we take our place in demanding the end of human slavery, a slavery over appetite and passion. You have come to a republic, which, after long agitation, has placed another band upon its Constitutional instrument, which, as one of our Amendments, takes its place among those Amendments which have never been changed in our history when once an amendment has been adopted, and which never will be changed.

I rejoice that when that great gathering of the world's foremost men sat in Paris after the signing of the Armistice, when their deliberations touched the vital needs of the whole world, there was embraced in the Covenant Article XXII, of which we have heard but little, but which is the rainbow of promise to nations needing mandataries, seeking to walk alone. You recall that this Article pledges the League that, wherever any mandatarary is needed for the tutelage of colonies which have been wrested from their conquerors, the League declared it would prohibit such evils as trade in slaves, in arms, and in liquor. We may be sure that great conference in Paris had no right and no desire to control the domestic policies of any nation, nor did it attempt to say what should be the policy of any great nation with reference to the slave trade, evil as it is, the selling of arms to the ignorant or the evil-minded, or the liquor traffic; but where it had power, and where it exercised responsibility, it pledged itself that the slave traffic and traffic in arms and traffic in liquor should be suppressed for the benefit of those weaker people. Now it recognized in this concrete form the evils which we have resolved, so far as lies in our power, to take away from the weak men of the world; and we shall find that though it does not seek to touch the domestic problems of any nation, the very fact that this gathering placed its ban upon this traffic will have a light and leading, because, if it is evil to sell arms to the ignorant or the vicious in Central Africa and to sell liquor, it is wrong to sell it in Central Europe and in Central America. And we catch from that document, that immortal document, fresh resolves that we shall not cease our labors until man who has dominated the globe, who has conquered the air, who has conquered the earth, and who has conquered the regions under the sea, shall have a greater conquest, shall conquer himself, shall conquer his appetites; and man shall stand erect, freed from the evil influences of drugs and drinks and passions, worthy of the high mission for which his Maker intended him.

I welcome you on behalf of the United States of America.

[Mr. Daniels then left the meeting.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Navy is very sorry that business engagements compel him to leave; and we all understand how unavoidable that is in a life so busy as his.

I have pleasure in introducing the Honorable Van S. Merle-Smith, Third Assistant Secretary of State, who will speak on behalf of the Department of State.

THE HON. VAN S. MERLE-SMITH: Mr. President, Delegates to the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is indeed an interesting occasion to me, which offers an opportunity to participate in what one might visualize as the mind of the world focusing on one of the great problems of civilization. Before gathering together with one purpose the men and women of distant lands, with minds trained and experienced in widely different environments, it signifies to me the slowly growing realization that problems of life transcend national boundaries, and that the coöperation of peoples is necessary for the advancement of civilization.

Perhaps we should not value this conference alone for the practical or easily seen results that may ensue from it; but there must be considered the widening of knowledge, the sharpening of intellect, and the clarification and enjoyment of purpose which is bound to result from the association with a common purpose of the diversified peoples of the world.

This country and this city may well be proud to have the privilege of being the seat of this great international congress, fired by a high purpose, and representing, I may say, the wisdom of our kindred nations.

In 1914 the Congress of the United States appropriated a substantial sum to aid in defraying the costs of this Congress. Because of the preoccupations of war, and because of the resulting dislocation of intercourse between nations, the summoning of this Congress was postponed from year to year until this year, when it became possible to execute the mandates of the Congress of the United States.

The representatives of the people of the United States, acting through the province of the Act of Congress, caused to devolve upon the Department of State, and upon me, as its representative, the official duty of opening or commencing the official proceedings of this Congress; and in so doing, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to express appreciation on behalf of the United States of the cordial response to its invitation. Also to express the hope, Ladies and Gentlemen, that your deliberations will conduct you to recommendations and conclusions which will redound to the betterment of mankind, not only of the United States, but of the world; and further that your sessions will be crowned with the success of which the distinguished assemblage convoked bears such great promise.

In conclusion, I can hardly do better than to follow the example, an eminent example, and repeat the remark made by Premier Clemenceau, with which he opened the session of the Peace Conference at which the Treaty of Versailles was signed. They were remarks short and cryptic, but full of meaning—"La séance est ouverte."

[Mr. Merle-Smith then left, to keep another engagement.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Assistant Secretary is likewise compelled to leave for a conference. I have pleasure in introducing to the Congress one of the officers of the District of Columbia. We have neither a Mayor nor a Lord Mayor of the District of Columbia. We have three! The District is ruled, if you please, by the laws of Congress, carried into execution by a Board of Commissioners—two civilians and one army officer—provided by law. Until this present week, or I think the last week, we did not have either of the civilian officers of the District; but one of the vacancies was filled by the appointment of the gentleman whom I am to introduce to you now, who will say a few words of welcome on behalf of the District of Columbia, the seat of government of the United States. I introduce the Honorable J. Thilman Hendrick, Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

THE HON. J. THILMAN HENDRICK: Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the International Congress Against Alcoholism, Ladies, and Gentlemen: To you, the representatives of five million workers in the great cause of temperance, I extend a cordial welcome on behalf of a city with a citizenry of one hundred million souls, not in the mere sense of physical habitation, but in the wider sense of the spirit.

The City of Washington has for many years been growing in importance as a convention center, and we feel not only that conventions of this character and of other kinds are welcomed in this city, but we consider that this city is becoming the center of the intellectual consciousness of the entire United States.

And so, on behalf of the government of the District of Columbia, and on behalf of the people of the District of Columbia, I again bid you a cordial welcome.

THE CHAIRMAN: We Americans take a great deal of pride in the Pan American Union, in whose permanent building we are holding this Congress; and it affords me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to the Congress our host, Dr. L. S. Rowe, the Director General of the Pan American Union, who will speak to you.

DR. L. S. ROWE: Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is my privilege to welcome you on behalf of the governing board of the Pan American Union, a board composed of the diplomatic representatives of all the republics of the American Continent, and presided over by the Secretary of State of the United States. Each and every member of that board deems it a privilege that you should assemble under this roof, and it is peculiarly appropriate that you should do so. This building and the organization which houses it represent the united effort of the republics of this continent, and the topics and problems which you are assembled to discuss are of vital interest to every country of the American Continent. You may rest assured that each and every

member of the Board, some of whom are official delegates to this conference, will follow your conclusions with the deepest interest; and there is every assurance that the conclusions that you will reach will be of great and permanent interest to every country of this continent.

You have assembled at a time when the United States is entering upon a new stage in its national policy. It has been called an experimental stage, but let us have no illusions on that subject. It is no longer in its experimental stages.

I rejoice that we can welcome you foreign delegates at such an auspicious time; and I hope that you will make the fullest use of every facility that this building offers, knowing that your purposes are exactly the same as the purposes for which this international organization was founded.

On behalf of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, I extend to you a warm welcome.

RESPONSES TO ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope, if any name should be omitted in the multiplicity of duties on the part of the committee or through the failure of any delegates from governments abroad to report their presence to the committee, that no official representative of a foreign government who may be present this morning will hesitate to make his presence known, in order that he may be called upon for a three-minute response, for I think such is the usual response at these Congresses to these words of welcome. And so far as I may be able I will call upon the representatives of foreign governments in the alphabetical order;* and I shall be very glad to have the representative promptly come to the platform and respond, if he will.

I have pleasure in calling upon Prof. August Ley, the official delegate from Belgium.

DR. AUGUST LEY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is my privilege to bring the greetings of the Belgian Government to the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism. Belgium was first bound to the United States of America by the bonds of deep sympathy, and later by the ties of an infinite gratitude, and finally by bonds of undying thankfulness mingled with palpitating interest in watching the great social experiment of Prohibition. My country hopes that the work of the Congress may be successful in every way.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Wei, the Secretary of the Chinese Legation, who will speak in the absence of the Minister.

MR. WEN PIN WEI: Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a matter of regret that our Minister is ill and is unable to be here, and therefore

*Those foreign representatives who were not present at the opening meeting of the Congress were called upon by the Chairman at succeeding sessions.

I have been appointed to represent the Chinese Government to attend this conference. On behalf of the Chinese Government, I want to say to the representatives of the American Government that we sincerely appreciate this invitation to attend this International Congress Against Alcoholism, and also to bring you greetings and bring you a message. I am allowed only three minutes, so I can not go into the subject in detail today, but, Ladies and Gentlemen, you must have heard about the fight in China we have conducted against opium. We fought steadily and earnestly for years, and we had the coöperation of the governments and peoples of the European countries and America. With their assistance and coöperation we have been able to put a stop to that menace.

To show you the earnestness of the Chinese Government, you must have heard that more than a year ago the Chinese Government bought the entire stock of opium accumulated in Shanghai, to the amount of \$14,000,000 worth, and publicly burned the whole business!

Why do I refer to this opium traffic? It is because we are now menaced by another curse equally as bad; that is the liquor curse. Now, the Chinese Government and people are interested in putting a stop to this, and we are very glad that we have been able to be present at this conference where we have one aim and purpose, although we are from all parts of the world. We are here to discuss this liquor question, and I hope, and I am sure, that we will reach practical results.

The Chinese Government and people are earnest in their efforts to put a stop to this liquor menace, and in doing so I know that we have the coöperation of many foreign citizens resident in China; and we especially ask for your coöperation, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I thank you for this opportunity to speak to you.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing Dr. Zmrhal, representative of Czecho-Slovakia.

DR. ZMRHAL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen of the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism: I consider it a special privilege to be with you this morning. It is for the first time after the terrible World War that nations have come together, and have come for a constructive purpose. I hope that it may signify that in the future all the nations may collaborate to make this a better world. And I take it that this Congress is the beginning of such beneficial activity.

I come from the country of the Czecho-Slovaks loaded with gratitude, gratitude to the great President of this country, gratitude to the Congress, gratitude to the greatest people of all—the Americans. You have stood by the makers, the founders of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, and we are grateful that now you serve as an inspiration in the struggle of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic to follow your example and to conquer the demon rum.

If I had the time, and if a different time had not been set to tell you the details, I might go into it. I will limit myself to these words, that

the country is doing most magnificent work, and is succeeding. The details, I shall have pleasure to give you later.

We wish that this Congress may be a great success, as no doubt it will be, and we hope that it may bring America and Czecho-Slovakia still closer together.

THE CHAIRMAN: The official delegate from the Government of Denmark at the last moment was precluded from making the voyage. The Minister of Denmark is present this morning, but in view of the fact that he had been asked to serve only at the last minute by cable, he has requested not to be asked to report at this time.

I have pleasure in introducing the official delegate from France, Dr. Jean Méteil, of Paris, Secretary of the French League Against Alcoholism.

DR. MÉTEIL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad to have the privilege, as a delegate of the French Government, to bring you the first words of welcome and friendship in the name of our Minister, in the name of our Society, the French League Against Alcoholism, and in the name of all the workers in the temperance movement in France.

We, Frenchmen, have much to learn of the experiences with temperance in all countries, and especially in America.

Big events, since the last Congress at Milan, have overthrown the world. In many countries the war has given an opportunity for taking measures against alcoholism. We owe to it in part the progress realized in our own country. I am sure this meeting will be most fruitful and I am glad that the Fifteenth International Congress takes place in the United States of America.

I welcome every occasion to know better the great people which succeeded in suppressing completely the drink evil on its soil. It is a solid basis to the peace work. I regret that France did not take very strong measures against the sale of alcoholic drink. I shall try to explain to you later on the reasons for this situation.

But I intend to take back with me the examples of the countries more advanced in the way of temperance and to give them as much publicity in France as possible.

It is necessary more than ever to tighten the bonds between the temperance leaders of all countries, and I am sure this Congress will attain this aim.

France sends by me a hearty greeting to the American Government represented here, to the leaders of the powerful temperance associations of the United States of America, to the members of this Congress, and to the American people.

I regret that I speak the English language so imperfectly. It prevents me from expressing, as I wished, my feelings on this occasion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Instead of prefacing the introduction of the next speaker by any remarks of my own, I will read his official designation as delegate to the Congress from the Republic of Finland. It is: Dr. Matti Helenius-Seppälä, Chief of the Division of Temperance, Social Ministry, Finland.

DR. HELENIUS-SEPPÄLÄ: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: The new republic, small Finland, to the mighty republic of the United States. Far away is my country, but not so far as beyond the reach of America's powerful hand, when the starving people of Finland needed help during the war. The flag with stars and stripes of the American Relief Committee was flying a long time from the floor just above my own office in the Statehouse of Finland.

We should then have learned to love this glorious flag, had we not already done so decades ago. Numerous Finns returning from the United States, by telling of American liberty and rights of citizenship had made us in Finland great admirers of Uncle Sam.

As to the temperance cause, the American influence has all along been perceptible in Finland's fight against alcoholism. The well-known American pamphlet of Dr. Benjamin Rush, published in 1785, was translated in one or more newspapers in Finland. In 1849 an American gentleman named Robert Baird persuaded Czar Nicholas I to publish at his own expense in the Finnish language a pamphlet, in which he outlined a temperance and Prohibition program. During the fight against home-distilleries in Finland, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the American prohibitory laws were constantly referred to in the Finnish Parliament. The last campaign for Prohibition, beginning in earnest, the Finnish Government sent me in 1906 to study temperance legislation in the United States; and in my report, thirteen years ago, I set forth the reasons for my conviction that Prohibition would before long become the law all over the United States. I can boast of the fact that Finland's Prohibition law went into effect one month earlier than that of the United States. But we never forget in Finland the help, the encouragement America gave us in our Prohibition campaigns.

For me personally the opening of this Congress is one of the greatest moments in my life. I attended an International Anti-Alcoholic Congress for the first time just twenty-five years ago, and since 1899 I have been an invited lecturer at all these Congresses. But all these years I was compelled to stand outside and look on; while the more fortunate nations were officially represented at the Congresses, my country had no such right. Now, for the first time, the Government of the Finnish Republic has the honor to be officially represented at an International Anti-Alcohol Congress.

My pleasure is the greater because the first official invitation to Finland came from the United States, the land which for more than a

century has given to other countries the noblest example of successful temperance work.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure now in introducing Mr. R. L. Craigie, First Secretary of the British Embassy, who has been appointed to represent the British Government at the Congress.

(At this point the British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, approached the platform.)

I am very glad indeed to be able to introduce the British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Auckland Geddes.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES: Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen: You may have noticed just now that our Chairman called upon the First Secretary of the British Embassy. I felt that this was an occasion upon which no one less than the head of the commission should reply to the welcome which has been extended to us by the United States. More especially as it is my proud privilege to reply, not only for Britain, but for Australia, for Canada, for South Africa, for New Zealand, for India, for British colonies throughout all the world, colonies in all the continents, and for islands in all the seas. And the whole British Empire at the present moment watches the great demonstration which the United States is giving of the power to control a force which undoubtedly, in its uncontrolled way, has worked great evils; and the whole British Empire watches to see what the results of the change which you have made in your social life will be.

Parts of the British Empire have taken the same step, and are providing a similar demonstration.

I do not know whether you realize how closely we are watching the social change which is going on now in America as a result of the great step of establishing Prohibition. It is one of the most interesting social phenomena which it is possible for any representatives of any government to observe and to report upon.

I am especially charged by my Government to thank the Government of the United States of America for having called this conference in this city at this time. All the representatives from the British Dominions and from Britain itself are interested to see and hear. But more especially than any other part of the British Empire, there are three departments of the British Government in London that have asked to receive full reports of this conference. It is interesting to know what those three are—the Department of Internal Affairs, the Home Office, as we call it, which is responsible for the maintenance of social order and the enforcement of justice; the Department of Health, the Ministry of Health, responsible for the health of the people; and the Department of Commerce, which we call the Board of Trade, responsible for all the trade organizations and the trade activities of the country.

It is a most interesting thing that those are the three departments.

which at once, when we heard of this conference, said, "We must know exactly what is going on, for fear we lag behind."

And so, Mr. Chairman, through you, I should like to thank the American Government for the welcome which they have extended to the British delegates, and to say that every act and every meeting of this conference will be watched with the greatest interest and appreciation by the governments which I have the honor to represent.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not have, prior to the meeting this morning, the official notification of the presence of the Minister from Cuba. I take pleasure in presenting the Honorable William E. Gonzales, Minister from Cuba, who will respond on behalf of that government.

THE HON. WILLIAM E. GONZALES: Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I myself did not know until last night that I was appointed to be the delegate to this important Congress from Cuba; but I have accepted the designation as a great honor, and though it came at a late moment, it has at least this advantage for you and this disadvantage for me—the disadvantage that I have not been able to study the questions that are going to be treated here exhaustively, and advantage to you that my address to you will be short. It will, nevertheless, be sufficient to extend to you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my Government, and to the honorable members of the Congress, the thanks and the gratitude of my country for your kind invitation.

Cuba follows with great interest this important movement. She always follows everything that tends to elevate humanity; and she has always been in the first rank wherever something noble and great was to be performed.

Cuba has followed the United States in the brilliant work of this magnificent nation, in all her movements for liberty; and everything here seems always so great to us, that this movement which you have inaugurated, and which has passed into a very important stage, should not surprise us. Everything in the United States is great. Your war for the liberty of the slaves was great; your war for the liberty of Cuba was a great war; and your last war for humanity and for the liberty of the world, was a great war. And this war that you are now carrying on against alcohol is also a great war for the health and prosperity of your people.

We are therefore following you with great interest, though still from afar in Cuba. Really we have not the problem there of alcoholism. Though Cuba has lately obtained certain celebrity in regard to alcohol, on account of the papers, I wish to assure you that Cuba does not stand for alcoholism. We stand for liberty, we stand for progress, we stand for all the ideals that tend to elevate humanity, and make man come into his own possessions as the greatest creation of the Almighty.

THE CHAIRMAN: At the Hague in 1911 the Thirteenth Interna-

tional Congress was held, and it was the first Congress in which the United States Government was represented by an official delegation, with their expenses paid, and coming as full-fledged American representatives. That Congress was very splendidly directed by its chairman, who is now the Prime Minister of Holland, Baron de Beerenbrouck, and its secretary, who is present this morning as the representative of Holland, Dr. Slotemaker de Bruine. The latter has been identified with the Congress for many years, and is one of the most successful and diligent workers of his country, and has been designated by Holland to represent her in this Congress. I take pleasure in presenting Dr. Slotemaker de Bruine.

DR. SLOTEMAKER DE BRUINE: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism: On behalf of my Government I beg to thank, first of all, most heartily the Secretary of State of the United States of America for having invited the Government of my country to send over a representative to this International Congress Against Alcoholism. There are in the fight against alcoholism a lot of questions which can only be studied and solved by national means, but there are a greater number of questions that can only be studied and solved by international means. And we are very glad to see that your Government, inviting delegates of several nations, is alive to the value of international coöperation in this fight, and I am very glad that your Government has taken the action that it has. Of course, we, in coming over to America here, and a while before, have been somewhat surprised, as well as much delighted, that you should have tried here the great experiment of Prohibition. But we are also informed that you have no Prohibition! We have some papers that so state. I think you will understand what I mean. Some of our papers tell us that there is no Prohibition in America; that there is a dry law, but that there is a wet fact. What is the truth of the matter? Of course, we are here to study also that question. And we will be glad to find out all the truth; and I think, when we are in favor of and working for Prohibition, we need truth, and also if we are not in favor of Prohibition, I believe we need truth also. That is the first requisite.

But there is a second important factor, Mr. Chairman, and that is, of what value is a law in a nation, when there is not behind that law a public spirit in that nation. And in order to have a public spirit in the nation, it is necessary to have a proper mind in the nation. And how to prepare the mind without education is a question. And that is the second thing that you have studied here in America; and we can learn from you, and other countries can learn, how to take the people as a whole, and to find the soul of the people fighting as a whole.

We have understood that in the fight against alcoholism and for Prohibition a great deal has been accomplished by the Anti-Saloon League; and those ladies and gentlemen who are so happy as to have been able, as they were, to attend the conference of that League last week, could see and could hear, and especially could feel, that religion is a most powerful

part in the educational work done by that great League, and in all the forces that make for righteousness in this country. That is the third thing.

How can we reach the soul of the people if we cannot work by the highest powers there are on earth, that is to say, the laws of the Kingdom of God? And I am sure that I represent my Government as a whole, when I say, Mr. Chairman, we hope that you will have here a most splendid and a most successful Congress, and that we will also study the necessity of utilizing those three great factors that I have mentioned, and of course there are others.

I am a professor. I should not like to forget that there are also some scientific questions involved; there is also an industrial question; and there is an economic question; and there is a political question; and so on and so on. And the Congress will deal with all those questions, and will receive suggestions from the important and interesting papers that will be read. But at this moment I should only like to say, on behalf of my Government: May this Congress be most splendid and most successful in showing the necessity for the work as a whole, and in indicating how to fight against the foe of humanity—Alcoholism. Also, let us study how to use in our fight these great factors I have mentioned, namely, truth, education and religion.

I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of Mr. Staitch, Inspector of the Ministry of Revictualing, and Member of the Government Section for the Welfare of Children, I am very happy to say that the Minister of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Dr. Slavko Y. Growitch, is present, and I take pleasure in introducing him to you.

DR. SLAVKO Y. GROWITCH: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I was surprised to come so early in the alphabetical order. My country has been called just now as Jugo-Slavia, but that is not its official name; its official name is the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; and it is therefore as a representative of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes that I will say a few words.

I am speaking now in the absence of the delegate of my country, Mr. Staitch, who has been delayed. I expect him every moment, and I hoped that he would be here to address you. In his absence, I thought that I could take a few seconds of your time, so that the voice of my country should also be heard in these great and important gatherings, and in order to express to the Government of the United States the thanks and appreciation of the Government of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes that it has been invited to this important Congress, for the work of which it wishes the greatest success.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing Dr. R. Vogt, representative of the Government of Norway.

DR. R. VOGT: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Congress: On behalf of my Government I thank the Government of the United States for its kind invitation to be present at this Congress. From about the first century we have been fighting in Norway against alcohol, and there has been evident all along a manifest tendency toward Prohibition. A bill prohibiting all alcoholic liquor containing more than 12 per cent has been prepared. Also we have in a good many parishes further restrictions of the liquor traffic.

Prohibition in the United States is interesting to us in a very lively way, and we consider it as an experiment the result of which may prove a large factor in determining mankind's attitude toward the liquor problem throughout the world.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in calling upon the Minister from Persia, Abdul Ali Khan, Sadigh-es-Saltaneh, who has been designated by his Government to represent his country in this Congress.

THE HON. ABDUL ALI KHAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: As the representative of Persia to the United States Government, I take great pleasure in responding with the greeting of my Government to this Congress.

As you all know, in my country the religion is that of Mahomet, and by his teachings all the faithful are forbidden to use intoxicating and alcoholic drinks. He foresaw over a thousand three hundred years ago that a religion and government can not be strong if its people indulge themselves in alcohol.

Therefore, I greet this Congress in the name of Persia with the warmest wishes for its success.

THE CHAIRMAN: This Congress, and I suppose I might say about every Congress of this character, would be unable to perform its service to the cause throughout the world, if it were not for the splendid efforts and coöperation of one of the official delegates from Switzerland, who is at the head of the International Temperance Bureau at Lausanne; and I have great pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Robert Hercod, of Lausanne, Switzerland, one of the official representatives of his Government.

DR. ROBERT HERCOD: Ladies and Gentlemen: On behalf of the oldest republic in the world, Switzerland, I am bringing to this Congress and to the greatest republic in the world, the good wishes of our Government. The Swiss Federal Council fully understands the great importance of an international congress against alcoholism in this great Prohibition country, and has appointed two delegates to this conference—my old friend here, Dr. Ming, a member of the Swiss Parliament, and myself; and we Swiss delegates are symbolizing the whole variety of conditions in Switzerland. Dr. Ming belongs to one of the free small

states, which more than six hundred years ago united against Austria to preserve their liberty, and founded our republic; and my state has been a member of the Swiss Federation for about one hundred years. Dr. Ming is a Roman Catholic; I am a Protestant. He is speaking German; I am speaking French. But we are united in our love for our country. We are united also in the common feeling of cordial admiration and of thankfulness to the United States of America.

We do not forget that America helped us in the darkest times of the war, when hunger was threatening our people. We do not forget that, on the proposal of the President of the United States, Geneva was chosen as the seat of the League of Nations. And now that we are fighting against alcohol, we have one reason more to be grateful to the United States, because they have been leading the whole world against alcohol for more than one hundred years.

We have learned very much from the United States in the past. We are learning much from them in the present. We hope to gather during our visit to this country many facts bearing on the good effects of Prohibition. We shall submit them to our Government and to our Parliament, and we feel sure that they will see that Prohibition in America is not a thing to smile at, but that it is the crowning of long, patient educational efforts; that it is a good and wise policy which ought to be earnestly investigated by all nations which are endeavoring to perfect laws to increase national efficiency and to bring about national progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very glad to announce that the Minister from Greece, M. Tsamados, who has been requested to represent his Government in the Fifteenth International Congress, is present this morning, and I take great pleasure in presenting him.

THE HON. M. TSAMADOS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very glad to convey to the American Government the deep appreciation of the Greek Government for having been invited to attend this Congress Against Alcoholism. I consider that there are many ties between the two countries, and that the most important of them is to have fought together the great war against imperialism.

Now it is quite natural that those who have united in such a war should unite also to fight that other enemy which is perhaps greater still than imperialism, the enemy alcoholism.

And I have no doubt that as there has been found a means to combat that other foe, there will be found, by uniting all the brains of the most excellent people that are united here, a means, if not to eradicate wholly that great evil of humanity, at least to bring it so low down, that it will be considered as a negligible quantity.

I am sure that this Congress will succeed in its task.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in presenting Professor Thun-

berg, of the University of Lund, Sweden, the official representative of the Government of Sweden.

DR. THUNBERG: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Swedish Government has honored me by appointing me one of its representatives at this Congress, and I herewith beg to offer the best and sincerest thanks for the invitation extended to my Government.

This is the Fifteenth Congress of this character, but the first in the United States of America. For the previous fourteen the American temperance people have crossed the ocean to study the temperance movement. That calls to mind a Swedish expression "to cross the river to get some water." Here in the United States we have the real spring of the temperance movement; here have lived the pioneers; here is the holy Mecca, toward which we all have turned our faces.

Perhaps there is more than one way to solve the social alcohol problem. But it is certain that the way in which the young government of the west is now trying once for all to solve its own gigantic alcohol problems will be of international—nay, world-wide—importance.

We are all following the present struggle here, most of us with admiration, some with hesitation, but all with breathless attention.

The opportunity to study the nation-wide Prohibition legislation in the United States which this Congress gives will also be of the greatest value.

My best wishes for the success of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am delighted to introduce the representative of the Government of Uruguay, Dr. Varela Acevedo.

DR. VARELA ACEVEDO: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I must excuse myself. I am the Minister of Uruguay in Washington and I was notified only a few minutes ago that I must speak. Therefore I cannot speak in English, but in Spanish. I am certain that if you do not understand the words, your hearts will understand undoubtedly the meaning of the sentences. You will understand that I bring the most cordial greetings and solicitations of the Government and of the people of Uruguay, and that we wish that your great ideal will win in the future throughout the world.

Traigo un mensaje de simpatia para el gran ideal que este Congress patrocina. El Pueblo y el Gobierno del Uruguay miran con interest los magnos esfuerzos desplegados para combatir el alcohol y sus estragos. Admiramos la suprema obra y el magno ejemplo ofrecido a la humanidad por la gran nación que nos brinda hoy hospitalidad. Las grandes medidas fueron adoptadas sin miedo, llevadas a la practica con perseverancia, cumplidas en forma que provoca admiracion. Se siente en esta empresa la fuerza de una democracia en accion. La opinion publica inspirando las leyes, vivificandolas con su adhesión imponiendo su cumplimiento.

Vuestra obra señores congresales es de vasta importancia. Debeis iniciar en el mundo, una obra de propaganda que sacuda las timideces, vence los interes bastardos y sugiera las leyes salvadoras no por la acción espontanea de los poseedores del poder sino por la fuerza arrolladora de la opinion publica. Sera necesario marehar por grados contempland las distintas necesidades y civilizaciones para edificar algo duradero pero la compañía debe emprenderse sin retardo.

Ofrezco la adhesión y el concurso del gobierno y del pueblo del Uruguay y mi ardiente simpatia personal.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing Dr. Rafael Requena, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Venezuela.

DR. RAFAEL REQUENA briefly responded to the addresses of welcome, and conveyed the greetings of the Government of Venezuela.

THE CHAIRMAN: May the Chair ask that if any country has been omitted—and if so, it has been inadvertently, and because we have not received the official notification—will any representative of such a government kindly present himself to the platform and be introduced to the Congress?

A DELEGATE: Señor Epigmenio Velasco, from Mexico City, and Señor Ruperto Algorito, from Peru, are both present.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been the custom in these Congresses to call for the official representatives of the governments for responses, and the Chair was advised that Mr. Velasco and the other gentlemen named were not officially representing their countries, but were present here on the invitation of the Committee on Program. That, I think, accounts for the situation. If I am not advised correctly about that, I shall be very glad to be corrected. What is the pleasure of the Congress? We have a few moments left.

(Cries from the delegates of "Bryan, Bryan!" Whereupon the Hon. W. J. Bryan advanced to the platform amid prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Hon. William Jennings Bryan.

THE HON. W. J. BRYAN: Mr. Chairman and Members of this distinguished body: The Committee on Program has been kind enough to assign me a time on Friday evening, when I am to be permitted to make an indictment against alcohol, and I shall be pleased to avail myself of whatever time they give me then to say what I consider appropriate for the occasion; and I only appear at this time to acknowledge your courtesy, and to express my appreciation of the very high compliments that you paid me when I entered, and when I was announced to speak.

I want to apologize for my train for not getting me here on time! I would have been here when the session opened, but for a delayed train; but it was not the fault of my train; it was a train other than mine that blocked the way. So that our engineer was not to blame for my delay; and it's my loss in not hearing what has been said by those who spoke before I arrived.

I regard this as a very important meeting. We come to consider one of the greatest questions that the world has to deal with, and I am sure that no one who has come to this meeting is more in sympathy with its purpose than I am.

Two causes have been on my heart for many years. One is world peace, and the other is Prohibition. To me the signs of the time point to a victory for our fight against the two enemies of the human race, the two greatest enemies; and I am made more hopeful because woman, who has suffered more than man from both, has entered the arena of politics. Her mighty influence will be felt in the settlement of these questions, the question of alcoholism, and the question of war; and her influence will be felt in the settlement of every other question that involves a moral principle, and there are no great questions that do not involve a moral principle.

War has sacrificed the husbands and the sons upon the altar of Mars, and alcoholism has dragged husbands and sons down to premature graves.

You are assembled here to consider what can be done to rid the world of the curse of alcoholism; and I shall contribute my part. As I have looked over the program I find that many have been assigned particular subjects; and there are many phases of this question, and they will be worthily considered. I am sure of that from the names that I see upon the program. I shall not take a particular line. I want to show the latitude and the longitude of this question. I want to show how, from the earliest times, it has been man's curse; and how no race is exempt from the evil of alcoholism.

When we discuss other questions, we may find ourselves divided, for there are many forms of religion and many forms of government; and when we come to speak at international gatherings we have to be careful what we say, because of differences of opinions. But when we come to discuss this question, we need not be careful. For God never made a human being who needed alcohol to stimulate his brain or to feed his body. Every normal man finds alcohol his enemy, and it's his enemy from the time he's born until he is dead.

And we are assembled here to devise ways and means by which the world may be emancipated from this enemy that has made victims of men throughout the ages.

But I am not going to make my speech now. I want to save my time until I can use what you have said to reinforce what I want to say. I want to take up the fragments after the banquet's over, and I am sure

I will have baskets full enough when I come to speak. But as I am to indict alcoholism in my speech, let me now pay a tribute to water:

Water, the daily need of every living thing: it rises from the earth obedient to the summons of the sun, and descends in showers of blessings. It gives of its beauty to the fragrant flower. It is the alchemy that transmutes base clay into golden grain. It is the canvass on which the fingers of the Infinite trace the radiant bow of promise. It is the drink that cheers, and brings no sorrow with it. Jehovah looked upon it at Creation's dawn, and said, "It is good!"

THE CHAIRMAN: I think there is time for the Chair, on behalf of the Committee, to make an interesting announcement. When the last session of the International Congress, the Fourteenth, was held at Milan, Italy, the speaker who has just taken his seat was the Secretary of State of the United States. He very gladly commissioned a delegation to go to Milan as the representatives of the United States. He very cordially told the delegation that, although up to that time, formal action by Congress had not been taken to invite the Fifteenth Congress to meet in the United States, we should feel warranted in extending the invitation, with the knowledge that the Secretary of State would recommend the action to the Congress the following year. The appeal was made to Congress for the authority to hold this session in the United States; the appropriation was made, the authority given, and the cooperation of the State Department from that day to this was most auspiciously begun under the rule of Mr. Bryan as the Secretary of State. There probably never has been a session of the Congress that has been so thoroughly governmental in its character. This is the Government of the United States entertaining the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism; and Mr. Bryan, as the Secretary of State, inaugurated the plan.

The Congress then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1920

At the afternoon session DR. DINWIDDIE, Chairman of the Congress, presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am going to take the liberty of varying the custom of the Congress in one respect, because I think that the Congress would be glad to hear from several of the delegates from far-off lands, who have made very great journeys to be present, and who, although they are not official representatives of their governments, do represent the united temperance forces of the countries in which they live. We can make exception in these instances, because they have made a very long voyage to come here. I am going to call on Dr. A. J. Cook, of South Africa, who has made the journey from that country to be present at this Congress.

DR. A. J. COOK: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. President, and Ladies, and Gentlemen: I find people here do not know very much about the country I represent. Some of them at the luncheon hour were quite annoyed at me for not being black! I represent South Africa, that country of romance and wonder, the place of the illimitable svelt, of long distances, the place of a glorious climate and of a wonderful blue of the sky that is more pronounced than in any other country in the world, and a clearness of atmosphere that is altogether surprising, particularly to those who come from the lands of northern Europe, with all their beauty; the country of big game, of great adventures in hunting and in sport; the country of the diamond and of gold, of the ostrich and of the other romantic and wealth-giving things that have made our land famous to those who have come under its spell.

Unfortunately, we are a country of racial difficulties. The South-African War of twenty years ago has left behind it a trend of bitterness that seems to be accentuated as the years pass. We have the two great races, the Dutch-speaking and the English-speaking races, side by side, and we are working earnestly to form one great united nation. But unfortunately, there is a strong minority which perpetuates race hatred and bitterness; but we are going to win, and we are going to form a great sovereign nation of two great streams of population, working for a country whose future is beyond calculation. If you people in America realized the opportunities that lie in such a new country, you would be only too eager to spend your capital and your energy. That is what we need above all, the energy and the eagerness of your American tempera-

ment, brought to bear upon the opportunities that are before us in South Africa.

We have a great native problem. Our Government is paternal, and is protecting the natives according to its likes. Regarding the great liquor question, there is a certain amount of Prohibition, but a Prohibition which unfortunately is often largely a matter of name and not of reality. The present Government is perpetually experimenting with this native problem in its relation to the drink traffic. We have had fight after fight to prevent retrogressive measures in the way of experimenting, very much along the lines of this great movement you have here, to introduce so-called light wines and beers. There is a vast market in the native races for the people who can secure the opportunity to vote for the so-called light wines and beers, but we have succeeded so far in averting that evil.

The drink problem is greater for this reason, that we have a very strong portion of our population representing the old Huguenot refugees, a grand type of humanity, full of splendid ideals, but who unfortunately brought with them the vine, which has made our country rich and beautiful, but has brought the wine industry and the brandy industry as a part of its purpose; and that means that some of the very best old families, who are the backbone of our South-African race, have been accustomed for generations to regard the wine industry and the brandy industry as a proper and a righteous thing, even for those who are servants of the Lord Jesus Christ. That is breaking down. The great Dutch Reformed Church, representing one-half of the white population, is now awakening to realize the tremendous evil of that thing, and in their great synod they will very soon begin to vote it out altogether. But we have made a beginning.

We have most interesting liquor laws, which I cannot deal with now. We have a certain measure of local option, but it is utterly unworkable. The great society which I represent, the South African Temperance Alliance, aiming at coördinating all the temperance efforts of the country, is working solidly for a real measure of direct vote for local veto, the direct vote on the liquor traffic. We have had it up in our legislature on several occasions. We have actually passed it in the Upper House once or twice, but it has been thrown out by a large majority in the House of Assembly. But we are going on, and we calculate that with the forward movement—the forward movement which made it possible for me to come here to represent South Africa—within the next five years we shall have a direct vote throughout the country, which in the following five years will mean Prohibition for South Africa.

But we are looking to America; we are looking to you. America has created world-wide interest in this great matter. It would be to us a heart-break and a set-back which we could not recover from for a generation, if your Prohibition should prove unworkable or a failure. The whole world has its eyes on America today.

Why, even on board ship there were only about sixty of us in a

vessel that came direct from Cape Town. They were the slowest lot of people I ever came across. They even picked me out to come in and help run a little entertainment, and make a dance connected with it go off satisfactorily! They tried to get up a dance, but the interest was lacking, and it fizzled out. But, not knowing what my business was, it suddenly struck them to have a debate on the Prohibition question, and they called on me to take the affirmative, and we won by a two-thirds majority. And we caused such excitement that I thought they would never go to bed that night. Their tongues were let loose, and they almost came to blows. I was thoroughly paid.

But I must close, Mr. Chairman, with this one word: We look to America; we want to know the facts. My mandate is to find out the true facts in this country. We can not get them. The newspapers and cables do not publish the facts. We hear the most amazing things. According to our reports, all of you people here in America are being laid low, you are being blotted out with wood alcohol! And who knows what the whole nation is coming to! Opium dens and all the rest of it are the only places left for you to entertain yourselves in! There is an industry in pet snakes in America. You don't know about it—an alarming increase, yes, a wonderful increase in poisonous snakes, in order that people may get themselves bitten to get a drink on a prescription from the doctor. Gentlemen, that was mentioned in our House of Legislature as a solid argument! I have come over here to learn the facts about Prohibition. We know what they are in our hearts, but our people do not get the news. We want you to send your men and money to educate us in South Africa as to what Prohibition really means. And we want you to go further than that; we want you to take your campaign out into the world. You talk about your League of Nations; it was you in America who originated that glorious title. Now, by a strange working out of circumstances, you are out of it for a moment; but we still look to you. We know America is destined, with Great Britain and other nations, to lead in the van of progress, that which we heard of today, that great campaign which shall end war and drink and other horrible evils. We look to you to give us that help now, as you attain complete victory here. And do not forget the opportunity—it's the psychological moment in South Africa to strike. Oh, if you could do it in the next two or three years, you would have a great joy and a great honor in enabling us to win that fight which we have begun.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to introduce now Señor Epigmenio Velasco, of Mexico City, Mexico.

SEÑOR E. VELASCO: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I have the great honor to represent in this great convention the temperance movement in a nation that is coming into a new day, a new day in relation to peace, a new day in relation to the temperance work. The

officials there now are anxious to have a new nation in the matter of temperance. The present President de la Huerta, the present Secretary of War, the Governor of the Federal District, and all the principal officials in my country are anxious to have a dry nation. I had an interview with President de la Huerta, and with the Secretary of War, General Gargas, and with the Governor of the District, and with General Obregon, before my coming, and they told me that they wanted to have as soon as possible an organized campaign against alcoholism in the nation.

I am very happy this afternoon to be here to express my salutations to all the nations represented here and to present to them the salutations of my own country, Mexico, wishing that the work that is going to be done in this Congress may be a great success in the history of the Congress and of temperance in the world.

I want to present my especial respect and my great admiration to that nation that has given one of the greatest of the immortal lessons to the entire world, to the nation that is giving the practical lesson of Prohibition. Until recent times the world thought it was impossible for a nation to be dry. Since the present advance it is impossible for any nation again to think in the same way, because now they have a practical example in this great nation that has come to be dry; and now this is the example for all the world, to show all the nations on the earth that it is possible not only for one nation, but for all the world to be dry some time in the future.

I thank you for this great opportunity.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very glad to present Señor Algorta, who has come all the way from Lima, Peru, to be present at the Congress.

SEÑOR R. ALGORTA: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I am very happy to be here. It is a great honor for me to be present at the International Congress to present the greetings of my country, Peru. We have in my country four millions of inhabitants, one-half civilized people, but we have also two millions and a half of Indians. All these Indians are inoculated with ignorance. All of them have alcoholic tendencies and drink. I present the salutations of these people because they need your help in breaking these chains that bind them.

I am happy to come here from my country to be present to express my happiness and give my salutations, and to express my wishes for the success of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have great pleasure in presenting Dr. Eugene L. Fisk, who will speak on "The Relation of Alcohol to Modern Health Ideals." Dr. Fisk, as you know, is the medical director of the Life Extension Institute in New York city.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ALCOHOL TO MODERN HEALTH IDEALS

BY EUGENE LYMAN FISK, M. D.

MEDICAL DIRECTOR OF THE LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I am deeply sensible of the honor and the privilege of addressing this distinguished gathering, not alone because it is a distinguished gathering, but because its members are to carry throughout the length and breadth of the world messages of health and hope. This implies a heavy obligation upon every speaker before this Congress to weigh his words carefully, to scrutinize his evidence carefully, and to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about alcohol. If there is anybody who has any evidence to show that alcoholic indulgence in any degree is beneficial to mankind, this is the place to bring it. I don't think you need feel very nervous about anybody appearing here with such evidence. But we must keep our minds open for the truth about alcohol.

Be patient with me for a few minutes while I try to strike deep into the roots of this question. We must get beyond feeling and prejudice, and our hate of alcohol, because of the terrible misery it has caused, and try to establish principles and also to elicit evidence that will make Prohibition an enduring thing. It cannot endure upon a wave of sentiment. In the long run it must be based on sound evidence. It must command the respect and the confidence of the speaker.

Man has advanced biologically as far as evolution can carry him—evolution connoting that complex group of factors apart from self-directed intelligence that molds and modifies a species. In fact, Professor Conklin, in a recent address at Princeton, submitted evidence in support of the view that biologically man has deteriorated.

While we lack precise and comprehensive data as to the physical condition of mankind—say 50,000 years ago—reasoning by analogy we can at least set up a standard of original physical excellence for man comparable to that found in other animals in a state of nature. Measured by such standard, the human animal shows marked physical inferiority and many evidences of degeneration and physical insufficiency. This is perhaps best visualized by those having an opportunity critically to examine many thousands of supposedly healthy people, as in the work of the Life Extension Institute, which has covered some 200,000 examinations. Life insurance examinations, while more limited in their extent, also offer ample evidence of physical defects, impairments, and functional insufficiencies among so-called "average people." A few figures will illustrate my meaning.

In the examination by the Life Extension Institute of some 10,000 industrial and commercial workers, active at their work and supposedly in good average physical condition, 83 per cent showed evidence of nose and throat defects (17 per cent marked or serious); 53 per cent showed faulty vision uncorrected; 21 per cent flat foot;

56 per cent defective teeth; 62 per cent of mouths x-rayed showed root infection; 12 per cent showed well marked cardiorenal-vascular changes; 9 per cent showed marked lung signs, including tuberculosis.

Among 5,000 individual members examined at the head office of the Life Extension Institute, about 3 per cent showed evidence of venereal infections; 39 per cent showed albuminuria ranging from slight to marked; and 50 per cent showed some evidence of arterial change.

It may be stated from our experience that more than half of any body of supposedly healthy people will show need for medical, dental or surgical attention, and practically all need some revision of their personal hygiene.

Examinations for war service in this country and other countries has afforded similar testimony. It may be asked: In this present state of war and famine and world misery affecting so many millions of people, why is it necessary to dwell upon these disturbing and apparently discouraging facts? I take it, however, that this is a meeting of scientific men interested in securing sound evidence, regardless of which way it cuts. I am convinced that, after all, it is the truth that shall make us free and not mere blind optimism. However, for the comfort of those that insist that pleasantness must be the touchstone of truth, I may point out that there is nothing in this evidence pointing to the physical degeneration of man that should assail us with discouragement. Quite the contrary. All thinking men are dissatisfied with the present state of human society. They are all agreed that there is too much human suffering and incapacity, but there are few people that have any adequate conception of the degree to which this world misery is due to preventable physical impairment or to faulty mental adjustment that is susceptible to correction. Evidence such as I have quoted reveals a great basic truth that is in sharp conflict with conventional traditions, even among medical and other scientific men.

The process termed "ageing" is merely a manifestation of slowly progressing pathological change, due to definite and, to a considerable degree, controllable physical causes, although in the minds of most men it is ascribed to the influence of time. This conventional picture, however, is wholly changed when we attain a correct perspective and clearly visualize the extent to which bodily changes and even character and personality are influenced by such factors as chronic infection, chronic poisoning, food deficiencies or other faulty conditions in the life or environment of an individual.

I am optimist enough to believe that, regardless of the fact that evolution has done so little for the human race, man is gifted with sufficient intelligence to make him independent to a considerable degree of the evolutionary forces that control the destiny of unreasoning animals. He has already demonstrated his ability to meet

and neutralize many unfavorable factors in his environment and even in his heredity. It can be truthfully stated that, impressive as some of this work has been, it merely represents the first steps of science in controlling human development. Mortified and discouraged as we may be when we consider world conditions as they now exist, the lesson is perhaps a wholesome one as bringing out the profound truth that there is no innate tendency in man to progress; he can not count upon a steady, gradual progress towards the millennium unless he uses this intelligence efficiently for the direction of the development of his organism as a whole and the adjustment of it to world conditions.

In the midst of present-day afflictions and deplorable tendencies, many of which may well sap our confidence in the title of humanity to occupy this footstool as a dominating organism, there may be discerned some mitigating and distinctly hopeful signs. I feel that there is actually an awakening of the physical conscience of the people. Communities are becoming ashamed of high death rates and morbidity rates. Industrial corporations are recognizing their obligation to consider the working condition and the health of the employees. They appreciate the influence of low health standards on industrial efficiency and industrial turn-over and therefore on national prosperity and happiness. This entirely apart from the obvious obligation that rests upon the community to protect itself from epidemic disease that can be met and defeated by elementary sanitary precautions. Proceeding from the obvious necessity of governing community hygiene and insuring pure food, pure water and protection against epidemic infection, there is coming to be recognized the obligation upon the citizen himself to keep in as good condition as he expects the Health Department to keep the city in which he lives. There is, I believe, a gradual return among intelligent men who mold the thought of communities towards the old Greek ideal of physical excellence and standards for real manhood. In our complex civilization mind has outrun the body, and the dominance and power that mere mental ability brings has created a certain contempt for so-called brute strength and physical power. But, taking the people as a whole, we have abundant evidence of the truth of the Spencerian aphorism that "To be a good animal is the first requisite to success in life, and to be a nation of good animals is the first condition to national prosperity." Be assured that no nation can afford to neglect this principle, that no nation can rely upon brains alone for maintaining and carrying forward its civilization. There must be underlying physical and moral excellence or evolution will truly operate to obliterate that nation from the map.

How does this discussion touch the alcohol question? There is, of course, an obvious relationship, but its significance is more profound than may appear at first glance. If man is indeed to free himself from evolutionary influences alone and mold this destiny toward

higher planes of physical and mental existence through the governing power of intellect, he must classify and evaluate the menacing factors in his environment. Alcohol is obviously one of those menacing factors and is classified as a poison, but how shall we evaluate it? Paradoxical as it may seem, I believe that the prospect of a thoroughly sane and scientific evaluation increases as we come to recognize the fact that alcohol is not the one great underlying cause of human misery; that it is only one among a number of major factors that are responsible for human failure. As we approach the consideration of alcohol in this spirit we move away from mere emotional propaganda with regard to it, and we enlist the interest of the whole people in a cold-blooded consideration of the scientific evidence that is available with regard to the influence of alcohol on the human race. A striking instance of this changed attitude of mind is afforded by the recent action of the Unitarian Temperance Society in announcing the inclusion in its program of a broad health propaganda and an encouragement of periodic physical examinations so that a search may be made for all conditions that menace the health and happiness, and therefore the moral state, of the people.

It is important that these principles be widely disseminated, that the relationship of impaired personality to impaired physical condition be more thoroughly appreciated by all who are working to improve the social condition of mankind. There has been a vast amount of wasted effort in working on the surface of conditions rather than attacking these problems fundamentally.

Placing the consideration of alcohol therefore where it belongs in the general program of upbuilding the health and vitality and living capacity of all mankind, we can consider it just as we would consider focal infection or a high protein diet, or overweight, and insufficient exercise. There is no question but that a considerable number of people are sustaining more damage from overindulgence in food than many people sustain from obvious overindulgence in alcohol. Each form of overindulgence is important and should be courageously attacked by the hygienist.

Fortunately, overindulgence in alcohol can be directly attacked by restrictive measures that cannot be applied to overindulgence in food, except during the emergencies of war. There was, however, during the war abundant evidence of the wholesome effect of restriction in meat eating and in sugar consumption. I cannot include within the limits of this paper a complete discussion of the evidence that is available as to the harmful effect of alcohol. I am not aware that there is any respectable evidence available that its use as a beverage has any direct beneficial effect on the human organism. In such isolated instances where there is a beneficial effect I believe this can be classified under its therapeutic influence as a drug. That it has a very limited range of therapeutic usefulness is the consensus of modern medical opinion. In brief, I may say that there is good

ground for assuming that the direct chemical destructive effect of alcohol on the tissues is probably less than many have heretofore supposed. There is, however, an accumulation of evidence showing its unfavorable influence upon the organic functions, especially upon the central nervous system and the circulatory apparatus. The elaborate researches of Prof. Francis G. Benedict at the Nutrition Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution, which have the merit of demonstrating the influence of alcohol in beverage doses on selected normal individuals, are particularly important as clarifying and carrying forward the earlier experiments of Rivers, Kraepelin, Aschaffenburg, and others. Benedict developed no evidence that alcohol, even in moderate doses, improved the organic efficiency of the circulation. The evidence was in the contrary direction. The disturbing and depressing effect of alcohol on the protective mechanism of the body was quite plainly revealed by these experiments. Such evidence is far more conclusive as establishing the effect of alcohol than those conducted on the perfused heart or muscle of an animal, such as have been reported by Lee, Burridge, and others. We are concerned with the total effect of alcohol, not with its partial effect under abnormal circumstances. This total effect is one that has a profound influence upon conduct and upon the responses of the individual to the menacing factors in his environment. This evidence leads us away from the consideration of the obviously destructive effect of alcohol on the drunkard, to its influence on the so-called moderate drinker, and here we have the testimony of life-insurance offices, which are entirely consistent with laboratory testimony as to the disturbing effect of alcohol on human life. These, briefly summarized, are as follows:

The first important contribution of life-insurance offices on this question was that of the United Kingdom and General Provident Institution of Great Britain, which made a comparison of the mortality among total abstainers and the supposedly moderate users during the period 1866 to 1910. This showed an excess mortality of 37 per cent among the users of alcohol, notwithstanding the fact that this was a carefully selected group with a favorable mortality as judged by normal standards; nevertheless the abstainers showed a far lower mortality. That this was a genuine business record is evidenced by the fact of the payment of heavy bonuses derived from these mortality savings. Other British and Scottish companies showed similar experiences.

Every effort was made by cautious actuaries and statisticians in this country to pick flaws on this evidence; and opinion as to its significance was suspended in many life-insurance offices until the report of the Medico-Actuarial investigation in this country, covering the experience of 43 American life-insurance companies, became available. This investigation covered the period from 1885 to 1908 and the material was drawn from the records of two million policy-hold-

ers. The groups studied were homogeneous, except for their varying use of alcohol, or their varying exposure to alcohol, as determined by their occupation. All complicating factors, such as physical defects, impaired family history, or personal history, were excluded. The results may be summarized as follows:

First, those who were accepted as standard lives, but whose histories showed occasional alcoholic excess in the past. The mortality in this group was 50 per cent in excess of the mortality among insured lives in general, equivalent to a reduction of over four years in the average lifetime of the group.

Second, individuals who took two glasses of beer, or a glass of whisky, or their alcoholic equivalent, each day. In this group the mortality was 18 per cent in excess of the average.

Third, men who indulged more freely than the preceding group, but who were considered acceptable as standard insured "risks." In this group the mortality was 86 per cent in excess of the average.

STRIKING COMPARISONS

It should be borne in mind that these comparisons are made with the general class of insured individuals, both users and non-users of alcohol. Comparison with total abstainers alone would probably show a much greater difference. It is noteworthy that in these drinking groups the death-rate from Bright's disease, pneumonia, and suicide was above the normal, and that among the steady so-called moderate drinkers—those using more than two glasses of beer or one glass of whisky daily—the death-rate from cirrhosis of the liver was five times the normal.

It should be understood that this investigation was simply a part of a general investigation of the mortality experience as affected by various factors, such as habits, occupation, overweight and personal history.

Mr. Arthur Hunter, Actuary of the New York Life Insurance Company, former President of the Actuarial Society of America, and Chairman of the Committee that conducted this investigation, in order to check up this massive result and detect any possible fallacies, had special studies made in his own company of various types of drinkers. The testimony elicited was always consistent as to the influence of increasing alcohol indulgence in producing an increased mortality. It should be borne in mind that the individuals investigated in the Medico-Actuarial study were accepted as standard risks.

In the New York Life Insurance Company the special investigation covered the experience on a number of substandard risks in which a lien was placed upon the policy. It was the custom of the Company to rate up or penalize applicants who confessed to an indulgence in alcohol equivalent to three ounces of whisky or one quart of beer daily. This practise was justified by the final experience on

these lives, which exhibited an extra mortality of 100 per cent. In other words, a total extra mortality risk approximating that in cases of heart-disease, syphilis, and other impaired states that the average free drinker would regard with considerable terror, although comfortably confident that his own indulgence is not in any way injuring him.

Further figures from the same company show the following:

	Approximate Extra Mortality
Excessive use of alcohol a short time prior to date of application . . .	80 per cent
Excessive use of alcohol not recently, but within five years of date of application	45 per cent
Entire class with history of excess, including above and also those whose last excess occurred more than five years prior to date of application	60 per cent

Similar individual investigations were made in eight other companies and the testimony was always consistent as to the influence of alcohol upon the death-rate. The evidence as to the influences of occupations in which alcohol was a factor, was also consistent, showing the malignant effect of the circulation of this beverage in any group of people, and may be summarized as follows:

Saloon-keepers have a death-rate higher than that of underground mine foremen; brewery foremen, maltsters, and the like, have a death-rate higher than electric linemen, glass-workers, city firemen (ladder-men, pipemen, hosemen), metal-grinders or hot-iron workers, although there is nothing in the brewery or saloon business *per se* that is at all hazardous or unhealthful, aside from the possible temptation to drink and its collateral hazards.

Among hotel-keepers tending bar the death-rate from cirrhosis of the liver was six times the normal; from diabetes, three times the normal; from cerebral hemorrhage or apoplexy, nearly twice the normal; from organic diseases of the heart, nearly twice the normal; from pneumonia, nearly twice the normal. For brewery officials insuring under 45, the death-rate from cancer and other malignant tumors, cerebral hemorrhage or apoplexy, organic diseases of the heart, pneumonia, and Bright's disease, among the proprietors, managers, and superintendents is about twice the normal, and from cirrhosis of the liver, three times the normal. The death-rate from suicide is nearly twice the normal.

These figures again emphasize the fact that these unfavorable results are not due wholly to the chemically destructive effect upon the tissues, but to its disturbing effect on the whole organism and especially on the conduct and relationships of the individual. These are, of course, legitimate effects of alcohol. Occasionally the naive suggestion has been made that these figures do not reflect moderate drinking, but the development of immoderate drinking among thereto-

fore moderate drinkers. The increased indulgence in alcohol thus postulated for the moderate drinker is quite as much a pathological state as cirrhosis of the liver or disease in any other part of the body, and must be charged against moderate drinking. The question in a nutshell is this: What risk does a man assume when he enters the ranks of the so-called moderate drinkers? This risk is quite definitely shown by life-insurance experience. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence from laboratory sources as to why this extra-risk should obtain. If we had no laboratory experience, the life-insurance experience would lead us to expect what is actually found in the laboratory; and if we had no life-insurance experience, the laboratory testimony would lead us to expect approximately what we do find in the life-insurance offices. Upon such evidence society is justified in at least trying the experiment of a very rigid restriction of alcohol indulgence.

I think the present attitude in this country is this: That before there shall be any reversal of existing laws, good evidence must be presented that moderate drinking conveys some social benefit. We are long past the point when it is necessary to produce any evidence as to its injurious effects, even when used in so-called moderation, on large masses of lives.

No one who assumes to pass judgment on the alcohol question can do so impartially and in a well-poised way unless he acquires a good statistical sense of proportion, unless he can divert his attention from the individual and consider the effect of alcohol on a mass of individuals. The fact that one's grandfather lived to be 90 after 40 years of drunkenness is an interesting scientific fact, not without its significance, but it is neither scientific nor even reasonably intelligent to generalize from such individual experiences.

It is in this spirit that we must approach the consideration of all phases of personal hygiene, and it is the spirit that is much needed in medical discussion of such influences as focal infection, constipation, venereal infection, and other types of life menaces. As scientific workers it is our duty to ascertain or at least to approximate as closely as possible the degree of risk that a man assumes when he enters one of these classes, and either by volition or neglect comes under any one of these categories of influences that tend not only to shorten, but to deform, human life.

Man is now only on the borderland of real physical freedom; he has yet a considerable distance to go before he can claim to be free from the dominance of many gross and crude influences that limit his capacity for happiness and for satisfaction in living.

To the man who says that alcohol has been used for ages and that the human race is still here, I answer "Yes; but the human race is not yet in a position to give a report that it can be proud of as to the custody that intellect has given the body entrusted to its care, nor

can man at the present moment secure a very high rating as to his social and political adjustments.”

Until we can make a better report on these matters let us not prate about what we have been doing with alleged impunity for thousands of years, but rather let us search for the gross errors we have committed in our living habits during these years, and see what can be done by an organized effort to move up onto a higher plane of existence. Already, in this country, an experiment is in progress in throwing overboard an ages-old custom supposed to be more or less necessary to the majority of our people, and already we are beginning to discern that the human race has been fooled for ages and that this custom is in fact apparently necessary for only a very limited number of pathological individuals.

After all, there is nothing like evidence to settle debate; and even in the early stages of the Prohibition experiment in this country, quite a number of bugaboos have been laid to rest with regard to the supposed necessity of alcohol indulgence, and the supposed disasters that would follow its restriction. All good sports will welcome a thorough and fair trial of practical abstinence on the part of a nation of a hundred and ten millions of people, and all good sports will join in making this experiment a fair and square one.

If alcohol is a hormone, let us know it. If alcohol is a fake hormone, as present evidence would indicate, let us admit this fundamental truth and justify the possession of that reasoning intelligence which distinguishes man from the brute.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have a few moments. Is it the pleasure of the Congress that there shall be a discussion of this paper? For the afternoon session the usual custom of the Congress will be observed, that is, that those desiring to discuss the papers will make known that fact to the party occupying the Chair and secure consent. That's the custom that our friends across the seas are used to, and the understanding is and it ought to prevail during this Congress. It's a very reasonable one, although slightly different from that which we Americans are used to. Is there anybody who desires very briefly, because, if we begin a discussion, it will have to be very brief.

DISCUSSION

MR. THEODORE NEILD (of Leominster, England): This Congress is probably aware that there has been a very important sort of interim report produced by the Scientific Committee of the Board of Control (Liquor Traffic) in England, that dealt with alcohol as a food, a drug, and a poison; and that it had a chapter upon this question of life insurance which has interested us this afternoon. I think it's no secret to us that the main hand, in drawing up that section of that important work, was a statistician who had done no alcoholic research, and who certainly had very little knowledge of what was

the cumulative effect of alcohol; and in that section of the work the advantages—such as have been detailed to us this afternoon—were explained away on other grounds. I shall not attempt to speak of this at all. It would take much too long, but I wanted to say to you that you would find in a book of that kind, which is naturally a very high authority, on account of being the production of seven experts chosen by the Board of Control—you would find in that conclusions which do not altogether tally with those which we have had this afternoon. And in a digest of that book which was prepared by the National Temperance League, so strongly was that felt by a very large number of leading members, whose names will be found in the little brochure which was brought out, that that particular section was not reproduced in the pamphlet; and I think—and I am speaking perhaps a little unguardedly—but I think I may say that that action on the part of the drawers-up of the digest of the book was not resented, at any rate by a considerable number of the experts upon the scientific advisory committee.

DR. L. D. MASON (of New York): Mr. Chairman: If I may be permitted to speak, I have been studying this matter for fifty-four years, during thirty years of which I had the practical experience of being the physician at an asylum for the treatment of alcoholic habits, and all forms of drug habits; and I want just to make this statement with regard to the use of alcohol in a mild form, beer or anything else. The habit is a habit of a growth. The habit is a habit of accretion. And I never knew a man to-day sober and to-morrow a drunkard. My average experience was that it took about ten years to complete the record, and that he always began in small quantities, and that the habit grew until it attained its destructive proportions; and I believe most firmly that the only safety for the human race, and what we have to do—and I will give you the experience of a close study along this line of fifty years—the only safe thing, my friends, is total abstinence.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to introduce the new Secretary of the International Congress, elected by the Permanent Committee, the International Committee, yesterday evening, well known to every American temperance worker, and loved by us all for what he has done—Mr. Ernest H. Cherrington, General Manager of the publishing interests of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

THE SECRETARY, MR. CHERRINGTON, made several announcements.

The Congress then adjourned.



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THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. DR. R. HEROLD, *Secretary International Temperance Bureau, Lausanne, Switzerland.* 2. JHR. CH. J. M. RUIJS DE BEERENBROECK, *Prime Minister of The Netherlands.* 3. DR. I. R. SIJTEMAKER DE BRUINE, *Utrecht, The Netherlands.* 4. REV. E. C. DINWIDDIE, D.D., *Chairman, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.* 5. ERNEST H. CHERINGTON, *Secretary, Westerville, Ohio, U. S. A.* 6. DR. I. GÖNTER, *Berlin, Germany.*

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BUREAU HEADS

8. MR. THOMAS QUINN BEESLEY, *Assistant to the Administrative Committee, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.* 9. MRS. ELLIS A. YOST, *Director of Women's Activities, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.* 10. MISS LAURA R. CHURCH, *Assistant Treasurer and Office Director, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.*

MORNING SESSION

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1920

At the morning session, the Chairman of the Congress, Dr. Dinwiddie, presided.

THE REV. CHARLES F. STECK, of Washington, D. C., offered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Paolo Amaldi, who has prepared a paper, "Wine as a Cause of Alcoholism," has found it impossible to attend the Congress. Dr. James E. Empringham, Secretary of the (Episcopalian) Church Temperance Society, has kindly undertaken to read an abstract of the paper.

WINE AS A CAUSE OF ALCOHOLISM

BY DR. PAOLO AMALDI

DIRECTOR OF THE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE, FLORENCE, ITALY

(Read by the Rev. James E. Empringham, D. D.)

Alcoholism as a social danger is comparatively recent in Italy, although wine-drinking is known in the country since more than 2,000 years and individual alcoholism was frequently met.

Now, alcoholism has taken such rapid strides during the last 30 years that it threatens the future of the nation.

Alcoholic insanity is on the increase: 5.5 per cent of the recovered cases in 1889, 14.3 per cent in 1909. In the three years 1909-1911 the proportion was 19.6 for the men.

Alcoholic insanity is prevalent among the inhabitants of northern Italy, and more frequent among industrial workers than in other classes of the population.

The statistics of mortality show a regular progression of alcohol cases: 434 in the year 1887; 901 in the years 1903-08 (average). But these are only the cases of chronic alcoholism, not those in which alcohol was a concomitant cause of death, or the cases of acute alcoholism.

Alcoholic criminality plays an important rôle in Italy; blood-criminality especially is shown in about 50 per cent of cases in northern Italy—a fruit of alcoholism.

The alcoholic liquor which is prevalent in Italy is wine; spirits or beer are of a very secondary importance. For the years 1911-1914, the proportion of the different liquors in the total alcohol consumption was as follows:

Wine	95.2 per cent
Spirits	4.2 per cent
Beer	0.6 per cent

Wine consumption greatly increased. It was 75.5 liters (16 gallons) in the year 1884; 125.5 (31 gallons) in the years 1911-1914.

It is a fact that the alcoholism which threatens Italy is alcoholism provoked by wine-consumption. All people who have occasion to study individual cases of alcoholism—criminalists, alienists, physicians—are of the same opinion. Wine alcoholism may not provoke such loathsome manifestations as spirits alcoholism. It is nevertheless a danger; for its action on the human organism is on the whole just as harmful; and its social effects are undeniable.

On the other hand, it is very difficult to fight against such a form of alcoholism, as wine-drinking is associated with the whole social life, it has in its favor the strongest prejudices, and it is considered harmless, useful, and indispensable.

But the fact remains, that who wants to fight against alcoholism must fight against the wine habit.

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall have to pass the next paper, because the Secretary, whom I have asked to read it, desires to read the paper over before he presents it to the audience. I will therefore call on Dr. De Lancy Carter, President of the American Medical Society for the Study of Alcohol and Narcotics, who will speak on the subject of "Beer and Light Wines as Intoxicants."

BEER AND LIGHT WINES AS INTOXICANTS

By DE LANCY CARTER, M. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF
ALCOHOL AND OTHER NARCOTICS

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Fifteenth International Congress. While I was sitting there it occurred to me that if this meeting had taken place thirty or forty years ago, we would be considered in the light of public opinion as slightly wanting in our sanity. Now, it is just the reverse. You might compare beer and light wines with spirituous liquors as the local train with a rapid express, both of which reach the ultimate point of the journey at last.

This particular part of the question is the one that is most agitated. I think that it is with light wines and beer. A great many of our citizens, not only in this country, but of the world, are considering the propriety of the Prohibition Act.

I thoroughly appreciate the high honor tendered me in the invitation to read a paper on "Beer and Light Wines as Intoxicants;" but the notification was so short as to render it impossible to do full justice to the subject, especially as this particular part of the ques-

tion is occupying the attention of the whole world as well as the United States of America. This is indeed an international subject in the sense that a universal knowledge is necessary to educate the world as to the danger of alcoholism even in the slightest form. In this country, with our cosmopolitan population from all parts of the world, the question of Prohibition is one that should be carefully analyzed and studied, in order to make clear to all unbiased minds the sublime truths of our arguments. There are a great many of our law-abiding citizens who are at the present time questioning the propriety of the Eighteenth Amendment of our Constitution, and these are men who can not be classed even as moderate drinkers. It is, therefore, up to us to prove to these and to the world in general that the arguments deduced in this great Congress should be so convincing, and should contain such self-evident truths, as to be beyond disapproval. This makes the subject of light wines and beer so important at the present time.

In nearly all the countries of the Old World it has been the universal habit for centuries to drink all kinds of spirituous liquors. How does alcohol cause such devastation to the human system? To prove this we have to penetrate into those vital forces called Life; these vibratory ions which by means of their vibration produce electrical energy, causing the different factors, which go to make up the whole, to perform their several functions, in order that the vast machine which we understand as Life may be complete in all its parts.

Alcohol is a protoplasmic poison. What is a poison? A poison is defined as any substance which acts on living cell and tissue to destroy their power and impair their activity. Alcohol has been shown to be distinctly toxic to the Amoeba, the simplest form of protoplasmic life. The action of alcohol on the cells when saturated with different solutions is typical of the effect on the highest factors of the human system, for it is a narcotic; the first change is narcosis; then follow paralysis and loss of action which is death to the cell. Professor Kraepelin states that it is not the first, second, or the fifth drink that intoxicates; it is the sum of all these that intoxicates. With instruments of the greatest precision in his wonderfully equipped psychological laboratory, he and his colleagues, some of the most celebrated scientists in the world, have established the fact that alcohol causes degeneration; that it affects all the faculties. The more definite and higher these faculties are, the more definite and measurable the results. Also the physiological and psychological action is cumulative, and if alcohol is continually used even in small doses the harm is increasingly manifested. The ordinary or average human being can not preserve his stomach and brain in alcohol for years without injury to both; the powers of coördination

are certain to be impaired. Professor Laitinen of London brought out the fact that alcohol diminished the vitality of the body; the result of his laboratory experience, extending over several years, in the examination of over 300 persons showed that the normal resistance of the blood corpuscles was diminished in all cases where alcohol was used, and also the bactericidal power of the serum against disease.

Alcohol is a chemical poison as well. The sensation of coldness when alcohol is applied to the body is due to its rapid absorption of water. When alcohol is taken in the mouth as a beverage this dehydrating effect is so pronounced as to produce irritation. This rapidly leads up to inflammation; therefore, water is taken with it to counteract the corrosive action, and we can follow its action on the mucous membrane of the throats of those who commence the habit to its inevitable conclusion. After a time the parts become sodden, lose their sensibility, until paralysis is so great on the end plates, and nerves of sensation, that pure alcohol will not feel too corrosive to the confirmed inebriate. This dehydration extends to every tissue with which it comes in contact until it reaches a point of saturation. This shows itself in the shrunken blood corpuscles, and diminished phagocytes; the temperature is lowered and functional activity is reduced. Some organs suffer more than others; the liver, kidneys, and brain tissues are the most affected. So there is no question about the conditions which follow the use of alcohol, the absorption of water from cell and tissue, the degenerative changes which occur from the coagulation of the albuminous particles, the deposit of fibrine, and the pronounced disturbance of the balance necessary to carry on the uniform working of that vast machine known as the human body.

The effect of alcohol on the circulation is most marked by the increased action of the heart, hyperemia of the face, and many other signs. The toxic action due to the suspension of the control centers, and vasa-motor paralysis can be studied on the mucous membrane and congestion of the face; and this extends to the liver, kidneys, brain, and all vascular organs. The action of alcohol on the brain and nervous system is also well marked; it shows that alcohol continually taken, even in small doses, gradually impairs and diminishes the activity of the senses, both hearing and vision being impaired. If the time allotted to this question was not limited, it could be proved that every organ in the body, in fact all the different factors that go to make up the human system are gradually destroyed by the continual use of this drug. It has been said that man is fearfully and wonderfully made; but the most perfect machine in the world would be destroyed if subjected to the same

degenerative conditions that the human body is, due to the gradual consumption of alcohol.

It might be asked what has all this symposium got to do with the consumption of beer and light wines? Why deprive us of our constitutional right of life, liberty of action, and the pursuit of happiness? Our ancestors have for centuries used liquors without any harm apparently to themselves; they have lived to a good old age, and died in the sanctity of their household. The answer to this is probably that in bygone ages there was not the opportunity to ascertain scientifically whether these beer- and wine-drinking barons of old, if subjected to the limelight of present-day investigators, would not be found wanting in those signs that make up the normal man. This would entail going into the ethnology and sociology of the past, and would not in the slightest manner disprove our arguments. Beer contains alcohol to the extent of from 3 to 5 per cent. Wines, ales, and what are called light wines run all the way from 8 to 18 or 20 per cent: Therefore, whether in small or large amounts, beer and light wines contain alcohol.

Alcohol is a narcotic, a poison, and an abnormal drug, the quantity matters not; the gradual accumulation of this poison has been proved to be destructive to man, insomuch as it diminishes that moral, mental, and physical standard so necessary to the good of mankind.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am a resident of New York. Thirty years ago I was interned in the workhouse, which was the dumping-house of all the world for the inebriates of the city. I had a very good chance to study the result of alcohol on the inebriates. Also, going along one of the great arteries of the city, you could find at least three liquor saloons on the four corners. In other words, there were about ten or thirteen thousand liquor stores. If the Eighteenth Amendment has not done anything else, it has eliminated the corner saloon. And the corner saloon has been the basis for all our bad results for the humankind.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Cherrington, Secretary of the Congress, will read the paper by Dr. A. Holitscher, of Karlsbad, on "Beer as a Cause of Alcoholism," Dr. Holitscher finding it impossible to be present.

MR. CHERRINGTON: Dr. Holitscher, as many of you know, is a member of the House of Representatives of Czecho-Slovakia, and is also the General Secretary of the International Medical Total Abstinence Association. The paper which I am to read is simply an abstract of his address hastily translated.

BEER AS A CAUSE OF ALCOHOLISM

By DR. A. HOLITSCHER
OF KARLSBAD

(Read by Mr. Ernest H. Cherrington, Secretary of the Congress)

Some old-fashioned people believe that, in encouraging the consumption of beer as a substitute for spirits, one contributes to the fight against alcoholism. This notion is erroneous.

Statistics show that an increase of beer consumption has never seriously reduced the consumption of spirits. But, even if it were true, it is not advisable to encourage beer as a substitute for spirits, because beer, being an alcoholic liquor, is responsible for a great part of the alcoholism under which the European nations are suffering.

The countries with the highest consumption of liquor, reduced to absolute alcohol, are not the spirits countries, but the wine and beer countries, such as France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, where the consumption of spirits is comparatively small.

But one might perhaps suppose that alcohol taken in the form of beer is less harmful than taken in the form of distilled liquors. Not at all. Alcohol remains alcohol under whatever form it is introduced into the organism. The great dilution of alcohol in beer may make it a little less harmful for the mucous membranes of the throat or of the stomach, but, as soon as alcohol is absorbed into the blood, it is the quantity of liquor which has been taken, and not its form, which matters. Not only nations, but individuals are in many countries bringing more absolute alcohol into their organism through beer than through spirits drinking.

If we study critically all the diseases which are rightly attributed to alcohol, we see that they can be provoked as well by beer as by spirits intemperance. It is true, one may drink much beer without contracting glycosuria or a fatty degeneration of the heart. Alcohol is not the direct cause of the disease: there was in the patient some predisposition, but in many cases this predisposition would have been latent, would not have manifested itself if alcohol had not provoked the *eclosion* of the disease—alcohol, that is beer or wine or spirits.

As for beer, there are some diseases which attack beer drinkers in a greater proportion than spirits drinkers—the diseases of the heart, for instance. It is not vainly that science knows what the Germans call the *Bierherz*, that is the beer heart, the heart unable to accomplish its work properly as a consequence of beer intemperance.

It would be a great error to represent spirits as the only alcoholic beverage which provokes the brain trouble which deprives a man of his sense of responsibility and makes alcohol an important factor of criminality. The criminal statistics of Bavaria, a beer country,

if there is any, showed for the years 1910-1914 that in 50 per cent of the cases blood criminality was due to excesses of beer.

In the inebriate asylums of middle Europe, most of the patients are almost exclusively beer or wine drinkers. Professor Forel found in the Swiss asylum of Ellikon that only 10 per cent of the recovered drunkards had taken exclusively or almost exclusively spirits; the others were drinkers of fermented liquors, of beer.

The danger which results from beer is more insidious. Everybody nowadays is persuaded that spirits are harmful, that their prohibition is desirable. But the great masses are still confident that beer is harmless, useful, necessary. Beer drinking is associated, in Germany at least, with every act of the social and of the public life. Even small children get their beer. In the last war, in spite of the hunger which tormented millions of people, great quantities of barley were destroyed in the breweries, because the Government did not dare to deprive the population of their beer, so great was the prejudice in favor of this beverage.

The necessary fight against beer is made more difficult because the brewers are powerful, and dispose of considerable means, with which they control in several countries the Government, the Parliament, and the press.

In the face of all these difficulties a solution of the alcohol question is not possible, if beer is to remain unattacked. Beer prohibition is as necessary as spirits prohibition, and the United States are to be congratulated for having included beer in national Prohibition, for the only solution of the alcohol question in every country is the full prohibition of every alcoholic liquor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next gentleman is one known not only throughout the United States, but I think throughout the world, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, of the United States, who will address the Congress on "The Proposal for Beer and Light Wines in the United States, from the Economic and Political Viewpoints."

THE PROPOSAL FOR BEER AND LIGHT WINES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS

By DR. HARVEY W. WILEY
FORMER U. S. CHEMIST

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I didn't know, until I saw the program, that I was to make a political speech! And I fear that that part of it will go glimmering. I take great pleasure in appearing before you on the other point which was mentioned in the title, namely, the economic aspects of beer and light wines. I think I can best introduce this address by a question, and that question is—"Does Prohibition pay?" That may be putting it on a

low level, but it is a level that appeals mightily to Americans. We don't want to be in a losing game. We want progress, and not retroaction. We want the concerns with which we are affiliated to be going concerns, and not gone concerns. Therefore, if you can appeal to the American on this one subject, you may be able to enlist his aid and sympathy, as you could not be able to do if you put it solely upon moral or even health grounds.

I undertake to say that Prohibition does pay. I attended a meeting last week at the Congregational Church, where a dozen business men, at the head of great industries in this country, appeared before the audience, to tell them how much Prohibition has paid, and is paying. More than a hundred telegrams and letters were read on that occasion from business men who couldn't attend the convention, testifying that Prohibition is a paying proposition, and showing what great advantage it is to the industries of this country.

Long before we had Prohibition, the Pennsylvania Railroad and many other corporations issued a rule that they would not employ anyone who was a drinker. I take it that there isn't a liquor-dealer, nor ever has been one, in this country, not a brewer or a distiller who would want to ride on a railway train with the engineer full of his products. As far as that rule of the Pennsylvania Railroad was concerned, it would have the unanimous approval of every wholesale and retail dealer and every distiller and brewer in the United States. Well, if it pays to be sober on a railroad train, why not everywhere else? Sobriety always pays, and always will pay to every person who is sober, and to all his friends who come into contact with him. It pays everybody.

You ask the man who owns a building which formerly adjoined a saloon. I don't care whether it's a corner saloon, or in the middle of the block. Ask him what his property is worth today, as compared with what it was worth a year ago, when the saloon was in full progress. He will tell you that Prohibition pays in the increased value of his property.

You ask every farmer who employs a hand, and especially in those portions of the country where getting drunk on Saturday night was the favorite occupation of the farm-hand—you ask that farmer if Prohibition pays. I can speak from personal experience in that line, being a farmer myself; and formerly, when I would pay off my hands on Saturday night the small wage which they received, did they go home and give it to their wives? Did they buy shoes and clothing for the children, or school-books? No, they went to the nearest place that could be found, and got "rot-gut" liquor—not even the good straight liquor that I used to be an advocate of, not because I wanted to drink it, because I didn't, but because those who did drink whisky I hoped would be able to drink pure whisky, because that is much less injurious. And then my farm-hands would be drunk on Sunday, and on Monday would be unable to

work, crawling in like a whipped cur with his tail between his legs, or a sheep-killing dog, perhaps on Tuesday morning, not able to do any work again until Wednesday, having thus only three good days a week. Now, on Monday morning my men come up as bright and cheerful as anybody could possibly be. Prohibition pays the farmer.

And it pays the laborer a great deal more than it pays the farmer. Now I could go on with illustrations from every industry to show you that Prohibition pays.

I want to tell you a true story. I had the privilege of sitting by the side of a member of Congress not long ago at a dinner-party, and he was a fine man. He told me, "I voted against Prohibition every time it came before the House of Representatives, first, last, and all the time. I voted against it every time it came up in my state. And now, it has not been but a little over six months since Prohibition has gone into effect. I regret that I ever took so foolish a view of this proposition as to vote against it. If any proposition is ever made before Congress to repeal any act or any amendment to the Constitution abolishing the saloon and abolishing intoxicating liquors, I shall always vote against the repeal, and to sustain Prohibition." I don't mind telling you who that Congressman is. He did not enjoin any secrecy on me. He was the Congressman from Fall River, in Massachusetts. Then he went on to tell me the conditions in Fall River. He said, "Our jails are empty, our poor-houses are about to close up, our schools and churches are full to running over. I see no longer hungry little children coming out of the house of the drinker in tattered clothes, and with insufficient food, trying to get a little education, going in their tattered clothes to the school. I see healthy children, with rosy cheeks, and full dinner-pails—full luncheon-pails, going to school. Why," he said, "it has been the very greatest blessing to Fall River that ever possibly could have happened to it. We are going to turn our jails and poorhouses into asylums for the deaf and blind. We don't need them any more for any other purpose than that. Prohibition has been the greatest financial success that you can possibly imagine, and going along with it has been the greatest economic and moral success. How could I have been so blind as not to be able to see what to do for my city and my district, when I consider what it has done in less than a year?"

And you must remember, my friends, if Prohibition is not yet by any means in full swing, the most difficult year is the first year. You have got to fight all these appetites. There are thousands and millions of them in this country that have been developed by the alcoholic beverages; and when you come to fight a man's appetite, you fight the man himself. He resents it as a personal interference with his rights, personal rights. And we have all that inherent and acquired appetite for strong drink to overcome. Why, so strong is this appetite that man will drink anything that looks like liquor.

no matter what it is, even petroleum and gasoline, and things of that kind, and all the substitutes, poisonous and otherwise. Knowing the dangers that inhere in wood alcohol, they will drink it, knowing what it is, and will risk blindness and death on account of the power of that appetite. Now, what will happen in a few years? The old appetites will disappear by death or otherwise. The oncoming generation won't have any appetites to fight! And every year, every succeeding year, will make the enforcement of Prohibition easier and more complete.

I just read this morning—I am not blaming the Prohibition officers at all; I think they are doing very well—about how many licenses to sell liquor they have issued—seventy thousand, three thousand of which are wholesale licenses. Now, as long as the Prohibition commissioner issues in less than a year seventy thousand licenses for trade in intoxicating beverages, how perfect do you think the enforcement of that resolution and act of Congress will be? And the report added that when these permits automatically expire on the 31st of December, the large number of them will never be renewed.

And now, my dear friends, here I am a physician by profession and training and not by practice, however; I have a great sympathy for the profession, and I am a member of it, and I think an upright member; I pay my dues in the Medical Association, and subscribe to the *Journal*—and read it. That's more than some doctors do! Thirty thousand doctors have been issued permits to prescribe whisky—thirty thousand doctors out of a hundred and twenty thousand in this country. And yet every advanced physician knows that alcohol in no sense is ever a remedy! NEVER! All of these licenses have been issued on the supposition that whisky and alcohol are remedies. Now there are great numbers of honest physicians in this country who believe down deep in their hearts that alcohol is a remedy, and I have the greatest respect for my professional brethren who have that conviction. But they are a little slow on their pharmacy. They have not read the best results of scientific investigation, which show beyond any question what the doctor who preceded me has already told you, namely, that alcohol is not a remedy, is always a narcotic. Now, just as soon as we can convince the medical profession—those thirty thousand—we will have gone a long way on our journey. Those thirty thousand probably represent all in the medical profession who believe that alcohol is a remedy. Now, it isn't much of a job to convert thirty thousand people. We converted in this country, inside of five years, one hundred million people to Prohibition. And I am doing the best I can to convert my professional brethren, and to get them to face this actual fact and actual problem that what they are doing is hurting their patients and not helping them. And the moment you can get

an honest physician to believe that, he will stop administering alcoholic liquors for remedial purposes. I have a very sly suspicion that a great part of the so-called "medicine" goes down in the form of intoxicating beverages in the throats that do not need any healing except for the effect of the alcoholic consumption. I may be wrong in this, but I do not know what anybody wants with a whole pint of liquor for one dose of medicine. They don't give them a quart of quinine, when they ask for quinine. No, they give a very few grammes. And if alcohol is a remedy, it is a homeopathic remedy. At least it ought to be, and the less you take of it the better. I would not object to a little homeopathic alcohol, because some patients have been receiving it in wholesale application. That is, I believe the homeopathic dose would be more efficacious; and, if it does any good, it does it in the small quantities.

Now, that's an economic point of view that we must impress on the medical profession.

Why, when I was a student of medicine, if anybody had said whisky was not a sovereign remedy for tuberculosis, he would have been hooted out of the house. That was the way they treated that disease. Keep the patient full. Well, that made him die happy, I suppose, and made him die full, both of which are good things for the person suffering from tuberculosis. But it never had any other effect. It didn't tickle the men so the germs couldn't work. They seemed to thrive on that amount of whisky, and worked more vigorously than otherwise, and the patient died long before his time. Now, what do we do with tuberculosis? We cure it. We cure it with whisky? No, with food and air and rest; and the superintendent of the Massachusetts Asylum for Tuberculosis told me not long ago, when I asked the question "How many of your patients do you send home cured?"—and I was astounded with what he said: "Eighty per cent of the people who come here with tuberculosis we cure and send them home." And never a drop of alcohol or whisky used in connection with this remedial system. In old days, everybody died who had tuberculosis. In present days 80 per cent of the people who have tuberculosis get well.

Now the same is true of every other disease. I know that many of our brave soldier boys who had influenza and pneumonia were sent to their graves, not by the diseases, but by the remedy which was given to them. I am fully convinced of that fact. Honor to their memories! They were just as brave and are just as worthy of our admiration and love; but they didn't do the duty which they were expected to do for their country when they were prematurely cut off by doses of whisky, as were issued in some cases very extravagantly.

Now I thank God that the United States Navy has banished whisky and brandy. I have letters in my possession from Admiral Braisted and the late head of the Public Health Service, Surgeon-

General Blue, in black and white, saying that in their opinion alcohol and whisky and brandy are valueless as remedies; and Admiral Braisted told me in person, "If I could overcome the prejudices of my profession, I would myself issue an order banishing it from the Navy absolutely. But I have to respect professional prejudice." We all have prejudices. I have some myself. I have some very deep-seated prejudices. I am prejudiced against everything that impairs the value of human life. I am prejudiced against every form of treatment that hurts and does not aid the patient. I am prejudiced against every business which glorifies the drunkard. I have a lot of prejudices of that kind, and I hope I will never get over them. But you cannot overcome a prejudice, if it is not a well-founded prejudice. You can appeal to the reason of a man who has a prejudice, and show him the reason on which he based it is false. In this way we can get further along in this work which we are doing.

Now another thing to which I wish to call your attention is the political aspect of the case, not in this campaign in which we are engaged now only. I would say this, if I were a voter, which I am not, living in this great free country of ours! In this beautiful Capital City of the greatest republic of the world, in this beautiful building erected to Pan-American unity, one of Carnegie's most glorious and munificent gifts to humanity, I am deprived of the right that every citizen should possess. I have no voice in saying who shall govern me; and I have no voice in saying who shall assess my property; I have no voice in saying how my taxes shall be spent. We are just in the condition that the Colonies were when we revolted from Great Britain. I don't see why Washington should not issue a new Declaration of Independence.

Aside from that, in the old days, the saloon controlled the politics of many States, and nearly all cities. No one can deny that fact. The doctor who spoke before me said, "Thank God that one thing at least has come, and that's the abolition of the corner saloon." I thank God, also, that the saloon, while still a power in politics, is not a potent power in politics. The saloon and its advocates have to work in secret nowadays. They don't care to come out in public. And if they want to subscribe to the funds for a presidential election, they are going to be mighty careful to wait until Congress gets through with its investigation. Then they will pour it in. If I were a voter, I was about to say, while I have profound convictions on political matters, as every American citizen should have, I would be very much inclined to side with my very dear friend William J. Bryan. I would consider very seriously voting for a man who I knew would sustain the present condition of legislation if he had the opportunity in the White House, and I would defeat the Prohibition candidate for the presidency, because he has no show of getting there, taking good votes away,

where they could do some good. Now, that's my political opinion. That's all I have to say about politics.

Thank God the saloon is rapidly going out of politics! That's the greatest blessing that has happened to the politics of this country in the last century, in my opinion.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to say a word or two about this mooted question—and I speak purely as a scientific man—about beer and wine. I have a profound veneration for our Supreme Court. Every time it decides a case the way I want it decided, my admiration becomes enthusiasm. When it goes the other way I feel sorry for the Justices. They made a decision several years ago which I thought was quite unfortunate, though it turned out to be quite a fortunate decision. It concerned a question of bleached flour. I am an opponent of bleached flour. I think flour ought to be what nature made it, and not what man makes it; and when you bleach flour to make it look ghastly white, and then sell it for an increased price per barrel to an unsuspecting customer, you are deceiving and defrauding that customer. Through my machinations, when I was Chief of Bureau—and I see I am still represented on the program as a Government chemist, which, thank God, I am not any more—one of the things which I brought to trial was bleached flour; and it was a great trial, lasting many weeks. You know experts will swear to anything on any side. There is no angle which some expert will not swear to as being correct. And they are honest men—in their way. And they are paid for their honesty. A great many experts declared that the bleaching of flour was perfectly harmless, but a great many declared otherwise; and the court and the jury decided that it was a violation of the food law, and was both a misbranding and an adulteration; and the court was very enthusiastic in his instructions to the jury, and he said to them, "If you believe that any poisonous matter has been added to the flour in this process, you shall find for the Government." Now the law says if any such ingredient is added—take note—“which may render it injurious to health”; and the judge forgot to put that part of the law into his instructions; and when it came to the Supreme Court, they reversed his decision, and said he had not quoted the whole law, and ordered a new trial! And when the new trial was called, what happened? The bleached flour men confessed judgment before the court, and acknowledged that their product was both misbranded and adulterated. But what I value in this Supreme Court decision applies now to the Volstead Act. It's most remarkable that the thing which I regarded as a misfortune has turned out to be a blessing in disguise.

I want to read to you what they say about being injurious to health, and you can apply every word of it to being intoxicating. Just read "intoxicating" instead of "being injurious to health" and this decision will apply. Now, this is the language of the Supreme Court

of the United States, in overturning my case and remanding it for a new trial; and it says what will happen when the trial comes on:

It is not required that the article of food containing added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredients must affect the public health and it is not incumbent upon the Government, in order to make out a case, to establish that fact.

Now, it is not incumbent on the Government to prove that one-half of one per cent is intoxicating, nor even to establish that fact. That's not the duty of the Government, and the burden is placed on the Government only to secure a verdict under this statute that the "added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredients," as alcohol, must be such substances as may render such article injurious to health—*may render such article injurious to health*.

Now listen to this; this is most important to every one of you:

The word "may" is here used in its ordinary and usual signification, there being nothing to show the intention of Congress to affix to it any other meaning. It is, says Webster, "an auxiliary verb, qualifying the meaning of another verb by expressing ability, . . . contingency or liability, or possibility or probability." In thus describing the offense Congress doubtless took into consideration that flour may be used in many ways—in bread, cake, gravy, broth, etc. It may be consumed, when prepared as a food, by the strong and the weak, the old and the young, the well and the sick; and it is intended that if any flour, because of any added poisonous or other deleterious ingredient, may possibly injure the health of any of these, it shall come within the ban of the statute. If it can not by any possibility, when the facts are reasonably considered, injure the health of any consumer, such flour, though having a small addition of poisonous or deleterious ingredients, may not be condemned under the act.

Now, that applies, word for word, that decision; and I want to say that, in my opinion, if ever that point comes before the Supreme Court directly as to whether this limitation of one-half of one per cent is constitutional, that court will assume exactly the same attitude that it assumed here. If it can, by any possibility, injure the weakest, the youngest, the most susceptible human being, it is intoxicating.

And now, to go forward in a sober and serious manner, and claim that beer is not an intoxicating liquor, in the language and under the instructions of the Supreme Court, is sheer madness.

And then, when you come to light wines, that have ten per cent—that's the lightest wine ever made in this country, that I ever saw—how can any man in his senses come up and argue before this audience or the Supreme Court that such a wine is not intoxicating? It is perfectly impossible to sustain such an argument.

So I think, my friends, that our position on this matter is buttressed already on what the Supreme Court has already said, and that if it ever comes to this question of construing this act, or if it ever comes to the question of increasing the limits, as may and certainly will come up in the Congress of the United States at the very next session, we have here a foundation, firm and solid as a rock on which to stand and make our

fight, and our opponents will be standing upon the sands, and not upon the foundation we will have beneath our feet.

So my idea is that this condition of affairs which we now find here has come to stay, that it will never be repealed by any Congress elected by the people of this country. The business men of this country, those engaged in the great industries of this country, the bankers and the merchants and the manufacturers and the farmers, will stand like a rock against any softening of that measure, and any increasing percentage of alcoholic beverages in the liquors of our country. The whole economic power of this people will be exerted against such a proposition; and I thank God that in my opinion the whole political power of this people will be enlisted against any such action.

[Dr. Dinwiddie having to leave the meeting, the Secretary, Mr. Ernest H. Cherrington, occupied the chair.]

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: A discussion of this subject is now thrown open under the five-minute rule.

DISCUSSION

MR. HARRIS (of Missouri): I do not care to discuss the question, but with the doctor's consent, I would like to ask Dr. Wiley one question.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Does Dr. Wiley consent to the question?

DR. WILEY: Yes, come forward, because I cannot hear.

MR. HARRIS: If I understood you rightly, Doctor, you advised us to withdraw the Prohibition ticket from the field?

DR. WILEY: Yes, sir.

MR. HARRIS: For whom would you have a Christian man cast his ballot?

DR. WILEY: I would leave it to his own conscience, and ask him to cast his ballot for the man who he thinks would best support his ideals.

MR. HARRIS: When both candidates are wet, how can you choose?

DR. WILEY: You will never get anywhere in the world by voting on the Prohibition ticket. A man voting for that ticket throws his vote away. I am not saying which of the other candidates you should vote for.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Dr. Rosewater, of New Jersey—five minutes.

DR. CHARLES A. ROSEWATER (of Newark, N. J.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Five minutes is all I think you will

want to hear from me. It isn't all the time I should like to occupy, however, in discussing this subject. I do not expect, however, to be very popular. I come from Governor Edwards, and I am going to talk the truth. When I received the announcement of this meeting, I was impressed by the fact that this International Congress was not wedded to any one form of solution of the problem of alcoholism, but from the discussion this morning, and going off to a question of whom to vote for, I think we have wandered very far afield from the scientific discussion of the problem of alcoholism.

I took drunkards out of the gutter, and wrote on this subject, when to do so you were considered a crank, and when our meetings at Washington were used as food for the joke editor and not for the serious columns of the press. I make no apologies for my stand. I am to-day one of the original anti-saloon men, but I want to ask you this: "Was this Congress called to advocate Prohibition, or to be a discussion of the total-abstinence question?" It recently appeared in the public press, presumably, and I think if I am wrong I may be corrected, that it came from the anti-saloon headquarters; it is said that the one half of one per cent applies to the sale and manufacture for sale of alcoholic beverages. In your own home the test is not one half of one per cent; it is actual intoxication. Is this substance that you are making in your own home intoxicating in fact? If it is, according to this authority from the Anti-Saloon League, you are all right. Now, I ask you, who is going to be the judge of that particular substance that Mr. Farmer has made. Is he going to try it on himself, and determine the intoxicating value, or is he going to try it on his dog? I say this in all seriousness, because the question, What is an intoxicating beverage? in fact has never yet been settled.

Personally, I made some experiments. I found, and I have published my experiments—my name is Dr. Charles A. Rosewater—that two and three-fourths per cent is not intoxicating, in fact. In law it is. Now, my friends, let us be honest with each other. Let's be on the level. If we want to make this country bone-dry, and if we want to produce a non-alcoholic race—and I say to you, that as vigorously as I fought against Prohibition, because I did not believe it the proper remedy, so vigorously do I fight now for law enforcement—I say, let's give this thing a trial; let's try it out absolutely; let's try it out in the homes as well as on the street corner. Alcoholism is no respecter of persons, and the alcohol that a man drinks in his own home has the same effect as the alcohol he drinks in the saloon; and if the Anti-Saloon League stands for the drinking of alcoholic beverages in one's own home, they nullify themselves absolutely. They cannot go before the world as an anti-saloon crowd favoring the abolition of alcohol, and then come out in the public press and say, "It's all right in your own home." Now, these are truths. I give them to you for what they are worth.



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THE AMERICAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. REV. E. C. DISWIDDIE, D.D., *Chairman*. 2. REV. CHARLES SCANLON, D.D., *Vice-Chairman*. 3. REV. RUFUS W. MILLER, D.D., *Vice-Chairman*. 4. ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, *Secretary*. 5. BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR., D.D. 6. MRS. SUESSA B. BLAINE. 7. VERY REV. P. J. O'CALLAGHAN, C.S.P., *Treasurer*.

DR. WILBUR F. CRAFTS (Director, International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C.): Mr. Chairman, I have here, from Surgeon-General Braisted a document which I am sure you will want to have in detail. You have had reference to the Navy. It seems to me there is nothing more timely, after the splendid address of Secretary Daniels, and what we have heard this morning, than to say exactly what the Secretary of the Navy has decided; and this comes from Surgeon-General Braisted, referred to this morning — an order issued on March 30th, but I have not seen publication of the details, and many of you may not have seen it. •

(Dr. Crafts then read the order.)

May I give you the argument about beer and wine as I am accustomed to give it to the young people—the very argument we have had this morning, so simple we can give it to the man on the street, who is not of our view. I got this illustration from Miss Stoddard.

There are three burglars. Burglar No. 1 is a pint of wine; burglar No. 2 is a glass of beer; burglar No. 3 is three ounces of whisky. The same relative amount of alcohol is in each of these three units. Of the three burglars, the biggest burglar, carrying the biggest gun, is the whisky, but the two little burglars have the more rapid fire, and the big burglar never gets into the human system until the little burglars get into the system first and pave the way for the big burglar. Therefore, we should not let the little burglars into the system.

I have heard the story from a man in the inebriate asylum, with which I am very familiar, that 80 per cent get there through the influence of beer, and another 10 per cent through wine. If we want to cut off the supply, we should cut off the beer and wine. I thank you.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Dr. C. W. Saleeby, of London, England, is recognized.

DR. C. W. SALEEBY, F.R.S., Edin. (Chairman of the National Birth Rate Commission, London): Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I was very grateful to Dr. Wiley for his paper. I want to make a very small contribution on the matter of pneumonia. When you had your influenza epidemic in America, and pneumonia, there was a howl of joy from the liquor people of my country, because they said, "The doctors have been terrorized by the members of the Anti-Saloon League, and could not get whisky to cure their patients, and they were dying." You should know that at least one definite experiment has been made on this subject, with reference to pneumonia, and you can estimate how many men are killed or saved by the use of alcohol in pneumonia. And the final suggestion I make, when I tell you the results of this experiment, is that in my judgment it should be repeated on a large scale in the United States, and the results published broadcast. The experiment was made by Dr. John Hoe, of the Royal Infirmary, Liverpool, and published in 1904. Dr. Hoe was dubious as to the supposed advantage of

alcohol in the treatment of pneumonia. At that date such use of alcohol was universal. I was taught to use it when I was a resident in the infirmary in Edinburgh; and in every ward, with one exception, all our pneumonia patients—and we are now speaking of the most deadly of all acute diseases—were liberally dosed with whisky whenever they were awake during their stay in the place. Dr. Hoe made an experiment. He had a ward and beds at his disposal. He took patients and divided them into two groups: those who desired alcohol as usual, or whose friends desired it, were so treated; those who did not were so treated. In every possible particular the conditions were identical, the same doctoring, the same drugs, the same nursing, the same time of the year, the same conditions of ventilation, etc. One set got alcohol, and the others got none. This experiment ran into several hundreds of cases. The result was that the death-rate among those who got the whisky was sixteen per cent higher than among those who did not. In other words, according to this large experiment, which has never been refuted, the expert medicinal use of whisky in pneumonia kills sixteen out of every hundred patients! That experiment is now sixteen years old, and to this day most of the doctors in England are killing their patients at that rate—sixteen out of one hundred. The pneumonia patients are being killed by getting whisky in England. Now, I think in your country, where you have a great deal of pneumonia, where you have the opportunities, I think the ninety thousand doctors who do not take out whisky permits ought to issue a challenge to the thirty thousand doctors who do, and in one of your big hospitals you should have a series of wards, and establish a large experiment next winter with reference to pneumonia, and I will abide by the results.

Mrs. ALLEN (Superintendent of Medical Temperance for the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union): I thought that you might like to know that experiments of that character were carried on in Bellevue Hospital, New York, the largest hospital in the United States, by Dr. Alexander Lambert, some years ago, with not quite so large a difference, but still the death-rate was much higher where the alcohol was used than where it was not. Dr. Henry Copley has also experimented in the same hospital with pneumonia among children. So satisfied was he that the alcohol caused more deaths, that he has entirely abandoned the use of alcohol in pneumonia. Those experiments have been carried on; and in Mercy Hospital, Chicago, some years ago, when the great Nestor of the medical profession, Dr. Nathan F. Davis, was in charge there, they had only a twelve per cent death-rate without alcohol. During the thirty years that Dr. Davis had charge of the hospital, not a drop of alcohol was given in any disease. Now he told me that himself. I am not speaking from hearsay. And in the other hospitals of the country that have been using very large quantities of alcohol in pneumonia, the death-rates ranged from eighteen to thirty-eight per cent with alcohol, and only twelve per cent without.

I am glad we have had some of these experiments in this country. I am glad this suggestion has come from our English friend, that we have more such experiments.

[Dr. Dinwiddie here resumed the chair.]

DR. A. M. COURTENAY (Westerville, Ohio): Mr. Chairman: Dr. Rosewater has challenged the bona fides of the Anti-Saloon League on the allegation that in seeking legislation for the Prohibition of alcoholic beverages, it did not ask for power to enter into the homes of the people and control the domestic manufacture of drinks of any degree of alcoholic content. Now, as the name of the League indicates, its immediate and specific objective was the abolition of the saloon. No man associated with that League but desired absolute abstinence from intoxicants in every form among the people universally. I challenge Dr. Rosewater and the men whom he represents to inaugurate measures for the prohibition of the domestic manufacture of drinks with an alcoholic content above one-half of one per cent, and I pledge to him the support of the Anti-Saloon League, with all its power, for carrying out such a measure.

DR. IGLEHART (Associate Editor of *The Christian Herald*): It would have been unconstitutional, and the whole thing would have failed; it can not be done that way.

DR. J. B. LEWIS: Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention: I think it would be well for one in Massachusetts, the only State in the United States that has come out directly against the use of alcoholic liquors, to say a word on this subject. Our State has appointed a committee to investigate the relationship of alcoholic drinks to crime, pauperism, and insanity. That committee was composed of the best men of Massachusetts—not all of them Prohibitionists; some of them drank more than they ought to, but they were prominent men—and they made a thorough investigation, having a whole year to make their investigation; and then they came out with these statistics: that eighty-two per cent of the criminals of Massachusetts were made so by alcoholic drink; that eighty-four per cent of all the criminals arrested were under the influence of intoxicating drink at the time the crime was committed.

In regard to insanity, after this year of careful investigation, going through the State and taking every insane case, they made the report that fifty per cent of the insanity was induced by alcoholic drink.

In regard to pauperism, they did the same with that—made a thorough investigation of an entire year by the best men of the State, and they returned to the legislature of Massachusetts the fact that seventy-five per cent of the paupers were made so by the use of intoxicating drink. And I myself investigated with regard to that. I went to the insane asylums; I went to the pauper asylums; and I was told there, in most cases by the man who had charge, that it was caused by alcohol,

and that they never knew a case—in so far as the paupers were concerned—that they never knew a case that came there except for drink. I thank you.

MISS RUTH E. SPENCE: Mr. Chairman: Without entering at all into the merits of the discussion between the Anti-Saloon League and Professor Rosewater as to the good or bad effects of beer drinking in the home, let them experiment as they will about that; we have experimented in our country upon beer sales, and with the public sale of liquor, and I want briefly to give you a few figures as to the actual results—not guesswork.

We have Prohibition in eight provinces.

We have tried the beer and wine public sale proposition on the very cleanest possible basis, and have demonstrated that it is a great success—from the standpoint of the brewer—with the result that brewery stock has gone up from twenty to two hundred and eighty, a profit of fourteen hundred per cent for the brewer, by allowing the beer and wine sold publicly.

Now, in my judgment, Mr. Chairman, this is a proposition of the interests of the brewers on the one hand, and the interests of the public on the other.

In 1916 the illicit sale of liquor—"blind tigers"—increased from three hundred and sixty-five convictions to five hundred and seventy-three. We found that the beer and wine café was peculiarly an adjunct of the dance-hall, and led to immorality and evil of that kind; so that the convictions for keeping disorderly houses increased from three hundred and sixty-five to seven hundred and twenty-one; and, moreover, the convictions of frequenters of those resorts went up from thirteen hundred and twenty-one to thirteen hundred and ninety-five. We found that there were convicted in 1916 for selling or carrying noxious drinks, one hundred and three persons. In 1919, one hundred and eighty-one were convicted of being found in opium dens; under the old régime, forty-six. Under beer and wine this was increased to two hundred and seventy-five. And we have demonstrated that, from the standpoint of the brewer, the beer and wine proposition is a magnificent success. From the standpoint of the public, it's an absolute failure. And you can not cure the evils of intemperance by selling booze.

DR. SUTCLIFFE: Mr. President: I won't take the five minutes allotted me. I simply want to say, as a matter of fact, in regard to the effects of alcohol on pneumonia, as to whether it is best to use alcohol in connection with pneumonia—they say "the proof of the pudding lies in the eating" of it. During the great epidemic last winter in Boston of influenza, it came right into my own home. My wife and daughter were both down with influenza. In both cases it developed into pneumonia. The temperature of my wife was a hundred and twelve, and of my daughter a hundred and eight. It was impossible to get nurses. I will

give you the name of the physician—Dr. Charles R. Morgan, of Boylston Street, near the entrance to the Fenway. He instructed me to have a quart pitcher of water at the bedside of the daughter, and the bedside of my wife, and they were to keep drinking and drinking, and when they had drunk so much they could not drink any more, they were to try to drink some more! And for food, simple liquid food, whenever they were able to take it and sustain it. As I said before, it was impossible to hire a nurse, although I offered all in the world I had to get a nurse, because the lives of my wife and daughter were more valuable to me than anything else. My wife and daughter are living now. And during the entire sickness, Dr. Morgan never prescribed any medicine for them that contained any alcohol. I state that as a matter of fact. I do not care to enter into the discussion; but I felt it my duty to state these facts that came under my own personal observation, and in my own family.

THE REV. R. L. DAVIS (of Raleigh, North Carolina): Mr. Chairman: As a matter of information for our delegates here from foreign countries, and as a matter of pride concerning the medical society of my State, I wish to say that they appointed a committee, composed of the president of the association, the secretary of the State Board of Health of North Carolina, along with the superintendent of the Tuberculosis Hospital of that State, a State institution, and two or three others, as a legislative committee, to go before the next General Assembly of North Carolina, and request that they have a law that would absolutely take liquor out of the medicine chest, and out of the drug stores as a medicine, and would forbid the permit proposition that now obtains. I want to say further that the Association of Pharmacists in that State took identically the same action, and that the next General Assembly, meeting in January, 1915, almost unanimously, in response to this appeal from the physicians, almost unanimously said "no more spirituous liquor as medicine in the State of North Carolina." And permits do not bother us a little bit.

In addition, and particularly, I am sure we are all gratified that alcohol has been banished from the list of medicines of the Navy Department. We owe this splendid step in the direction of progress to Josephus Daniels, who is at the head of the Navy.

DR. CHARLES SCANLON (General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Temperance): Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Prohibition helps not only the living, but the dead. A few days ago, I went into the morgue in Pittsburgh, inquiring of the caretaker, or the superintendent, how Prohibition had affected them. He replied that before Prohibition they had from seventy to seventy-five cases every week, or dead bodies brought in; following Prohibition they had had fewer than fifty; in other words, that Prohibition had decreased the

population of the morgue in Pittsburgh by about one-third. I submit that that's testimony that's competent in a body of this kind.

I have seen recently in the papers the statement that Prohibition, or the liquor traffic, is as dead as slavery in America. There have been some who have not assented to that fully. Now, I am not aware that anybody in this country is advocating a law to revive slavery. It is intimated that there are some who would revive the liquor traffic, if they could, at least that portion of the population do not regard it quite as dead as slavery. Further than that, I think it might be competent to ask, "Is there any one seeking high office in this country, or low either, who would advocate the return of chattel slavery, if he had the power?" Manifestly not. Then, is there any one seeking low or high office in this country who is willing to modify the law so as to allow the return of the liquor traffic. It's intimated that there are some who have not fully made up their minds on that question. But the questions before us are three. There's the scientific; we have the economic; we have the political. Dr. Wiley touched on all of these. But I think it is competent to ask, and this is all I have to say, "Is there any one in our land who would, if he could, revive the liquor traffic, either in wine or beer or anything else?" There are some who are suspected of being willing to do that thing, if they have the chance. The great majority of the people of this country do not want it, and they intend, if they can have it so, that the liquor traffic shall be just as dead as chattel slavery.

DR. CHAS. O. JONES: Mr. Chairman: I do not agree in the slightest with the preceding speaker. The liquor question is dead in this country legally, but very much alive politically; and our greatest fight is before us on that platform. In my own city of Atlanta, where we have had Prohibition by State laws since 1908, against that blessed Congressman known to most of you Americans, W. D. Upshaw, a man offered himself for Congress, and said, "If you elect me, I will do my level best to repeal not only the Volstead Act, but the Eighteenth Amendment." And in that same State a man offered himself for the position of United States Senator on that same liquor platform. And I can say to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that as sure as you live and are in this beautiful Hall of the Americas, there are already most tremendous efforts and organizations to bring liquor back; and unless you anti-saloon men and you W. C. T. U. women are wide awake, and are determined by God's help to win, liquor will be brought back in America, and it will be impossible for us to have a Prohibition nation or a bone-dry world. I give this earnest and most solemn warning.

I did not intend, Mr. Chairman, to respond—I hoped somebody else would—to the gentleman from New Jersey, who may have created the impression on the foreign delegates that we have no definition of intoxicants in this country, and used that favorite proportion of the liquor men, 2.75 per cent. in alcoholic content. We gentlemen ought to know, and you foreign gentlemen and delegates ought to know, that by Con-

gressional action, and by the decision of our Supreme Court of the United States, which we consider the most venerable and influential under the sun—those two have decided that an intoxicant is one-half of one per cent of alcohol or more, and so that's the law of the land; and that law cannot be broken except by law-breakers and criminals, and we are determined to see that it is the law of this land until Gabriel blows his trumpet.

Now the gentleman from New Jersey also created the impression, and made the distinction between Prohibition and total abstinence, that in every family in America there may be made privately alcoholic drinks, if that family so desires. I don't know, Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen, how that is in the State of New Jersey, but I do know that in thirty-seven of the sovereign States of this great republic of ours there can be no home brews, and if I, in my own city of Atlanta, were to buy a private still and attempt to make a home brew, and anybody found it out, I could be arrested as a criminal.

I want to create those two impressions: that we have the Prohibition law, and it does prohibit. We will hear whisky propaganda about moon-shining, and that there is as much liquor sold in America as before the law. That is a whisky lie!

DR. WILEY: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I would like to refer to the statement of Dr. Rosewater, for just a moment, that he had tried 2.75 per cent beer and found it non-intoxicating. There are one hundred and ten million people in this country, and I don't think he tried it on all of them. If he believes in the doctrine of the Supreme Court, he must try it on the strong and the weak, on the old and the young, on the child and the grandfather, and on everybody. Experimental determinations are the proper scientific methods of getting at the facts, if you make the experiment large enough. I want to recall an experiment in which I took part with 2.75 per cent beer. That is, by weight, making it a little over three per cent by volume. It was in November, 1878. I was a student in the University of Berlin. The old Kaiser Wilhelm had almost been assassinated—an attempt had been made to assassinate him in the spring, and he had been passing the summer away from Berlin. He returned in November. There was a great celebration. We had three days' vacation. The American students had a meeting to organize properly to take part in this celebration. While we were meeting the police swooped down upon us and arrested the whole bunch for holding a public meeting without the consent of the police; but later they let us off, when they found what we were doing. We subscribed to the sum of five hundred marks. Most of us were as poor as Job's turkey, because we even gobbled. We had nothing, but we contributed five marks apiece. We came down town, and we bought a drum and an American flag, and a sash and a belt for the captain. Then they turned in and elected me captain. We went to the great festival in the evening. The experiment was tried on three

thousand people. I was one of them. I sat at the head of the American table. We drank innumerable Salamanders, and the man who drank the most beer at any one table got a prize. I got the prize for my table! We were in session twelve hours—from seven o'clock in the evening until the first lecture at the university in the morning. Ten per cent of that crowd who had been drinking 2.75 per cent beer were under the table dead drunk; twenty-five per cent were violently intoxicated. I could walk straight, however. That showed the difference in susceptibility! Now that was an experiment on three thousand men, lasting twelve hours, and thirty per cent of them were drunk—not intoxicated, but drunk. Where is your 2.75 beer?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has been advised that a number of other governments have certified official representatives as delegates to the Congress. I do not think it's fair either to the Congress or to these representatives to have another call made without sufficient announcement as to the time. I would otherwise call now, or arrange for this, before the close of the morning session. I would do the same thing for this afternoon, but for a complete change of program and shifting of hours, which is made necessary for the convenience of some of our speakers. I think the only fair way to do is to say that tomorrow morning, at the opening of the session, we will arrange to hear the representatives of foreign governments who have not been heard at the Congress, and we will ask the local press to announce that fact; and we will otherwise attempt to reach the embassies and legations of the countries referred to, and everybody then will be on notice that that part of the Congress' work will be continued, and possibly concluded, tomorrow morning.

Mr. Cherrington has some further announcements to make.

THE SECRETARY, MR. ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON: Mr. Chairman, before the announcements, I have a resolution which has been sent to the Secretary's table. I may say, before reading the resolution, that it is well understood that the Congress and the Permanent International Committee of Congress have nothing to do with conducting campaigns of any character.

RESOLUTION OFFERED BY CAPTAIN RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON

Recognizing that humanity, as a living organism, is sick with the disease of alcoholism; that the disease is in advanced and alarming stages; that truth is the foundation of wisdom, and that intelligent men wish to know truth that is finally established; that the researches of modern science have now reached the point where the properties of the drug alcohol are determined and the consequences of its beverage use are definitely established; that wide differences of opinion exist as to the best methods for public policy to pursue, we unite in the following declaration:

- I. We declare united and full loyalty to the truth and advocate a comprehensive coöperative policy for the education of the world in the truth about alcohol.
 - II. We advise the immediate and hearty coöperation of all constructive forces for the quickest practicable inoculation of humanity with this truth serum.
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May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution properly should be referred under the rules of the Congress to the Permanent International Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Unless there is objection, it will follow the usual procedure, and be so referred.

THE SECRETARY, MR. ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, thereupon made some announcements.

DR. SCANLON: Mr. Chairman: I move—or rather I suggest, if in order—I do not know that it is necessary to make a motion—that the Chairman and Secretary be authorized to respond to the greetings from the Baptist Convention in behalf of this body, or to any similar communications which may be received.

The motion, duly seconded, was carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned till the afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1920

At the afternoon session, September 22, DR. DINWIDDIE presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure at this time in announcing the paper "Political Aspects of the Prohibition Movement in America—Partizan and Non-Partizan Effort," by Dr. P. A. Baker, General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America.

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN AMERICA: PARTIZAN AND NON-PARTIZAN EFFORT

BY PURLEY A. BAKER, D. D.

GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT, ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WESTERVILLE, OHIO

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. I do not pretend to be familiar with the political conditions that prevail in other countries touching the temperance and prohibition reform. I do know that some of the methods employed in this country for the first half century of the movement were not calculated to inspire admiration or to win success. Ezekiel's vision of dry bones was not a circumstance when compared with the group antagonism and factional strifes that beset, and largely nullified, the efforts of the early advocates. They clearly demonstrated that reformers are made up of a class who, when not aggressively engaging the enemy, are in very great danger of aggressively engaging each other.

All great moral reforms that seriously affect the monetary interest of a large group of people quickly assume a political aspect, and those engaged on the respective sides do not always readily distinguish between a political aspect and a partizan aspect.

The United States of America have passed through two great moral reforms—in fact, moral upheavals—the abolition of African slavery and the abolition of the liquor traffic. One was sectional and the other universal. The first, early and inevitably, assumed the partizan aspect and issued in a destructive civil war. It is true that African slavery was not the primary cause, but the pretext for it. The real cause was the age-long war between the civilization of the Puritan and the civilization of the Cavalier, which had its beginnings back of Naseby and Marston Moor. There it was new wine in old skins; here it was old wine in new skins. Our civil strife was the

last battle in a three-hundred-year war. It was inevitable that when transplanted to this continent it should become partizan. The strife and bitterness thus engendered continued for fifty years, and it has required the war with Spain and the World War, where the sons of the North and the sons of the South marched and fought and died together, to soften our asperities and quicken our fraternal instincts. The effect was to make the North practically solidly Republican, and the South solidly Democratic. The North being the larger, the South, which with New England had furnished most of the great leaders of the country during its early history, for fifty years following the Civil War had but little voice or influence in the governing of the Republic. The South is poorer by billions of dollars through the lack of helpful Federal legislation, and, what is still worse, her splendid citizenship is deprived of independent political action. It is a fearful price to pay for the gratification of a partizan prejudice. I am not criticizing, but trying, by illustration, to emphasize the un-wisdom of settling any question, and especially a moral question, by partizan methods when by mutual concessions it may be avoided. It is not the province of political parties to inaugurate specifically moral issues. That belongs to the Church, unless it be in a country where the Church has no potent moral voice and very little conscience.

First, political parties are opportune; they seek votes, given issues are championed with an enthusiasm commensurate with the number of votes they are expected to draw to the party standard. Issues that have no vote-getting power are quickly abandoned. Moral reforms are rooted in the Church, or should be, and should be opportune enough to admit of progress, but dogmatic enough never to be swept from their moorings by a partizan appeal. Moral reforms are the overflow from the Church. They are never the overflow from a political party, unless it be a reform in which the opposition has few votes and bears the marks of being popular. While it is the province and duty of the Church to inaugurate and develop moral issues, it is the duty of political parties in power to crystallize those issues into law and then to enforce the law.

The party method of dealing with the liquor traffic in the United States, except in the South where there is but one political party, has never been a success, whether attempted by the major parties in States, or by a party brought into existence on that specific issue. The Republican party made one or two sporadic attempts to champion the cause, but met with defeat and at once abandoned its efforts.

The chief objections to the party method are: First, only the radical Prohibitionist will abandon his political party to join another on a single issue. By so doing you divide your forces and detach your reform from the very group from which you must draw your converts.

Second, you tie up your issue to the varying fortunes of a political

party. If the party is defeated, your issue, for the time being, goes down with it; and the strength of your cause is measured by the number of votes your party can poll. Under the non-partizan plan, political efforts are exerted for a candidate who champions your cause. Many of the less radical will join in the election of a candidate for office, regardless of party, who will not abandon their party as such. If your candidate fails, your cause lives in the next candidate or another candidate, and winning in some fields puts heart and enthusiasm into your following. A small victory does infinitely more to put *esprit de corps* into an army than does big defeats.

Third, under the non-partizan method you are not compelled to keep up party organization, which requires time, money, and nerve force. When seeking the nomination and election of candidates for office who have to do with the enactment and enforcement of laws touching the liquor traffic—and no other issue will be championed by the wise reformer, for to multiply issues incorporates opposition to the main issue—you do so through existing party organizations. The whole question is simplified. If friendly candidates for a given office are nominated on both major party tickets, your responsibility is at an end. Let them fight out their election on whatever issues they choose. If only one of the candidates is friendly, you already find party machinery set up and in running order, through which you can receive or give assistance for the election of that particular candidate; for, whatever may be the attitude of a party on the liquor issue, they are usually more anxious to have their candidate elected than they are to oppose your issue. If both candidates on the major party tickets are wrong, then make your protest by supporting a candidate on one of the minor party tickets who may be friendly. Here again you will find an existing party organization that may be utilized without expense or effort on your part.

The Prohibition party in the United States has been in existence for half a century, and for the most part its leaders have been men of character and ability, yet in no national election has it been able to poll as many as three hundred thousand votes, and, by its own established voting constituency alone has never been able to elect a candidate to office. In the few instances in which party Prohibitionists have been elected, it was accomplished by adherents of other parties protesting against local conditions. Candor compels us to say that Prohibitionists on other party tickets have been defeated oftener, and Anti-Prohibitionists elected, by the withholding from them of party Prohibition votes, than there have been party Prohibitionists elected as a protest against local conditions; clearly demonstrating that if these votes, though few in number, had been used in a non-partizan way to form a balance of power, they would have counted for infinitely more than through the policy of isolation for partizan purposes.

We have been told often by our Prohibition party friends that it was necessary to have a party, with a definite platform utterance, to secure definite and permanent results. The following is a record nationally :

The Webb-Kenyon Interstate Liquor Shipment Bill was the first really telling blow given the liquor traffic by the United States Congress. The Congress was in control of the Democratic party and the bill passed by a vote of 239 yeas and 64 noes in the House of Congress, thus indicating that large numbers of both parties voted for it. It passed the Senate without a roll call. This measure was vetoed by a Republican President and was passed over his veto in the Senate by a vote of 63 to 21, and in the House by a vote of 244 to 95. In the Senate 33 Democrats voted for it, and 9 against it; 30 Republicans voted for it and 12 against it. In the House of Congress 152 Democrats voted for and 61 against; 90 Republicans voted for and 35 against.

The next and most important measure coming before the United States Congress was the vote on submission of the Eighteenth Amendment. In the Senate 29 Republicans voted for it, 8 against it; 36 Democrats voted for it, and 12 against it; in the House 137 Republicans for and 61 against; 141 Democrats for and 64 against. In both House and Senate the total number of Republicans voting for it was 166, with 69 voting against. The total number of Democrats was 177 for and 76 against.

Next came the Volstead Law, the code carrying into effect the Eighteenth Amendment. In the House 230 voted for, 69 against, not voting 100. The party vote showed 126 Republicans voted yea and 104 Democrats; against the passage 26 Republicans and 43 Democrats. This measure was vetoed by a Democratic President and was passed over his veto in the Senate by a vote of 65 to 20, and in the House 176 to 55, there being many absentees from the House. The party vote on passing it over the President's veto was 76 Democrats yea and 26 no; 100 Republicans yea and 29 no.

The non-partizan methods that prevailed in the United States Congress on these measures has prevailed in all temperance legislation in the various State legislatures excepting in some of the Southern States where there are only Democrats in the legislature. The non-partizan or omni-partizan methods of the Anti-Saloon League back in the States and districts are simply reflected in the vote on these various measures in the Congress, proving beyond question that the non-partizan method is the method that will win.

You who are from abroad may be perplexed to know why, after Prohibition has been made a part of the fundamental law of the land and the question at issue is that of enforcing the law, a party Prohibition ticket should be in the field. Your perplexity is no greater than ours. We can not enlighten you. Many formerly strong adherents of the party idea admit that no good can possibly be hoped

for. While on the other hand, just enough votes may be drawn off to elect some wet Congressman, and thereby modify the enforcement code, or land in the White House an avowed friend of the drink traffic. The maintenance and complete enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment will be secured just as the Amendment itself was secured—by electing Presidents, Congresses and State legislatures that are in favor of law enforcement regardless of party.

The cause of Prohibition is greater than any political party in any country. The well-being of all the people is involved, and when made a party issue it becomes divisive and puts many of its friends in the unwilling but inevitable attitude of being in opposition. It lends positive strength to the enemy, and postpones the unity of effort that is essential to success. Another weakness of the party effort is that, with many, allegiance to the party becomes stronger than allegiance to the cause. The fight for party supremacy becomes more acute than the fight for the triumph of Prohibition. The mobilization of all the forces, politically, regardless of party and religions, regardless of denomination, has proven its supremacy above all other methods, "Our enemies themselves being the judges." The adoption of the party method of necessity takes the leadership of the reform from the church. This not only weakens the reform, but does positive injury to the church. The church can not seem to be allied with any partizan political enterprise as such. Yet the grappling and solving of these problems gives the church moral muscle and fits her for the task of building and administering the Kingdom. The Prohibition movement in this country was born in the church and could not have existed without the support of the church, although it, on occasion, went far afield and, like the children of Israel, spent forty years in the wilderness. Its success came when it got back to the church, back home again.

While many pastors and church officials are so short-sighted as to give away their opportunity, and try to shift to the shoulders of some political party or to some distinctively outside organization the responsibility as well as the privilege of directing the movement against the drink traffic, in loyalty to the growing strength of the church we should kindly, but persistently, insist that the church shall assume her rightful place of leadership for the overthrow of this monstrous evil. Nothing has given to the American churches greater vitality and spiritual energy than the battle they have waged against the beverage liquor traffic; and now her reward and glory are seen in empty jails, abandoned work-houses, reduced delinquency, a sober citizenship, in prosperous homes, happy families, protected childhood, and peaceful communities. The Son of God came to this earth "to destroy the works of the devil"; and when the Church, His divine representative in the earth, is after the liquor traffic it is on its job—with the Master's approval.

DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Aaron S. Watkins—he has sent in his name for discussion of this paper—is recognized for five minutes.

A DELEGATE: I make a motion that the Doctor be allowed ten minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair does not think he can entertain that motion, not unless you want to extend the time of the Congress, because we are five minutes late, unfortunately. Another request has been made, and I do not think we ought to begin that. Let Dr. Watkins proceed for five minutes, and then we will see how the time shapes up.

DR. AARON S. WATKINS (Prohibition candidate for President of the United States): Mr. President and Friends: I remember the case of an old Quaker who had a case pending before a justice of the peace. Afterwards the justice of the peace said to him, "I tried to be as upright as I could." And he said, "I think thee was so upright thee leaned back a little." You have heard a discussion from a non-partizan standpoint, which was entirely occupied with a statement of why there should be no political party on a very pressing question. Let me tell you something as a secret right now. I am willing to say to this audience that we belong to the most non-partizan crowd in the field. We always vote for the dry candidate, and some other non-partizan men don't. A few years ago when two wet candidates were on the ticket for governor in Ohio, we appealed to the non-partizan temperance folks to endorse our man. They failed to do so. We are willing this year, and this minute, to issue this challenge to the country: There are six candidates for President in the field right now, and only one of them has declared for the program that you stand for here today. I am ready here this moment, when I get proper authorization from any one of those other five candidates, to withdraw my name from the field if they will take a position on a straight out-and-out dry platform. I am willing then to get off. But I am not willing to vacate the track and disappoint multitudes who believe I am on the right track, on the mere vaporings of sentiment. I want a distinct and out-and-out pledge on which I can stand, and I appeal to the fair dealing of any brethren here, on the platform, or in this audience, that, if I do that, they will join me in the program. I appeal to their fair dealing again to say that if they do not do it, your obligation as a non-partizan temperance man or woman directs you to vote for the only dry candidate in the field!

Some of these statements in regard to partizan activity sound very strange when applied to the Prohibition party. We never took up an issue because we thought it would catch votes, and we never dropped it because we thought it did not. Never, Sir, in all our history! We

held on to some questions for thirty years until others discovered they were questions, and put them into the platforms, and into law.

And if you will look over the political history of this country, the Prohibition party has written more history than all the other parties combined. And we wrote it prophetically.

Now the very program you are discussing here to-day, we discussed from a layman's standpoint years ago. We declared that alcohol was a poison and not a medicine, and all that. And along came the medical men a little while after, and they confirmed our words.

I am not here asking for a position on the platform. I am not here asking for a residence in the White House. I am asking that the principle be brought to the front, that a principle be brought to the front, and I am willing that the banner shall be carried by any man. I voted for Mr. Bryan at Lincoln, Nebraska, and did my level best to keep from getting on the ticket—and yet I am from Ohio! the State where every man is a candidate for office. And I am willing, I say, to stand squarely upon that platform from this moment, and if proper authority, proper ability comes from the proper source before this convention ends, I am willing to announce my withdrawal from the ticket.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have allowed the speaker to go on six and one-half minutes. Why cannot you decide the question now? It is entirely agreeable to the Chair; he has nothing to do with it. If you choose to extend the time, the Chair will recognize a motion to that effect, and then we will talk about extending the time of the speaker. We can extend the time, if you choose to do it, but I am not going to do it myself. What is the pleasure of the convention? Do you want to extend the time of the convention? We have three foreign speakers this afternoon who must have their thirty minutes. They can not speak so rapidly nor so plainly in English.

A DELEGATE: What is the rule of the Congress—five minutes for a discussion of papers?

THE CHAIRMAN: That's the rule.

A DELEGATE: Then why should we not follow the rule?

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall follow the rule unless you extend the time, because we can not interfere with the time of the speakers.

MR. HINSHAW: Mr. Chairman, my reason for making a motion awhile ago was this—this was supposed to be an impartial discussion by Dr. Baker, and it happened to be all on one side, and we felt the other side should be given a similar opportunity. I move that we extend the time of the speaker ten minutes.

MR. MICHAEL J. FANNING: I move we extend the time of the session until five-thirty.

THE SECRETARY, MR. ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON: I move, Mr. Chairman, that we do not interfere with the rule of the Congress, but that in this particular case the rule of the Congress be suspended, and five minutes more be granted to the speaker.

MR. FANNING: I accept that.

The motion was put and carried.

DR. WATKINS: I thank you, my friends. Now, gentlemen, do not take up any of my time unnecessarily with applause. I have only a few things to add to what I have said. I want you distinctly to understand that the Prohibition party has never made the mistakes that have been alleged here upon this platform. It has never made the mistake of attacking a man who had no opportunity to reply. It has never made the mistake of pretending a non-partizanship that it did not follow up. I have stood squarely and four-sided toward all the temperance forces of the United States. I have worked with them, and so have multitudes of my fellow workers in the party; and I resent very seriously, because they are misrepresented, all of these aspersions upon the party.

And then again, I resent very distinctly the implication that the Church originated the temperance reform, or that it has been in the sole and exclusive sense the advocate of Prohibition. The church to which Dr. Baker and I belong did not come out squarely upon National Prohibition in any political phase until 1888, nearly twenty years after the Prohibition party had been in the field. And we were a pioneer as a Church in that regard.

The rest of the political parties of this country did not come out on the great questions of civil-service reform, tariff commission, election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, several of the postal reforms, and equal suffrage until we had advocated them for a long, long period.

And I want the womanhood of this convention and of America to remember, when you go to the ballot-box this fall, who were your first and best friends, fighting for the enfranchisement of womankind. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Now, everybody is the friend of the ladies, because the ladies have the ballot, and they fear that ballot. But in the days of storm, days of twenty-five years ago, when the politicians were silent, and the crowd said this equal-suffrage business was advocated by long-haired men and short-haired women, we Prohibitionists stood and took the brunt of the storm. And I think you ought to credit us just a little with that fact. In 1912 Mr. Roosevelt discovered the equal-suffrage question, and he put it in the progressive platform. Think

of it—progressive! Forty years behind the Prohibition party on that question.

That reminds me of a group of children I heard playing in the street. They had an express wagon. Several children were in the wagon, and a little fellow was tagging along away back in the rear. Some kind-hearted passerby asked: "Little man, why don't you children let your little brother play with you?" "He's playing," came the reply. "What game are you playing?" "Automobile." "Well, what part does your little brother play?" "Oh," came the answer in chorus from the children, "he's the gasoline smell!"

Now, there are some of the progressives in this country that got in this game twenty-five or thirty years after the Prohibition party had borne the taunts and the scorn, and then they called themselves the only Simon-pure temperance people in the whole row. Now, my friends, let's be fair and candid. There is no bitterness in my heart toward anybody. I am in the field, as I say, for the cause, not for a party. Much as I love the Methodist Church, to which I belong, if I discovered it stood in the way of the temperance reform, I would say it was my duty to stand by the reform. And much as I love the body to which I belong, if I find it stands in the way of the temperance reform, I will make a bee-line for the first convention I can find, and lift my voice and say, "Mr. Chairman, I insist that our party be everlastingly dissolved." That's the kind of a non-partizan man I am. I show my faith by my works, in season and out of season. I thank you very kindly for this reception.

THE CHAIRMAN: There are ten minutes allowed for this discussion, and Dr. Duncan C. Milner, of Chicago, followed the rule and sent in his card, also asking to discuss this paper. According to your action, I shall recognize Dr. Milner for five minutes, and unless you extend the time, the discussion will end, and the next paper will be called.

DR. DUNCAN C. MILNER (of Chicago, Illinois): Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Dr. Baker referred to the two great revolutions that have been accomplished in our country. I was a soldier in both the wars. I was a soldier of the Civil War that brought the emancipation of slavery. Thirty-seven years ago last month, was an anniversary day with me. The battle of Chickamauga was fought, and I was wounded in that battle; and, because I never participated in the use of liquor or tobacco, I recovered from a very severe wound, and am before you to-day.

But the point I want to make is this: Emancipation was accomplished as a result of that war. Abraham Lincoln—we think of him as the "Great Emancipator," and he was. I want us to think of Lincoln as also our great name in behalf of temperance, in behalf of the obstruction of the liquor traffic. He was a great politician; and Abraham

Lincoln, by his life-long abstinence and opposition to the liquor business, prophesying the end of the liquor business, becomes our great temperance leader.

But, my friends, I want especially to speak of Kansas. Forty years ago I was a member of the Kansas State campaign for Prohibition. Kansas was the first commonwealth that put Prohibition as a party organic law—constitutional Prohibition—into its statutes, and Kansas won that victory in a non-partizan way; and Kansas my friends, has furnished a perfect example of constitutional Prohibition and an absolute demonstration of what Prohibition can do. So that to-day Kansas furnishes a history that is to be fulfilled in larger ways by the nation. Lawlessness and opposition to it followed, by degrees the public sentiment sprang up, however; and to-day ninety-five per cent of Kansas people are in favor of the prohibitory law.

Now this is a simple fact. At first we won out, I say, and in a non-partizan way, and afterwards we started to enforce the law. The Democratic party of Kansas took up the other side, with the backing of the brewers. They talked in a partizan way opposition to Prohibition. And the Republican party was compelled to take it up, and on that platform we fought. May I say that in that battle our Prohibition friends sometimes fought the best temperance people we had in Kansas, simply because they would not join the Prohibition party? That's a fact of history. But Kansas furnished, and is furnishing by degrees, a fine illustration of what Prohibition can do for any State.

Now, this is the fact, when Kansas had adopted this amendment, a large part of the political managers were against it, both parties, bankers, and railroads and newspapers were against Prohibition. It won out in the face of all those things. It won out, my friends, so that to-day in Kansas the people are so united that no political party thinks of anything else. The Democratic party came around until the last Democrat elected has been an out-and-out adherent in his soul for Prohibition.

The federation there was non-partizan in behalf of Prohibition, and only when we were compelled to do so did it take a partizan aspect. But it won out, a splendid and wonderful victory.

MR. FARIS (of Missouri): What I have to say will not take a minute. The Good Book says, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you;

"And will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure now in introducing the topic, "The Churches of Europe Against Alcoholism, Section A. Catholic Church;" and I have pleasure in introducing Dr. P. A. Ming, of the Swiss Parliament.

THE CHURCHES OF EUROPE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY DR. PETER A. MING

OF SARNEN, SWITZERLAND, MEMBER OF THE SWISS PARLIAMENT

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: The resolution to combat alcohol depends upon the aspect in which alcoholism presents itself in the different countries. We also are convinced by experience, that short-sighted political economy and a blind hunger for money, presenting themselves especially in small countries, are always opposed to efficacious measures for limiting the dangers of alcoholic beverages. The method of this combat is influenced in a large degree by religious, social and political convictions.

These truths we can study most easily in the narrow, limited, but multifarious conditions of Switzerland. Our country, consuming 14.67 liters of alcohol on an average for every inhabitant, occupies in drinking the third place of all the countries of Europe. Considering the successful work of our American friends, we can not suppress a sentiment of sorrow. We admit that the abstinence movement, introduced by the Protestant Blue Cross Society about 1877, with its 120,000 members together with other total-abstinence societies, has altered in a large degree old convictions about the necessity of drinking alcoholic liquors, and has also reduced the widespread social compulsion to drink at meetings and parties. But still, up to the present day they have not obtained the influence on legislation we ought to see.

A glance at the Roman Catholic total-abstinence work in Switzerland enables us best to understand the difficulties of the anti-alcoholic movement in Europe. We may also judge from the facts I shall point out that neither we Catholics of Switzerland nor the organizations of other countries, which in the struggle against alcoholism have accepted our methods, may declare themselves satisfied with their work.

The Catholic Abstinence movement of Switzerland has been called forth by the surprising results of the Anglo-American Temperance movement. Of course, it lacked in the European countries Father Mathew's enthusiasm, that had given to his work such a wonderful power of persuasion; and the extraordinary capacity of organization in which Cardinal Manning excelled had found no equal in Switzerland. Monseigneur Savoy of Fribourg, deeply affected by the destruction that absinth and other intoxicating drinks caused in French-speaking Switzerland, created about 1885 the Ligue de la Croix, taking up the standard statutes given by Cardinal Manning. Being himself a total abstainer he was not so happy as to find his friends of the same opinion. The overwhelming majority of the members of his league pledged themselves only to abstinence from strong drinks and to moderation with fermented drinks. In French-speaking Switzerland, as in France, a difference is still made between distilled and fermented beverages, the first being considered as of a noxious character and the second as harmless.

Bishop Augustinus Egger of Saint Gall, a keen observer of people and conditions of life, had seen for long years the dreadful effects of alcohol; and at his pastoral visitations he had chiefly noticed the effects caused on children by cider, which was, especially in former days, considered as a harmless beverage. With eloquent lectures and impressive pamphlets he pleaded for the protection of children against alcohol, and worked against immoderate drinking by grown-up people, and for the reformation of the liquor trade. In the year 1893 he induced the Swiss bishops, on the occasion of Thanksgiving day, to sign with him a proclamation in order to start an extensive crusade against alcohol. His deeply affecting words, spoken at the International Congress Against Alcoholism in Basel, as a representative of the Holy See, met with unanimous approval. In 1895 he founded the Swiss Catholic League of Abstinence. The obvious fact, that the action introduced by Father Mathew, who once had converted millions, was several years after his death almost forgotten, convinced him that enthusiasm alone, strong as it might be, is not enough to secure a lasting success. Therefore he took up in his numerous lectures and pamphlets on the alcohol question the scientific arguments of Bunge, Förel, and others, and went for advice to the physicians and to scientific literature.

Although being personally a strong total abstainer, he was persuaded not to exact total abstinence from every member of the League. Members of the second class pledged themselves to abstain from strong spirits and to make only moderate use of fermented beverages. In a short time the League had a considerable number of sections and members. But after a few months we began to see that such organizations were not satisfactory at all. They contained few total abstainers, but a great number of persons who wished to fight against the abuse of alcoholic beverages by moderation and who defended with ardor the opinion that moderation is more compatible with the principles of Christianity than total abstinence. Even among students this opinion was spread about: "In medio stat virtus," with the interpretation that total abstinence is a vice as well as intemperance. Many a member of the first class became easily converted to that opinion, and in consequence many rescued drunkards relapsed and perished. One branch after another disappeared. After having suppressed the second class, the League began to develop itself in a hopeful manner.

Bishop Egger attributed a special importance to organizing abstinent students. In all Catholic colleges, at the University of Fribourg, and in the seminaries for priests and teachers there arose by and by total-abstinence sections. The students, satisfying highly the hope of the master, became in their professional life courageous promoters of the abstinence movement.

Nevertheless the cause finds up to this day a hard opposition, especially from the small farmers, and we find them very numerous in the Catholic districts of our country. In some districts nearly every family is in possession of a still, in order to distil fruits. We almost can say:

so many families, so many stills, so many interested in the alcohol trade, so many antagonists of abstinence. The competition of foreign countries had suppressed the raising of cereals in favor of an intensive culture of fruits, the product of which is mostly used for making cider. The spirits made out of fruit or its residua contain a certain quantity of methyl alcohol; and the alcohol resulting from this product, as well as from cider produces an alcoholism which may be called an epidemic in many parts of Switzerland. These facts were up to now not obvious enough to make people and authorities act against alcohol in a satisfactory way. Public drunkenness or habitual inebriety, that leads certain persons to destitution, is menaced by law with punishment. Chronic alcoholism, as the consequence of so-called moderation, receives but seldom any attention. In consequence, total abstinence is considered as an exaggeration, often as a Manichean heresy.

Following the example of Bishop Egger, the Dominican Father Weiss, the Jesuit Father Joye, and many other prominent priests, especially younger ones, provided by high-school education with a good knowledge of natural science, faithfully help the total-abstinence organizations to struggle against such fatal opinions. Emigrants recently returned from the United States to the Old World assert that there exists a tendency to prohibit the use of wine for celebrating the Roman Catholic Mass. We hope to receive from our American friends contrary assurances, so that we may be able to deny such rumors which are harming our work in a sensible degree.

The admonition to protect children from alcoholic drinks and the recommendation of total abstinence as the only remedy against drunkenness, found by and by widespread approbation. The asylum for drunkards, *Pension Vönderfluch*, at Sarnen, therefore, enjoys great esteem. Four periodicals for young and grown-up people advocate our cause. Father Columban, a monk of Einsiedeln, has written a prayer-book intended for the use of abstainers. The number of 12,000 abstinent grown-up people and 32,000 children, when compared to a million and a half Catholics in Switzerland, is really a very modest one. But, considering that the United States have worked more than 100 years to bring their beautiful work to success, we shall not lose courage.

The exemplary activity of Bishop Augustinus in Switzerland and the marvelous results of Father Mathew and of Cardinal Manning in England and Ireland made a deep impression on many prominent Roman Catholics in Germany. The movement for moderation, having been highly esteemed during several years in the fourth decade of the past century, had disappeared, leaving behind very few traces. The Dominican Father Neumann renewed in the year 1896 the action against alcoholism in almost the same manner, founding temperance societies and asylums for drunkards, for the leading of which he employed the Order of St. Camillus a Lellis, established in the sixteenth century especially for nursing cases of cholera and leprosy. After a short time he became convinced that only a serious abstinence movement is quali-

fied to fight successfully the alcohol plague. He founded the *Kreuzbundnis*, a society of total abstainers which up to the year 1919 numbered 38,000 members. The Society of Abstaining Priests (*Priester-abstinentenbund*), founded by him in 1901, brought to the anti-alcohol side a great number of promoters. After his death the Franciscan Father Elpidius continued the work with apostolic zeal. He found devoted assistants in Father Dr. Schmitz, Dr. Schmüderrich, and other clergymen as well as laymen.

At a time when the principle to educate children without alcohol was but little known, the Austrian Benedictine Father Edmund Hager not only warned against alcohol, but introduced total abstinence in his school of artisans, Martinsbuchel, in Tyrol. As for the rest of Austria it seems that the Swiss and German development of the struggle against alcohol impressed but few of the ecclesiastical and political authorities. The want of schooling in the natural sciences prevents many theologians and jurists from understanding the influence of alcohol on the nervous system and the mind. Thence resulted the opinion, that physiology and pathology have very little to say to the alcohol question, which, for them, is a question of Christian religion and morals. The worthiest champion of the total-abstinence movement, the clergyman Prof. Uhde wrote, that certain persons are obliged to abstain altogether from alcoholic drinks under pain of sin. If this opinion was perhaps too strong, the reaction against it, initiated by several prominent clergymen, might not be declared free from exaggeration, and was evidently in prejudice of our work in Germany as well as in Austria and in Switzerland. But at the present time most of the Catholic authorities of Austria admit that a serious combat against alcohol is indispensable for rescuing this unhappy country. The society *Weisses Kreuz* is organized on religious principles. The first-class members abstain from every alcoholic beverage and from tobacco. They avoid unnecessary expenses and spend a tenth of their income and as much as possible from their working power for the purposes of the society. By daily communion they strengthen themselves for their hard work. The number of grown-up total abstainers is more than 10,000 and that of children more than 20,000. The greatest difficulty of this holy work is the want of money. The periodicals of the society are very well written. The asylum for drunkards, *Maria Elend*, is well conducted. Father Dr. Metzger, the zealous director of the *Weisses Kreuz* is benevolently encouraged by Bishop Waiz and has received the approbation of Pope Benedict XV as well as of a great number of bishops. May the ardent zeal of the so-called *Johannis Bruder*, the soldiers of this holy war, be successful in unhappy Austria!

In countries to the east of Austria, also, the abstinence movement had taken root among Catholics before the war; for instance, *Das Heilige Heer* in southern Slavonia. Here, as elsewhere, Christian charity has been employed in other directions on account of the disastrous war.

In England Cardinal Manning's League of the Cross with its honorary president, Cardinal Bourne, is steadily pursuing the aim of its founder. An excellent organization guarantees very fruitful results.

In Italy the ingeniously edited periodical *La Nuova Crociata*, organ of the Catholic Anti-alcoholic Society, began several years ago to preach vigorously the war against alcohol. The permanent political troubles seem not to be favorable to such a work of true peace. But we dare say that inebriety has not yet brought to Italy such ravages as we find in German-speaking countries. Emigrants bring back from thence, as a very fatal gift, the inclination for strong drinks.

In France the Protestant *La Croix Bleue* was for a long time the only organization defending total abstinence. Other associations, *La Croix Blanche*, for instance, recommended since 1876 by different bishops, fought against absinth and other distilled spirits, but never attacked wine, beer, or cider. During the war the periodical *La Croix d'Or* began to appear and to defend total abstinence. The bishops of Strasbourg and Nancy issued pastoral letters full of enthusiasm for the struggle against alcohol. They admonished the faithful to unite their action with that of the political and religious parties. The work of the abstaining students of Strasbourg University promises good fruits for the future.

Although Belgium had suffered by the war so very cruelly, the Catholic abstinence movement has never vanished there. The encouraging proclamations of Cardinal Mercier are giving it new strength.

In Holland *Sobrietas*, the Catholic Temperance Society, counted in 1917 no less than 73,000 members. There also exists a Catholic society of total abstinence railway-men. The movement is widely spread among youth, especially among students of colleges and universities, who labor with great zeal for abstinence.

The Catholic organizations of Europe had but little intercommunication before the Augustine Father Gross founded the international society *Cruix*. Promoted by Bishop Augustinus Egger, the periodical *Sobrietas* unites the German-speaking priests. An international Catholic society of student total abstainers was projected before the war. The abstinent association *Quikborn* has its groups in Germany, Holland and Austria. Professor Herrmann Hoffman has gathered 8,000 members in 300 groups. They will promote the purpose of educating apostles for furthering abstinence as much as their very poor means allow it. I wish they may find charitable help from abroad. A frequent exchange of literature and the harmony of their religious opinions as well as the blessing and the encouragement of Popes Gregory XVI, Pius IX, Leo XIII, and Benedict XV, and a great number of cardinals and bishops promise a prosperous future to the Catholic total-abstinence movement in Europe.

We Catholics consider the war against alcoholism as a social work of Christian charity. We are convinced that the spirit of Christianity, which once has renewed the face of the world, will bestow also in our

days on Christian people the will and the strength to exterminate the strongest and most wide-spread root of social calamities. Side by side with all antagonists of intoxicating drinks, of whatever religious, political, or social opinions they may be, we will fight against the sworn foe of human civilization; for the foe of human civilization is the foe of every noble-minded man.

DR. DINWIDDIE having to leave the meeting, the REV. CHARLES SCANLON, D.D., assumed the chair.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Dr. Ming has raised one question in his paper that I think I could answer in a few words. That was with reference to wine for the Sacrament or the Communion. The National Prohibition Amendment in the United States specifically excepts wine for that purpose. In other words, it permits wine for the Sacrament so that any impression or report that the Prohibition Amendment in the United States does not permit any church to celebrate the Communion is in error. It does not interfere with that at all.

We have not heard from the other representative of the Catholic Church in Europe, Father Vullings. If Father Vullings is here, I should be glad to have him come to the platform. There are two sections of this topic. The other is "The Protestant Churches in Europe," and the first speaker under that head is Pastor G. Gallienne, general secretary of the Blue Cross Society of Paris.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF EUROPE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

BY PASTOR G. GALLIENNE

GENERAL SECRETARY, BLUE CROSS SOCIETY, PARIS

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is a large subject, and we have little time to go over it. I shall therefore note very briefly the various stages of the anti-alcoholic campaign of the Protestant churches during the past years and up to the present day.

Loyal to the Gospel teachings, they have always taught temperance according to the words of Paul, "And be not drunk with wine wherein there is riot" (Eph. 5:18), and they are laying more and more stress on life than on creed. This is not to say that all the members of our churches have been true to temperance ideals and been teetotalers from the first.

At one of our previous Congresses, Professor Lars O. Jensen, of Bergen, pointed out that years ago the drinking of brandy was so common in Norway that in some of the parishes some of the women would no longer go to church on Sunday without having their bottle of wine with them, while it was not unusual to find a great part of the

congregation lying dead drunk outside the church walls when the service was over.

All the Protestant ministers have not been always promoters of abstinence and lovers of Prohibition: for we were told by one of our first French members, Salmon, that the two great difficulties he had to overcome when he first took the pledge were, firstly, that he had to gather in four thousand piles of hay on a hot day with parched lips while his two fellow workers drank two liters of wine; and, secondly, to discuss with his pastor, who, during three hours, argued with him and criticized all the principles of the Temperance Society. Of the two worries, Salmon used to put the theological controversy in the first rank.

But still it is not untrue to say that wherever there is a faithful church and a loyal minister, the true principles of temperance have been maintained.

Ever since 1559 the Synod of the Reformed Churches of France inscribed in its discipline: "Ministers shall be dismissed who are teaching false doctrines, ditto those who addict themselves to drunkenness."

Calvin in his Commentary advises the members not to fall in the ways of intemperance. "He will have them sober, because the excess of drink is a vice too common amongst old people."

Wesley, in April, 1769, recommended that his church members practise abstinence from spirituous liquors; and in 1784 the Wesleyan Methodist Church decided that its ministers should themselves abstain from spirits.

Not that all the churches and all the ministers have taken the lead in temperance reform. Sometimes even officially, taken as an ecclesiastical body, the churches have not been at the front. But when we read the following figures we can not say that our churches have not done something: In England the Wesleyans are proud of their 96 per cent of total abstainers amongst their ministers; Baptist, 99 per cent; Congregationalists, 85.1 per cent; in Switzerland 75 per cent and some amongst them have been and are still leaders in the world's movement against alcoholism.

Why so? Because when a church responds to her commission to seek and save the lost one, it learns very quickly that if men and women go astray, it is often through excessive drinking. Alcohol is the biggest factor of human sufferings. Many tears would not have been shed, much blood would not have been shed, if alcohol had not been.

"I see alcohol everywhere," said one of our greatest home missionaries in France to me, "and the church, true to her mission, stretched a helping hand to rescue the lost, the drunkards."

"Temperance reform is pre-eminently a religious work. It is pre-eminently a work for the Christian churches; and if the churches would all rise and go out on a crusade of Good Samaritanship, it

would not be long until this, our greatest problem, was solved," said the Rev. R. J. Patterson, the genial promoter of the "Catch-my-Pal" movement, at the Hague Congress.

Pastor Rochat, founder of the Blue Cross Society, wrote also: "The true mission of evangelic ministers, the one that must particularly occupy and preoccupy them, is the rescue of drunkards."

In 1830 one of the Methodist churches of England decided upon the creation of a society of abstinence from spirituous liquors, and in 1841 the first minister, a Wesleyan preacher, took the total-abstinence pledge.

In 1862 was created the Church of England Total Abstinence Society. In Switzerland, ever since 1830, were founded modest temperance societies, similar to the English or Scandinavian ones. But the real activity of the Continental Protestant churches, either Swiss, French, German, or Belgian, starts from the foundation of the Blue Cross Society, in Geneva, on the 21st of September, 1877. Pastor L. L. Rochat, the great apostle of total abstinence, was its founder.

At this day the Federation unites organized national societies in eight different countries of Europe, without speaking of a few sections organized beside its proper limits. The International Blue Cross Society counts nearly two thousand local sections and more than 120,000 members, 20,000 of whom have taken the pledge to cure their drinking habits.

Our method is a threefold one:

1st, Medical: Total abstinence necessary for disintoxication from alcohol.

2nd, Moral: Re-education of the drunkard's will (a) by signing first a pledge of total renouncement; (b) by the overcoming of all the temptations that crowd in in a day; (c) by a desperate call to the only helper that can see the drunkard through, i. e., the Power of God, "I promise with the help of God."

3rd, Social: The drunkard cannot cure himself alone. He needs the sympathy and help of his fellow creatures. The Blue Cross asks the help of the drunkard's family or friends. Thus the local section is formed, the principal object of which is to offer to the drunkard a brotherly environment absolutely free from alcohol.

Each country has various methods of working, and emphasizes more or less such points.

In France the work is pre-eminently religious.

In Germany much stress is laid upon publications of various kinds, and juvenile associations.

In Switzerland Blue Cross homes have been erected; they answer to the need of sociability of the German Swiss.

In Norway the Blue Cross Society has founded some asylums for drunkards, where inebriates can find shelter and friends. But whether in Denmark, Hungary, or sunny Italy, this Blue Cross work is distinctly religious.

But even from the first the churches understood that, if the rescue of the victims of alcohol began with the drunkard himself, there were also other victims—the drunkard's children. It was quite as much needed to prevent as to cure, and juvenile temperance associations were formed. They were suggested to the Rev. Tabez Tunnicliff by the words of a poor man, a former Sunday-school teacher, who had become an alcoholic: "I want you, if you think it worth while to say anything about me when I am gone, to warn young men against the *first glass*."

It was the same cry of despair of a young man going to a premature end that threw Madame Allie Trigg Helenius of Helsingfors into her magnificent crusade in favor of the Band of Hope movement in Finland. "I tell you nothing further can help me," said he to her; "everything comes too late. Why did not somebody tell me when I took the first glass what the results would be? Now it is too late, too late!"

And so, ever since 1830, juvenile associations have been found either in the churches or with the help of Christian people.

The first societies were created in Scotland and were known as the Youths' Temperance Society. The following year (1831) they numbered 52; in 1833 they numbered 6,000 members and had adopted the total-abstinence pledge.

In 1847 the first Band of Hope was created; and 1855 saw the formation of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, which numbers at this time four million members.

The methods have been very varied in providing amusement for the children. Father Catton, ever since 1850, made great use of the magic lantern, singing, scientific education of the child, formation of his will power, etc.

On the Continent, the Band of Hope movement is also of ancient creation. *The Morning Chronicle* of Sept. 8, 1847, contains the following lines: "We read in a Berlin paper of August 31, 1847, a singular scene took place yesterday. On the invitation of the Temperance Society there was a meeting of 3,000 boys from four to sixteen years of age. They are to compose a Band of Hope for the complete abolition of the use of spirituous liquors and the propagation of gymnastic exercises. After singing some hymns the Band of Hope separated amidst loud huzzas."

In 1865 creation of the first Band of Hope in Holland was effected at Amsterdam, with 410 children. In 1878 Miss Charlotte Gray started a Band of Hope at Antwerp, and in 1885 M. Robyn, Chief Inspector of Belgian Schools, applied the same methods and created the *Stes. Scolaires de Tempérance*. In Switzerland the society *L'Espoir* was founded in 1893, and in 1896 there was held in Geneva an International Congress. The *Espoir* in France is closely connected with our Mission churches. We lay great emphasis on the scientific education of the children and on teaching the children to

play. We do believe that singing and entertainment can have a very good influence on children's lives, so darkened by the bad influence of alcohol.

Time is too short to mention the good work done by the Protestant churches of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Germany to promote abstinence among the young people.

Our friends of the Salvation Army have said the true word to promote temperance principles amongst the young, when they called the associations "Band of Love."

VIGILANCE COMMITTEES

The churches in their great crusade against alcohol understood very soon that they had not only to exercise their influence to rescue the perishing and bring up a generation of sober young men, but that they had to keep a sharp lookout to safeguard them from their enemies the saloon-keepers. There were laws that ought to have been strictly enforced to restrain the saloon-keeper in his own limit. Thus Vigilance Committees were formed.

They exercised a good deal of true power. The church kept a strict lookout on the tavern. Very good results were thus obtained, but they were not satisfied with this. The strict observance of law is good, but human law is imperfect. "The people have only the laws they deserve." Good people knew that they deserved better laws. They rose and asked for them.

In Norway when, in 1894, they saw the wrong done by the *Samlag*, they went into the fray. "A political election never stirred the people of Norway as much as the *Samlag* fight. In some places the people remained standing outside the town hall till late at night, in rain and storm, until the vote had been counted; and when it was announced that the drink-shops had been voted out they uncovered their heads, singing the old hymn of Gustavus Adolphus, "God Is Our Strength." Then they went quietly to their homes.

This will always be true. When the law is oblivious of human rights, the Church must go with the quiet but obstinate will of the Great Reformer, who before the lawmakers of his country could only say, "I can not do otherwise. May God be my helper."

As a typical example of the church's action in the legislative domain, I shall briefly relate the work accomplished of late by the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches of England and Wales. This council was organized in June, 1915, in order to focus the opinions of the Christian public and organize its powers for the purpose of temperance reform.

The churches have organizations within themselves working each in its own orbit, and on its own lines, for temperance. The measures they advocate are not identical, but there is a central unity of purpose which had hitherto not found an adequate means of expression as powerful and effective as it deserved to be. Unity of action was

recognized from the very first as absolutely essential if progress was to be made. The Council therefore placed upon the agenda of reforms those subjects, and those only, which had received the approval of all the organizations constituting the Council, and it laid down the condition that no additional subject should be added to its agenda unless it had received that unanimous approval.

It must be clearly understood that the program of the Council, represents the greatest common measure of agreement. For united action the program is definite; for individual action there is absolute liberty, and no organization sacrifices anything by its adherence to the Council.

The Council consists of representatives appointed by the following organizations:

- Baptist Total Abstinence Association.
- Baptist Union of Wales and Monmouthshire.
- Catholic Total Abstinence League of the Cross.
- Church of England Temperance Society.
- Congregational Union Temperance Society.
- The Society of Friends.
- The Moravian Church.
- Presbyterian Church of England.
- Presbyterian Church of Wales.
- Primitive Methodist Temperance Committee.
- The Salvation Army.
- United Methodist Temperance Committee.
- Welsh Congregational Union.
- Wesleyan Methodist Temperance Committee.

The Council has united church organizations which differ widely on social, political, or religious grounds, and this is emphasized by the fact that its four joint presidents are the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Bourne, Dr. Clifford (of the Free Churches), and General Bramwell Booth.

There is evidence that politicians are beginning to realize and appreciate the force and power which such a combination represents. A deputation of the Council was received at No. 10 Downing Street, London, on the 20th of November, 1919, by the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, who replied to the delegates in these words: "It is very rarely that it falls to the lot of any minister to receive a more representative and a more important deputation than the one which it is my privilege and that of my colleagues to welcome here this afternoon."

Indeed there is power in the churches, because if they are faithful to the spirit of their Master, they are one with Him. And who may resist "God our Strength"? If God is with us, who shall be against us?

"I welcome," added the Prime Minister, "the unity which it prognosticates, and I predict considerable results from it."

Having thus brought together so many powerful organizations,

the Temperance Council has drawn up a program in the spirit of unity and unanimous consent. This program is not a sentimental one, a very vague and indefinite motion, moderate in thought or words, but a strong and carefully drawn up program.

"We ask for action commensurate with the public need," said Henry Carter to the Prime Minister; and the Bishop of London was not afraid to unfurl the banner, saying: "We are full of fight, and we are really prepared to go to any lengths rather than have the old hours back. In my midnight march around the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament, in the days before the hours for the sale of drink were restricted, I collected between 12:00 and 1:00 A. M. on Saturday night 200 young men between 18 and 25 years of age, all half-drunk. I shall never forget that sight. If we are going to have nineteen and one-half hours again, or anything like that, we do not deserve to have won this war."

The agenda of reforms which up to the present have been adopted is known as the Nine Points Temperance Agenda, which reads as follows:

1. Sunday closing.
2. Restriction of hours for the sale of drink on week-days.
3. Reduction of the number of licensed houses.
4. Increase of the power of local licensing authorities.
5. Control of clubs.
6. The abolition of grocers' licenses.
7. The prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to young persons.
8. Local option.
9. The provision of alternatives to the liquor tavern.

Let us go very briefly over these nine points.

1. *Sunday closing.* The boon of Sunday closing, conferred on Scotland in 1854, on Ireland (partially) in 1876, and on Wales in 1881, has proved of incalculable benefit to the communities of those countries. The Royal Commissions appointed to investigate the operations of these Acts of Parliament would have unanimously confirmed them. Sunday closing would prove of inestimable value to the working classes of England and give to more than 300,000 people engaged in the liquor trade a much needed rest.

2. *Restriction of hours for the sale of drink on week days,* and
3. *Reduction of the number of licensed houses.*

In England and Wales there are 125,000 premises licensed for the sale of alcoholic drinks. Under normal conditions they are open on week days for 15 or 16 hours in rural and provincial places, and 19½ hours in London.

The Central Control Board has restricted the sale of drink to 5½ hours per day throughout the greater part of the country and the results of restriction have abundantly justified the action of the board. The Temperance Council does not want the old system to come again into force.

4. *Increase of the power of local licensing authorities.*

Prior to 1904 the authorities could always refuse to grant an application for a new license, and could refuse a license, by way of renewal, subject since 1828 to the right of the holder to appeal to quarter sessions against the refusal. Thus the authority was enabled to impose upon applicants conditions regulating their conduct of the trade. All this discretionary power, except as to new licenses, was swept away by the Act of 1904. To-day the licensing justice has to "ask" the trade to do this, that, or the other.

If reform of any value is to be effected by the licensing authorities, their powers must be widely extended in the direction of those entrusted temporarily to the Central Control Board. They must have absolute discretion, free from the incubus of quarter sessions, to refuse renewal and transfer of licenses, and to impose conditions of sale suited to the locality.

5. *Control of Clubs.* Of late years the number of workingmen's clubs has greatly increased in England. It must be also remembered that the clubs are really unlicensed public places, without the restriction and supervision attached to the ordinary public house and hotel. Hours of sale, conditions of sale, and methods of supervision, should be identical.

6. *The abolition of grocers' licenses.* When the Act of 1860 allowed the grocers to take a license, the author of this Act, Mr. Gladstone, believed it to be "a good and wise measure, not only with regard to comforts of the people, but for the promotion of temperance and sobriety, as opposed to drunkenness and demoralized habits."

Unfortunately, the promotion of temperance and sobriety which was expected to follow the granting of grocers' licenses has not been realized. There is reason to believe that some shopkeepers have made a practise of supplying drink and charging it as groceries; by this means mistresses and maids have obtained drink surreptitiously, the supply of which has been hidden in the bill for groceries.

Another evil has arisen in recent times; namely, the conveyance of liquor to the home and sale from delivery vans, a practise not easy to detect.

The abolition of grocers' licenses would be a reform of the highest importance.

7. *The Prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to young persons.* Till now a child under 14 years of age can not at any time be in the bar of licensed premises during hours of sale. In many of the colonies the age limit below which the serving of young people and children is prohibited ranges from 16 to 21 years. The age limit should be also raised to 16 years at the least.

8. *Local Option.* The people of a locality are the very people who are most interested in the conditions affecting the sale of intoxicating liquor there, and it is therefore reasonable that they should have a determining voice in the matter.

The Temperance Council adopted a threefold option, namely, the right of a locality to vote: (1) that there should be *no change*; (2) that there should be a *reduction* in the number of licenses granted; and (3) that there should be *no licenses* whatsoever.

The principle of the threefold option has already received the sanction of Parliament in the case of Scotland, and has become operative in 1920.

9. *The Provision of Alternatives to the Liquor Tavern.* The ninth point in the temperance reform agenda needs to occupy our attention somewhat longer.

Nothing in the temperance program has come more rapidly into prominence and received a greater measure of general support than the question of the provision of alternatives to the public house.

The war crisis has shown what the Church and religious agencies can do by the wide-spread establishment of Soldiers' Clubs, Y. M. C. A. huts, etc. What has been done in war-time should surely be possible in time of peace for the soldiers of the great industrial army.

There are, and have been for some years, illustrations in various places of what may be accomplished in this direction. Under the Blue Cross flag many such institutions have been opened in Norway, France, Switzerland, Alsace, etc. I wish you had the opportunity to see the Blue Cross hotels of the old city of Strasbourg. With coördination and some coöperation of the big churches of America, a great step forward might be taken. A wide extension of these useful agencies would contribute greatly toward a solution of the liquor problem.

The Temperance Council of England and Wales earnestly desires that the members of the Christian churches realize their responsibility and lose no opportunity of doing something practical in these directions.

Our Blue Cross Society in France has the same desire. We have to reconstruct large areas devastated by the war. In St. Quentin, for instance, where all the houses have been more or less wrecked by bombs and shells, there are already 485 saloons! In Lens, which was some months ago but a huge pile of dust and broken bricks, the first wooden huts which were erected were saloons. These saloons were the curse of the land in pre-war times. We must make our utmost efforts that they shall not prove to be the everlasting curse of our desolated provinces of the North. My last word is an earnest and strong appeal to the churches of America, so powerful and so ready to help. We are serving the same Master, He is our Head. We are His body. But when a member suffers all the members of the body suffer with it.

Alcohol is a mortal disease. You can not cure its attacks on some of the bodily organs and leave it to do its deadly work on other parts of the body. You are quite alive to that fact, and, to keep America free from alcohol, you are now bound to pursue your foe outside the territorial limits.

Churches of America, hear the cry of our churches in Europe! We are doing our best, fighting to the utmost of our energies. Come over

and help us and destroy the saloon, the modern plague, wherever it spreads its powerful tentacles; and especially in the countries where the saloon revels in triumph, help us to open People's Palaces, free from poisonous alcohol. In helping us you will be working for your own salvation.

And I must add that this is the golden opportunity to do this. Never have the needs been so great for moral reforms in our beloved country. In many circles they are looking for our Protestant Church to come to the front, and the Church as an ecclesiastical body has never before been so alive to the need of the Temperance Reform. In November (18-21) last, the General Assembly of all our Protestant Churches met in Lyons, and the following motion was passed unanimously: "It is desirable that in every Protestant church the fight against alcoholism be organized on the most energetic and efficacious basis of total abstinence, for the rescuing of drunkards and the formation of a strong and sober young generation."

Our beloved country has great needs. Our churches are willing to do their part. May our common Master give to you, dear American brethren, the true vision of what you can and must do to help us win the larger victory.

FATHER GEORGE ZURCHER (of North Evans, New York): I am connected with the Catholic Clergy Prohibition League of America, and two years ago, or nearly two years ago, this organization offered to help any priest in the United States who should have trouble under Prohibition to secure all the wine necessary for sacramental purposes. We offered to help him get it, and they also got the services of our Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, of the Anti-Saloon League. In case of legal procedure he offered his services gratis; and I can assure Dr. Ming to-day we have not heard of a single priest in the United States who has had any difficulty in getting all the wine necessary. In fact, several of the pastors of Catholic churches, friends of the leading pastors in Washington, told me this morning that under Prohibition they find it easier to obtain genuine wine than they did before.

This is a lie from the enemy, and like some of the lies it circulates around the world. I heard it circulated in Australia, that Prohibition in America would destroy the mass. It is not true. There is no truth whatever in it.

I am delighted to meet the two representatives from Europe this afternoon: one a representative of the Catholic Church, and the other a representative of the Protestant Church; and let me assure these gentlemen from Europe that the one thing which assured the success of Prohibition in America was the fact that we Prohibitionists, Catholic and non-Catholic—we pulled together! More than that, for the first time in nearly four hundred years have the Christian moral forces united. Because Prohibition is mainly a moral movement; and the success we have achieved in this great moral movement in America, through Pro-

hibition, is an augury that the Christian forces of the world shall attain still greater success in the future in moral progress throughout the world than ever in the past four hundred years. And who knows but sometime in the future they will tell the history of these times, and they will say to Prohibitionists in America, "To you do we owe the debt of doing the first real work along the lines of Christian unity."

Miss HENRIETTE CROMMELIN (of Holland): Mr. Chairman and Friends: It is not to ask a question, but to emphasize the appeal made by Pastor Gallienne, of France. It was some time before the great war, it was in October, 1913, that I attended a four-day conference in England, and there we had delegates, of course, from England, from Switzerland, and from France, and we each had to give a report; and then I was very much struck by the report of a French delegate, Madame d'Aubigné. She was much struck by the fact, she said, of the terrible drinking in France, which of course I knew, but when it is in your own country, it makes all the more impression—by the terrible drinking and hard struggle, and by the courage and whole-heartedness of the temperance workers there. And she then made a great appeal to the English to help the Band of Hope, and the temperance work, in every way in France; and I was very much struck with it. Her last words were, to quote Tolstoi, "France, the greatest good, and the greatest evil!" France is great. You will hear of her yet, and you have heard of her.

Then, some time ago, some time afterward, I wrote to the English temperance workers, and said, "Can not we all together help France?" And they said they would bring the matter to the attention of the committee, and plans were made to help the Band of Hope movement, and the temperance movement in France. Then the terrible war came and put an end to everything; and now that we have heard this eloquent appeal, I should very much like to second it, and to bring this matter before this important assembly, and to ask the great and rich American nation to help France. They have helped us, with God's help, out of the war. Let them help us in God's name out of this war.

Mr. MICHAEL J. FANNING (representing the *Philadelphia North American*): Mr. Chairman: We are about twelve minutes ahead of the program. I would like five minutes of the time to speak on Dr. Baker's paper.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: We have passed that discussion, Mr. Fanning.

Mr. FANNING: I know, but you passed it with two speakers on one side, and only one on the other.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I beg pardon, Mr. Fanning.

MR. FANNING: And we are twelve minutes ahead of the program, and I would ask for five of those twelve minutes.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Just a moment. In the first place, you understand that both the spirit and the letter of the rules of this Congress forbid any criticism of any other organization, and any one who indulges in it is violating the spirit of this Congress when they do it.

MR. FANNING: I object to anybody intimating that I propose to criticize an organization.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I made no such intimation, Mr. Fanning. You will be heard. We are both Irishmen, Sir!

MR. FANNING: I am an American.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Now, friends, I am the vice-chairman of the American Committee. I think I am perfectly within my rights in stating this: I don't care who does it at any time, it is a violation of the spirit and letter of the rules of this Congress; and let us stay within that rule. Now, I do not understand there were two speakers on one side, and one on the other, for I think Dr. Milner did not speak on the side that Mr. Watkins represents. Nevertheless, that is only a matter of judgment. Now we shall be glad to hear from Mr. Fanning for five minutes.

MR. FANNING: Mr. Chairman: I think perhaps I am the Prohibition party man with the longest record of any man in the convention, if not in the world. For more than half of a century that right hand of mine has put no ballot in the box but a straight Prohibition party ballot, with one exception. I simply want to stand for the old name with which I was associated when a boy. The wisdom of the movement was questioned, and the wisdom of the fathers of the movement was questioned. I want also to take exception to the stand taken by Dr. Baker, my friend, regarding the Church in its relation to this movement.

There are two factors that we must consider separately in the temperance reform—the drink habit, and the drink traffic, entirely separate and distinct. The drink habit is a personal affair, and we turn its victims over to the church and the temperance society for reformation. The drink traffic involves barter, trade, commerce; and the Church as a church has nothing to do with settling questions of trade, barter, or commerce. It is purely and solely an attribute of governmental action, and we should approach the Prohibition idea as citizens, because it must come through governmental action and not through church action.

We had several States attempt to install Prohibition before the Civil War. They lost out. Why? They had no more sense then than we have now—not a bit more—some States. The law was declared in some States to be unconstitutional, and in others they had no more sense than to vote for horse-thieves to enforce the law against stealing horses. Just what we have been doing! Just as much sense in voting for a horse-thief to enforce the law against stealing horses as for the saloon-keepers to enforce the law against the liquor traffic. And just as much sense in voting for the saloon-keeper to do it as in voting for the saloon-keeper's man to do it. Let me tell you that a man in politics, no matter how big a man he is, who dares not declare against the saloon before election, will be the servant of the saloon after election.

Now then, when the war ended, I came into the work, and was elected president of a temperance society in 1865. We held a convention that year. In it we took the remnants of all the temperance organizations in this country and dumped them into one, excepting the secret societies, and we called this one the National Temperance Society and Publication House, still an active factor in this reform; and at that convention we spent the time in talking, and the only wise thing we did was to appoint a committee to tell us how to talk at the next convention. The chairman of that committee was old Dr. John Russell, of Michigan; and at the Cleveland convention, in 1866, Dr. Russell reported. He was appointed a committee to report back to us, "How can we best secure Prohibition?" He commenced his report by calling attention to the fact that politically we were divided, hopelessly divided. Good laws, to be enforced, must have good men behind them, and the good people of this country are hopelessly divided because of the war. The best men of the North, as Dr. Baker well said, were Republicans. The best men of the South were Democrats. And our problem as temperance people was to unite the good men of both sections. The question arose, How can it be done? That was the time Horace Greeley wrote that famous editorial that no man could make him believe that all Democrats were horse-thieves, but he knew that all horse-thieves were Democrats! And the Democrats of the South had just as exalted an opinion of the Republicans of the North as Greeley had of the Democrats of the South, and justly so.

Now that is our problem, to unite them. How can it be done? I remember Dr. Russell's illustration: Here is an old house; it leaks badly; it is raining hard. A Republican lives in the house. Another old house stands near by. It also leaks; it is raining hard; and a Democrat lives in the house. Both are good men, clean men, patriotic men, Christian men, and they ought to be together. The best interests of Christ and the best interests of Caesar call to them to get together. Leave it to themselves, said the doctor. The Republican

speaks first: "Here, you old copperhead," (a pet name he had for his his friend!) "come over here to my house!" "I won't do it, you old blacksnake. I will have naught to do with you."

Our problem was to unite the good men. How can it be done? Dr. Russell's plan was to build a new house between the two old ones, with a good room in it that would not leak, and to extend an invitation to both men to come in on an equal footing. And that was the corner-stone of the Prohibition party! The key-word was "organization," so that the good men in all parties could get together and come in and be equal.

Did they do a wise thing? The only possible thing to do at that time. And I don't like to hear the wisdom of the founders of the party, and the fathers of this temperance movement, questioned in this manner. It may be that we have forgotten one fact, or it may be the ameliorating influences of time in this warfare, and it may be that Lowell was correct when he said, "New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth," and it may be that the time has come when the party is in the way. But let me say, two-thirds, if not more, of the leaders of the party are in the way, if the party is in the way, because they were forced in by the non-action of the others, after the judgment of most of us was to let the party go.

Now that Prohibition is written in the Constitution I think it was in our platform of 1876 we declared the primary purpose of the Prohibition party was to write Prohibition into the Constitution of the United States. Prohibition is in the Constitution of the United States, and the primary purpose of the Prohibition party is accomplished, and I would say to my friend Dr. Baker, we never elected a man, but, thank God, we elected our issue. And we cleared the path and made non-partizan methods possible. Where would there be any origin of the non-partizan work if the present methods had not stirred this country up? And our Kansas friend tells us how four innocent Republicans were whipped out there by weak Prohibitionists. I lived there at that time. My friend, Governor St. John, was hung in effigy there, and we Prohibitionists were abused, and not the non-partizans, or the men who failed to come to our party's aid.

It may be that the time for the party work is done, and Dr. Watkins has done a noble thing in stating that if any man, any candidate, will come out and say he will stand for this cause if elected, the Prohibition party, as a party, will disappear in this campaign.

I did not rise to defend the party. I rose to defend the wisdom of the founders of the party, to show that they did the only thing that could be done wisely at that time—to seek to bring about a union of the best elements of our society.

DR. MILNER: I make no charge against the Prohibition party except this: I know repeatedly they have defeated some of the best

Prohibitionists in Kansas for office, because they were not members of the Prohibition party.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Yes, friends, the Prohibitionists have been just like other people; they have been fallible at times. I confess, what any of you who choose to know me know, that I am a reconstructed Prohibitionist, and Dr. Milner knows that he hasn't a better friend than I am in this country, and so does Mr. Fanning.

Now, we have all had our say, and our friends will excuse this little national family discussion. We have this talk, which is of interest to ourselves largely, and for their edification. One of the friends in Europe said to me, when I was there a year ago, "It is the enthusiasm of you Americans that carried this thing over." Well, our enthusiasm expresses itself in various forms.

We are glad, however, to have as our next speaker Dr. Ley, of the University of Brussels.

ALCOHOL AND CRIMINALITY

BY DR. AUGUST LEY

PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

It seems at first strange and rather superfluous that the committee of the International Congress Against Alcoholism included in our program this question, which has been so often discussed, and the demonstration of which is as evident as painful; that is, the question of the relation of alcoholism to crime.

But among all the evils provoked by alcohol, its influence on crime is so characteristic and important, and may give us so powerful an argument for the suppression of the consumption of alcohol, that no conference discussing this question can put it aside. It must draw attention to the very active rôle of alcoholic liquors as a factor tending to the production of all kinds of crimes.

It is useless to repeat here the numberless facts and statistics and to analyze the clinical researches bearing upon the subject. Let us remind this audience of the many publications dealing with the matter and of the results of temporary or permanent Prohibition.

The temporary Prohibition in Sweden, during the general strike of August, 1909, and the American experiences, are decisive.

We will allude also to the interesting war experiences made in the countries where the diminution or the sudden suppression of alcohol was followed by a diminution of criminality, as shown by Lord d'Aberton.

In Belgium an important experiment has been made during German occupation. Alcoholic liquors were difficult to obtain, and expensive, so that only little beer and wine was drunk, and the German soldiers in their march through our country had stolen and drunk.

wherever it was possible, wine and liquor, a fact which certainly contributed to the criminal acts perpetrated during the period of the invasion. But among the Belgian population which remained in the country, public drunkenness and blood criminality, which is so noticeable after a consumption of alcohol, diminished in a very marked degree.

Since 1919 a new law prohibits in our country the sale of spirits for consumption in public houses. This law had an evident effect on the number of cases of alcoholic insanity as well as remarkable results as to criminality.

We give here a chart which shows the results on criminality of an even partial suppression of alcohol consumption. It is important to state that in every country, as soon as the sale of alcoholic liquors was earnestly restricted, this had an immediate effect on two great social diseases—on lunacy and criminality.

We know that in the year 1917 the consumption of spirits in Belgium had gone down from 5 liters per head (1913) to about 1 liter.

These statistics are important as they show that even the suppression of spirits alone gives excellent results from our point of view. It is certain that total Prohibition would be a much greater success, and we may expect much from permanent Prohibition, which will affect alcoholic heredity, and its effects on degeneration and criminality.

Some alienists have affirmed (an opinion which is much too absolute) that alcohol and criminality are only outward signs of a state of general degeneration, and that the legal suppression of alcohol hardly alters this constitutional state. I do not intend to deny that some alcoholists drink and commit criminal acts *because* they are insane; but we have only to study the situation in the States under Prohibition and we will see that alcoholism is in itself, as a consequence of its special action on the human brain, a direct and powerful cause of crime. The scientific method used in the social experiences of which recent statistics give us the results does not speak for a simple coincidence, as it could, owing to the method of concomitant variations, isolate the factor—alcohol, and with the alteration of this factor we observe variations in the criminal facts.

It is evident that the new facts revealed by Prohibition experiences have a great social importance. They force the conviction that alcohol is, from a social standpoint, harmful, and they diminish the importance of the opinion that alcohol is only a symptom of degeneration, against which social measures have only a small direct value.

We find, on the contrary, that, even for healthy people, alcoholism is directly the cause of violent and criminal reactions, and that therefore the social measures which suppress its use are perfectly justified in order to protect society.

It is worth while to remind the hearers of the main psychological notions of the action of alcohol and to study how they explain the specific criminal-engendering action of this toxicant on the human brain.

THE ACTION OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS ON THE PSYCHIC ACTIVITIES
AND THE BEHAVIOR OF MAN

We want to show in this section alcohol, owing to its specific psychic action, must almost fatally provoke the violent reaction which we know; that its crime-engendering effect derives from this specific action on the human brain; that this special action is undeniable; and that every individual, even a healthy one, who uses alcohol may at a certain point be induced to have a criminal reaction.

If we observe people who have just drunk alcohol, we see, at the beginning of its action, that the period of so-called excitation is in reality a diminution of the control of intelligence and will on automatic movements and emotions. During this period speech flows freely, language is easy; it is a time for superficial jokes, for hilarious disposition, for a light tone of conversation, for a relaxing of behavior and language, for a tendency to improper compliments, which women are the more easily induced to accept when they have been drinking and putting themselves on the same plane as men, as regards diminution of judgment and of critical sense.

Euphoria—that is, a feeling of well-being—is at the beginning evident among most of those who use alcohol. Just this feeling of well-being makes alcohol a dangerous foe for humanity; but if we remember that this feeling is false, is purely subjective and covering in reality an objective lessening of the value of man, one feels less inclined to try to obtain it. The diminution of the field of consciousness, this phenomenon so well described by the French psychologist Pierre Janet, is manifest even in a state of light intoxication. The drinker forgets contingencies; the present state alone, colored by the characteristic euphoria, exists for him. The realities of life, care for his family, care of the future, the feeling of duty, all the sensibilities of conscience disappear, letting the field open to a small stock of agreeable and easy ideas.

The dissociation and, later on, the disaggregation of personality are markedly provoked by alcoholic liquors. We have already shown that their consumption provokes in the first period a lessening of the brain control on inferior automatic activities: language, movement, external, sensual feelings. In a more advanced stage of intoxication one observes such aggravation of the psychologic state that one is entitled to speak of a dissociation of the personality, as it appears often in the cases of pathologic dream, of somnambulism, of walking automatism, or of a toxic or infectious "onirism." In this special state crimes are committed which show very clearly the want of con-

trol on automatic reactions, the abolition of critical sense and of the mastery of one's self.

In the more advanced stage the man intoxicated by alcohol sees his personality in a full state of disaggregation; he loses the notion of his "I"; the consciousness of his individuality wholly disappears; and we register then this specially dangerous state of alcoholic intoxication marked by the commission of inconscient crimes, with complete forgetfulness of the criminal act which has just been committed.

The unhealthy mental constitution and the degeneracy of the subject interferes often, giving a peculiar appearance to the special criminal reactions.

MISTAKES OF APPERCEPTION

If you ask an alcoholized subject to read words which are quickly passing before his eyes, or if you pronounce in his presence words which he has to catch and repeat, you see very soon mistakes are numerous. He is often in error as to what he sees or hears.

Already Aschaffenburg has shown how often errors of apperception appear in the criminal reactions of alcoholists, and how many quarrels are provoked by misunderstandings, grounded on a mistake of the ear or the eye, a movement, or a word which have not been understood. These mistakes are also explained by the diminution of the possibility to attend to things. This function is characteristic of the superior mental phenomena, and these mistakes confirm the opinion of modern therapists, who consider alcohol to be really a drug.

The reaction times are used in psychology in order to measure the time which passes between an excitation and its answer. One may also ask the subject to react only after some *special* excitation and to suppress every movement as answer to other excitations. This last experiment puts into play the power of inhibition. These experiments have shown that small quantities of alcohol lessen the duration of the reaction; thus the subject is more excitable and his answer comes sooner. It is even sometimes an anticipation; that is, it is given before the excitation itself. The subject is in a too great hurry; his centers of inhibition are not working any more. He does not give himself the time to wait for the sensorial excitation to which he has to answer. How many criminal reactions have been thus impulsively provoked by a common excitation in an intoxicated man who would never have reacted in such a way if he had been sober!

The choice of reactions in which the subject must inhibit, that is, prevent some automatic reactions from being manifested, is still more interesting, as illustrating the paralyzing action of alcohol on the inhibiting centers of the brain. Sometimes the reaction is faulty; that is, the subject answers with a movement to a noise after which, according to the given orders, he ought not to react. Sometimes the reactions come in anticipation.

In experiments bearing on the association of ideas one observes often in alcoholics a great quickness of association, which is given impulsively and quickly, but its intellectuality greatly suffers from this impulsive explosion. The poverty of the associations in alcoholics has been noted by all scientists who have had to deal with the question.

In all these psychological reactions the characteristic fact is the poverty and the paralysis of the psychic check of the inhibiting centers, the diminution of the superior mental functions, and the liberty given the uncontrolled automatic activities. If we add to these facts that the power to control the emotions is lost, a fact which is characteristic in cases of alcoholic intoxication, we have a complete picture of the mental dissociation so favorable to the explosion of antisocial reactions and especially of criminality.

Psychological study of the action of alcohol on the brain explains, therefore, the almost fatal mechanism according to which the poison may provoke in healthy subjects criminal reactions.

But this action is still more evident when we observe the psychological reactions with morbid characters, those of chronic alcoholism, and of delirium tremens.

ALCOHOL CRIMINALITY

We recall at first that all scientists recognize that alcohol produces a special delinquency and criminality, the principal characteristics of which are: First, impulsiveness and violence, especially in acute alcoholism; second, diminution of brain control and of moral sense, especially in chronic alcoholism.

DRUNKENNESS

It is useless in such a meeting as this to show by concrete cases that drunkenness, or acute alcoholism, with its various forms, is often the cause of violent crimes. The newspapers give too often the proof of these facts in all Europe. It is a fact that the drunkenness of a normal individual, without any psychopathic defects, may produce criminality, violence, and murder. Many of those crimes, which are called "passional" crimes, have been committed under the action of alcoholism on the criminal, who nearly always, before committing his act, has taken some glasses of alcohol. And in the World War alcoholism explains often how peaceful and refined men could be transformed into barbarous and inhuman beings, who would murder and commit unheard-of atrocities.

CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM

This is the alcoholism of individuals who bear alcohol well. They are seldom in a state of drunkenness, some of them never. Hilariousness is for a long time the principal feature of their character, to which one has to add, however, irritability and impulsiveness. One observes among them the psychological characteristics described in

another section; but they are in a permanent state, habitual excitation, with progressive diminution of inhibiting reactions and alteration of the moral sense.

Little by little we see in chronic alcoholics that not only memory and intelligence become altered, but especially morality and will. They are unable to work regularly, they lose any sense of dignity; they do not care for their family; they are jealous. Those are the main symptoms which are observed in such people, and we may say that they are permanently in a situation named by the criminologists the "dangerous" state. And really they are a perpetual danger, for their surroundings and experience has shown that they can commit very easily any kind of crime. A movement of anger, a misunderstanding, a jealous idea, and sometimes an hallucination, and the blind brute may strike and kill.

The diminution of moral sense, which is a consequence of chronic alcoholism, is a perpetual danger to society, if such people are left free.

Delirium Tremens. This is the generic name by which one designates the beginning of acute alcoholism, the state of inebriety which takes place in an individual after a long period of habitual intoxication. This state presents, as to crime, special characteristics, the principal of which are hallucinations of the sight; the patient has horrible visions, he sees animals which want to eat him, swarms of insects or enemies who want to kill him. He fights against these imaginary productions, which in most cases are acting silently, without being heard. It is evidently a consequence of the specific action of alcohol on the brain, of its tendency to provoke horrible hallucinations of sight, with following reactions, that alcohol is such a powerful factor of crime among alcoholics affected with delirium.

Every kind of alcoholic liquor, beer, wine or whisky has, on the whole, identical effects which show the necessity of undertaking against all alcoholic liquors a general action if one wants to suppress the criminality especially due to alcohol.

TOXICOMANIA AND CRIMINALITY

It is a current opinion, often advocated in these last years by the enemies of the temperance movement, in every country, where measures are taken against alcohol, that alcoholism is only a *manifestation* of a mental state, peculiar to humanity, of an unconquerable desire to resort to drugs, and therefore that it would be perfectly useless to suppress alcohol because it would be substituted by much more dangerous poisons, such as morphine, cocaine, opium, and hasheesh.

We have already refuted this opinion, which is entirely at variance with the facts. We observed at Brussels a great diminution in the number of alcoholic insanities, but only exceptionally, and from very well known special causes, an increasing number of cocaino-

maniacs and morphinomaniacs. Besides the fact that the use of these drugs is known only in some special circles—night bars, music halls, theaters—we had a certain number of cases at Brussels after the Armistice and the German revolution, because the German soldiers sold all the material which they had in their hands, even the medicine-chests; thus, in the special market where cocainomaniacs buy the drug, one could obtain great quantities of cocaine, and an increase of the evil could be observed at the end of 1918 and in 1919. But actually, in spite of an evident diminution of alcohol consumption in Belgium, the cases which we could observe were few and certainly were not more numerous than before the war. At Paris, where since long years cocainomaniacs and morphinomaniacs are so often met, the liquor traffic is free.

One will always find people with an intense craving for poisons. Such people take alcohol, morphine, cocaine, veronal, or aspirin, in order to obtain special sensations, or, as they say, for suppressing unpleasant feelings; but the rest they obtain is only for a short time, and they are induced to begin again and little by little to absorb a great quantity of drugs.

But such people will always be the exception. There are also a large number of men, chronically intoxicated by alcohol, on whom occasion and habit have a great influence. Restrictive or prohibitory measures have an action upon these people; and in all the countries where they have been taken, criminality through alcohol has been lessened. There is absolutely no proof that criminality provoked by cocaine or other drugs has substituted in number or in intensity the antisocial reactions of alcohol.

CONCLUSIONS

1st. Alcohol is an important cause of criminality and delinquency. Experiments in the countries where alcoholic liquors have been for a time or forever suppressed have given evident proof of the influences of alcohol on the number of crimes.

2nd. It is possible to find, in the action of alcohol on psychological activities and on behavior, the fundamental mechanism of the production of criminal reactions, which are then the fruit of a kind of necessity.

3rd. Alcoholics in any acute or chronic state are in what criminologists call the "dangerous" state, and all measures should be taken in order to protect and to cure them, in the interest of society.

4th. Although there does not seem to be any danger that drugs like morphine, cocaine, or opium will substitute alcohol as a cause of criminality and degeneration, it would be well if the governments would prohibit with the greatest rigor these drugs, and limit their sale to pharmaceutic uses.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: Now, friends, the next paper is by

Dr. Paul Maurice Legrain, of Paris. Those of you who have been awaiting the scientific aspect of this question know how widely he has been read on the subject, and with what confidence his opinions have been quoted. We are very fortunate in having Dr. Legrain with us. Dr. Legrain speaks English, but not as fluently as he does French, and Pastor Gallienne is going to interpret for us.

NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASES IN THEIR RELATIONS TO ALCOHOLISM

BY DR. PAUL MAURICE LEGRAIN

HEAD PHYSICIAN, ASYLUM FOR THE INSANE, VILLEJUIF, NEAR PARIS.

(Interpreted for the audience by Pastor G. Gallienne)

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am before you as a representative of the Prohibitionists in France, small in number, but powerful in influence. In France the fight against alcohol is very difficult on account of the great protection of wine. The problem of alcoholism in France will be solved when the wine question is solved. Some of our French temperance leaders have thought wine and beer are hygienic beverages. The platform is solely a government platform, and Prohibitionists in France do not stand in the front on account of that fact.

I must speak to-night on the question of alcoholism and mental diseases. I know the problem quite well, because I have been chief physician in one of the largest asylums near Paris for many years.

The subject is a very large one, and I do not wish to go into details.

I want only to take a few points on the relation of alcohol and mental diseases, especially with regard to observation on inebriates coming out from the asylum for treatment.

I am going to tell you the connection between alcohol and mental diseases and crime. For twenty-five years I have been the chief physician of an inebriate asylum near Paris, and have been the doctor for eight thousand drunkards; and I choose from among my personal observations a few facts relating to the special action of wine upon the brain. I must say also, that during the war—the World War—wine has been doing great havoc in France. The alcoholism due to the drinking of spirits has apparently been diminished; but it has been fully replaced by the alcoholism from wine; and while the men were mobilized, I had the opportunity of observing some cases of alcoholism through wine before the martial court.

The action of alcohol on the brain is great, even in small doses. That constitutes the chief and peculiar danger of fermented beverages. Little by little the drunkards—the habitual drunkards—while not in a state of drunkenness, see their mental powers and will power diminished by alcoholic beverages. And it is interesting to note that when a drunkard has been in a nice hospital, taking a cure for the first time, it is difficult to recuperate his will power.

[The speaker called attention to a series of charts which he had on the platform.]

On this chart [indicating] there is the case of a drunkard, described in those squares. This is the history of a drunkard who was a saloon-keeper, drinking wine exclusively. At thirty years of age, for the first time, he was sent to an asylum for mental diseases. And this is the record of the life of this man—he is sent in 1897, 1898, 1899, and 1900. He dies at the end from pneumonia. During those periods he has been sent ten times to the asylum. He is an intelligent fellow. One thing is wanting in that fellow, and that is will power. His brain is normal, or rather was normal before he became alcoholic. After the first stay in the asylum will power disappeared, and he goes to his end.

This [indicating another chart] is the second case in the same category. From the year 1886 to the year 1901 this man was sent more than twenty times to the asylum, with very short periods of freedom. This man can not be set free, because every time he drinks wine, it takes hold of him, and he must be sent back to the asylum.

The third case [exhibiting another chart] is still more instructive. It's a man of normal intellect, quite normal. He has been sent a number of times to the asylum, with short times of liberty between the intervals. This man is not dead yet, and I am still taking care of him. He is seventy-nine; and I have known this man for thirty years. He is quite paralyzed now. He has been sent to the asylum more than a hundred times.

These cases [indicating another chart] show another interesting point. You see red and blue cases. Those indicate a mixture of mental diseases and crimes; show crime, mental diseases, numerous admissions into the asylum, another crime, crime again, mental disease, internments, crimes, etc.

Another case where the stay in the asylum has been very long, for many years, following without any breaks three and four years. This is a peculiar case. Those cases are inebriates that are what we call "parasites." They are so well cared for in the French asylum they don't want to get out again. But it gives us a good opportunity of studying those cases from the moral and economic point of view. When a man has been living in one asylum his whole life, it costs the French Government a good deal.

All of these cases [exhibiting another chart] are wine-drinkers especially. This is the life of one single case; and it is interesting to note that larger spaces, large intervals of liberty, occur between the times spent in the asylum. That man has had twenty internments and twenty continuations. Those cases bring to notice the very grave problem of responsibility of alcoholism when cut off. One may ask if those men are criminals and insane. Sometimes they are sent before the judge and sent before the doctor in the asylum, and sometimes the two follow successively. This man, was he responsible, or is he a criminal? That question has been asked in many countries, and I think in some of your

American States. That question is still unanswered in France, and alcoholism is the source of public expense on account of insanity and crime. When the doctor appeared before the judge and asked internment of the man in the asylum, the judges refused, sometimes because the counselor of the drunkard is socially powerful. We are brought then to the necessity of having a special law for the compulsory internment of habitual drunkards. You have that law in your States, but we must make a big progress in France to get it.

I come back to the wine question. On those charts the danger of wine is evident. Those drunkards are good people, who are simply led by the public opinion of the good influence of wine and light beer. If the wine was not in existence in France, the alcoholism due to the spirituous liquors would exist in a smaller quantity. The alcoholism due to wine is the father of the alcoholism due to alcohol. And it is quite necessary in all the Latin nations to fight against wine with the same power as you fight against alcohol. And France is looking towards America with an evident interest in your struggle for Prohibition. French Prohibitionists, who are few still, are afraid of one thing; they are afraid to see the amendment of 2.65 gain success in America. We think thus far that if that amendment passes in America, it will be the justification for fermented beverages. We are afraid of that, because of our moral friends in all the Latin countries who look at the American experiment. We hope, therefore, that American Prohibitionists will fight with the utmost energy and decisive power the 2.65 per cent measure. It is necessary for the definite success of Prohibition in your land. We hope that in France, which is still the slave of fermented beverages, we will take example from our big sister, our great sister, the American Republic. I join you in hoping that for the furtherance of the public welfare and the moral well-being, the Prohibition movement will be victorious all over the world.

DISCUSSION

DR. JEWETT (of Bellevue Hospital, New York City): Ladies and Gentlemen of the Congress: As a delegate representing the State of New York at this great Congress, I would not wish to be misinterpreted or misconstrued in any remarks which I might make as to the purely scientific aspects of this problem, nor as to any methods—personal methods—which I might have—opinions or methods to prevent alcoholism. Rather would I wish to convey the idea that in a movement so pregnant with possibilities in the social, economic, and spiritual progress of the nation and the world, New York is with this body, heart and soul.

I would like to mention, however, some of the blessings which have already accrued from the partial enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in our great city of New York. Prior to two years ago, in the great clearing-house for mental disorders with which I am connected, there were approximately fifteen hundred cases of alcoholism, coming through the male and female wards in a constant stream. These admis-

sions have suddenly diminished from about eight hundred a month on the male side and about four hundred a month on the female side to around one hundred and one hundred and fifty on the male and twenty to thirty a month on the female side.

We have also heard a great deal about the increase in drug addiction, etc., which might take place if Prohibition were enforced. So far we have not seen this. It may come in the future, but so far it has not come.

Had I known I was going to speak, I would have brought a chart showing the gradual decline in the alcoholism rate, but not knowing, I did not bring it. I thank you.

DR. LA PLACE (of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania): Ladies and Gentlemen: I have the honor to have been appointed by Governor Sproul, of Pennsylvania, to attend this wonderful Congress. The wonderful papers that I have heard here have only added to my conviction that Prohibition has come to stay. I must make my remarks short, but will try to be as pointed as I can. This is but a tremendous monument to the glory and civilization of America. Like all monuments—and the greatest of all monuments of antiquity was the building of Rome—neither Rome nor Prohibition can be built in a day. The enactment of this amendment to the Constitution has been the result of the careful thought and work of men and women who are working for the uplift of humanity. No man or woman can dare stand on this platform and deny the authority of the facts that have been brought before you here this afternoon. These facts can be corroborated by all those who have had similar opportunities to the gentlemen who have read the papers before you. And therefore, here we are confronted with the proposition; a great thing has been achieved, and that great thing has to be brought into actual practice. How must it be done?

The greatest argument against Prohibition that I have heard is this, that it infringes upon a person's free will. In contrast to that are the so-called temperance societies, where an individual who has been told that he is weak, and therefore brings dishonor and shame upon his family and upon his country, is made to forswear this enemy of his own free will. That is true. We are confronted, on the other hand, through Prohibition, with inflicting, I would say, upon those who have the habit, those who have the appetite, the eleventh Commandment—"Thou shalt not drink." Now the American people, especially those who are addicted to this habit, will naturally resent that, and you can not very well blame them. We are here to consider this question from every standpoint; and we have but one object and that is to bring about the uplift to the highest degree of the American people first and the rest of the world afterwards, America acting as an example to them. Now let's face this question squarely. How can we bring about this consummation, devoutly to be wished?

Of all the blessings in the world, probably water taken inside and outside is the best. If we go to the seashore and bathe, I, who can not swim, dare not go beyond my depth. Another, who knows how to swim, may go beyond his depth and come out all right, but I dare not. If I do, I must take the consequences. Now, therefore, that would seem to prove, or rather to lead to the thought that one can drink moderately and not suffer therefrom. Another who drinks immoderately must suffer from it. That is true as a general proposition. On the other hand, it has been absolutely proved here this afternoon, a fact that I have been conversant with for a long time, that even a small amount does detract from that one thing that differentiates responsibility from irresponsibility, and that is the sense of restraint. Crime is nothing else but yielding to temptation. We are all animals, and it's civilization that has brought us up to our highest uplift, by developing that highest center in the mind which is conscientiousness and restraint. Anything that tends to diminish restraint renders the proneness to crime greater. An individual who has been a trusted bank employee for thirty years, to whose grasp the bank's money is as foreign as the moon, who suddenly has met with reverses, and who takes alcohol to drown his sorrow, has diminished from the first his sense of restraint to the temptation of taking that money. A second drink brings the money closer to him. The third drink he may touch it and feel it and say, "I will take it, but I will put it back." With the next drink he is an embezzler.

I had a teacher many years ago who became chaplain to the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia, and I asked him—he called these convicts "his boys," he had gotten so close to them—I asked him, "In your intimate relations with these people, what have they admitted as having been the cause of their getting behind the bars?" Eight out of ten, he said, admitted that it was that last drink, that so blunted the sense of restraint as to allow them to pull the trigger or to deal the blow, or commit the last fatal act which brought them where they were. Now there is no doubt about that in my mind. Therefore, we are all agreed that this is desirable; we are all agreed that better health will breed a better mind, and a better mind will uplift humanity. How shall we achieve that? There is but one method in this wide world that will achieve anything in this free American country, just one and no other, and that is education.

I am for the education of the people at large by such meetings as this, where men from all over the world have come and given us their experience, men whom we must respect, men who are not upstarts, men who out of better insight, and seconded by their scientific achievements, come and tell us the pure truths. The facts that I have heard here this evening are not due to any hysteria or emotion. They are simply the calm statements of men of science, who have made their observations clear to themselves, and are now trying to make them clear to us.

Now, we would be clams, or oysters, or worse, if we stood here with

deaf ears and blind to the truths. Now, therefore, education, the campaign of education, will bring this great jury of American people to the truth. I am a great believer in the ultimate good judgment of Americans. I believe that those who have these appetites, that still must be catered to a little bit, or they think they'll get sick—let them have it if they must have it, but don't let them talk about it. Let them have it, so they do not think they will get sick or die too soon, but let them agree, with those who know and those who wish the progress of mankind, that abstinence from alcohol is a desirable thing for the progress of humanity, for the lifting of man to a higher sphere, and therefore let them favor the campaign of education that ought to begin in the lower schools. Give me the child of four or five years of age, and let me impress his mind with the moral principles that are correct, and the man will take care of himself. Begin with the lower schools; let the women that have handled these problems so well devise a little kindergarten course that will teach the child how horrible this thing is, how horrible it will be if he ever gets drunk, how he will sell his body and soul for a mere pittance if he follows the bad example of some friends.

Therefore, let us have a campaign of education in the schools, in the lower schools, a campaign of education in the higher schools, a campaign of education in the country, in the city, and everywhere, until out of his own free will the man will say, "I will not drink because I am taught by those who are sincere, by those who are scientific, that my body will be better, and my mind will have its uplift, and my soul its uplift, and I will be able to develop into a purer and higher being than I could if my brain had been dulled and crystallized by alcohol." I thank you.

DR. WILLIAM A. WHITE (Superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital for the Insane, Washington, D. C.): Ladies and Gentlemen: I am quite unexpectedly called upon by your Chairman, and I don't know just what I am expected to say. I am not a member of your Congress, but I presume, naturally, I might be expected to say a word with regard particularly to the two papers of Dr. Ley and Dr. Legrain, who dealt with the scientific question of the effects of alcohol in the one instance, and its relation to mental diseases in the second instance.

Dr. Ley's paper, I think, is particularly of interest, and particularly of importance to a Congress of this sort, because, I take it, without knowing you very well, that there are a great many lay members of an organization like this, a great many people who have not first-hand contact with the scientific information; and Dr. Ley's paper was a peculiarly clear presentation of the physiological effects of alcohol, and its effect upon the mental operations in general, producing a lessened mental efficiency in the imbibor. Dr. Ley asked me to say, by the way, something about our experience here in Washington with respect to the increase or otherwise, of drug habituation since the Prohibition law went into effect. My experience, perhaps, is not a good standard to judge by, but so far as it has gone, I have not seen any increase in drug

habituation. I don't see very many drug cases anyway, because most of them are weeded out before they get to our hospital by an intermediate institution; but I am not aware that there has been any material increase in that institution, the Washington Asylum Hospital.

I would like to say a word with reference to Dr. Legrain's paper. He complimented us in this country about having laws to deal with inebriates that were better than the laws of France. It was very gracious in him, but I am afraid the facts do not quite come up to his complimentary statements. We have, over and over again, all over the United States, and as you know perfectly well here in the District of Columbia, people who are constantly called the anti-social,—more or less under the influence of stimulants. They come in and go out of the asylums—in and out. Nobody puts any restraints on them, and they are permitted continuously to lead this anti-social existence, without any restraint of law. That, I think, is the usual situation in the United States, although in some places there are inebriate laws and laws, as you know better than I do, that restrain the chronic inebriates.

Now, I want to thank the Chairman and you for having, through him, called upon me to speak, and I may take the privilege of not being a member of the organization to say one thing that comes to me, and I know you will take it kindly. I belong to a good many medical organizations, and I find that as a member of those organizations I like to stir up discussion and throw bombshells here and there, and get something started; and I have sat here now, the second day, and I have heard you condemning old John Barleycorn so thoroughly that apparently he hasn't a leg to stand on; but for the fun of it I would like to hear John's case presented here, and see what would happen. In other words, I think that societies of this sort sometimes—I am sure it is true of our medical societies—get a certain amount of self-sufficiency from hearing all about one aspect of the situation, and forget sometimes there is something else to be said. And I would like very much now, since the Prohibition movement is an accomplished fact in this country, if the energies and the thought and the efforts of a Congress of this sort now could be devoted more especially to the study of a great many mooted questions with reference to alcohol, and the clarifying of lots of situations that we are not now at all sure of. For instance, here we have got alcohol with us. Why have we alcohol with us? What is there in human nature that makes alcohol such a difficult evil to eradicate? Now the psychologists have a lot of things to say about these questions, and I wish very much that those things might be thrashed out in a Congress of this sort. Perhaps they have been, but I could not refrain from saying that, because the opportunity has been given me. I thank you very much.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: There is a member of the American Executive Committee, Bishop James Cannon, who represented the Government as one of its delegates at the last Congress at Milan, present at

this session. We will hear from Dr. Cannon, of the American Executive Committee.

BISHOP CANNON (of The American Executive Committee): Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has occurred to me that perhaps this is the time to call attention to one phase of this subject which I do not see can be very well brought up under the program elsewhere, namely, the right of society to protect itself against the vice of pauperism and the criminality that results from alcoholism. I say the right of society to protect itself from the results of alcoholism. The doctor who spoke just preceding the last gentleman raised the question somewhat of the right to restrain man from drinking. Well, I would not like to put it exactly in that way; but I would say that society has the right to prohibit, as far as it is necessary for the good of society, the opportunities for the development of criminality and pauperism and vice. And our question to-day in this country, I believe, the question of Prohibition, was settled finally on that basis; society finally rose up and said, "Our rights must be respected." The drinking man may claim certain rights, but if it is the consensus of the large majority of the American people that the exercise of those rights results in a large amount of criminality, of pauperism, of danger to the rest of the community, resulting in heavier taxation, resulting in assaults upon innocent men and women, resulting in a decrease in the efficiency of the nation as a whole, which was the thing we recognized in our war-time Prohibition measure,—I say that this nation, I believe, holds the Prohibition question largely upon that basis. And I have been asked in Europe, especially in England,—I have had letters addressed to me in reply to communications in newspapers,—"What right does anybody have to tell another man that he should not have a chance to drink liquor to his comfort, or to have as many places as he desires,—public houses,—where liquor could be obtained?" We have been told that it was a desire upon our part to repress and restrain men from doing that which is their natural right. I insist that the question must be fought out in Europe as it has been fought out here on the rights of society, as over and against the rights of the individual, and that society, represented by the childhood, the womanhood, and the men and women all over the nation who do not use intoxicating liquors, to say nothing of protecting the drinker from himself, and that society, having tested this matter, has a right to say to the man who drinks, "We do you no wrong; you can not say that we do you a wrong; but we do protect ourselves and our children, and our state and our community generally from that which is the result of the sale of alcoholic beverages and the liquor traffic."

Some announcements were made by Dr. Dinwiddie, Chairman of the Congress, and by Mr. Cherrington, the Secretary, and the Congress then adjourned.

EVENING SESSION

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1920

The evening session was held at the Central High School Auditorium, the Chairman of the Congress, the Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie D.D., presiding.

DR. DINWIDDIE: I have pleasure in introducing to the Congress the Very Reverend Peter J. O'Callaghan, and I am going to ask him to preside at the meeting tonight.

FATHER O'CALLAGHAN occupied the chair.

THE RT. REV. MONSIGNOR C. F. THOMAS, Rector of St. Patrick's Church, delivered the invocation.

[Community singing, led by Mr. W. R. Schmucker, followed.]

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, FATHER O'CALLAGHAN: There is at the moment a sense that this is the dawn of woman's day. Undoubtedly, there has been granted to woman the ballot, but women have wielded a mighty power for many a year. I know of no organization in all the lands, no organization of men or women which has wielded a greater power in furthering that which we celebrate in these days than the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. We have with us tonight the head of that great organization. I have the honor of introducing Miss Anna A. Gordon.

WOMAN'S RELATION TO THE ANTI-ALCOHOL MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

BY MISS ANNA A. GORDON

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Every great reform has been initiated by a great personality. Every successful movement for the betterment of humanity can be traced to the exalted vision of an inspirational, organizing genius.

Under the dome of our National Capitol building stands the portrait statue of Frances E. Willard, whose far-reaching, constructive ideals of woman's relation to the anti-alcohol movement crown her as the central figure—the inspirational, organizing genius of the American woman's struggle against the alcoholic liquor traffic.

Sculptors ever have presented in the form of women the highest aspirations of the human race—liberty, justice, good-will, purity, and peace. All these are personified in Helen Farnsworth Mears' statue of Frances E. Willard. When the beautiful Carrara marble figure, sent to the Cap-

itol by the legislature of Miss Willard's adopted State of Illinois, was unveiled (February 17, 1905), Senators and Representatives brought eloquent tributes of sincere appreciation of this great woman of the nineteenth century. Frances E. Willard kindled a conscience on the liquor question in the hearts of the American people. For nearly twenty-five years she was the master-builder of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and founded the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, now federated in thirty countries with a membership of more than a half-million. Katharine Lent Stevenson's prophetic words will yet be fulfilled: "Stand, radiant soul, here in the center of the nation's heart; forever of its best life thou art a part. Here shalt thou draw the land to what thou art! Stand, radiant soul!"

One who figured largely in the legislative activities of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union well remembers an eventful day when Frances E. Willard called her attention to the woman's figure which adorns the summit of the Capitol, and, with her characteristic prescience said: "Men reverence women, and they have shown it by placing the figure of a woman at the top of this wonderful building. Some day within its walls the United States Congress will pass a law that will free American women from the greatest enemy that imperils the home—the legalized liquor traffic." A womanly, statesmanlike utterance!

CONGRESS ADOPTS RESOLUTION FOR NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL
PROHIBITION

In a little more than three decades later the House of Representatives was the scene of one of the greatest moral triumphs in history. On December 17, 1917, by a two-thirds vote, it passed the joint resolution for National Constitutional Prohibition. The Senate, which had previously adopted the resolution, concurred, and the amendment was referred for action to the legislatures of the forty-eight States. In the course of the heated debate on this victory day, Congressman Webb of North Carolina read the letter which it was my privilege as president of the National W. C. T. U. to address to him, the House leader of the dry forces. As the letter sums up the part taken by the temperance women in the fight for ratification, it is here appended.

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB—House of Representatives:

It is an honor to present to you, and through you, to the House of Representatives, the appeal of 500,000 members here of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, praying for the passage of the joint resolution providing for a referendum to the States on National Constitutional Prohibition. This appeal comes from a host of home-loving women who with untiring energy and unstinted devotion have wrought marvelously for the moral and spiritual advancement of our country. This appeal comes from half a million patriots who answered promptly the call to the colors. The nobility of woman's sacrifice, the fine quality of her patriotic service, her keen discernment in the adjustment of industrial conditions for women and children, her tender ministrations at home and on the battlefield should entitle her to the granting by the Congress of this appeal.

In addition to the petition of women members of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I beg to present a huge petition of the indorsers of the

joint resolution for a referendum to the States on National Constitutional Prohibition, secured through the efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and representing 8,000,000 men and women of our republic. Adding to these the petitions sent directly to Members of Congress it is safe to say that our appeal is backed by more than 11,000,000 people. If these petitioners could be massed in solid phalanx in our Capital City you would see more than thirty times the population of the District of Columbia. Unquestionably it is an appeal for an act of true democracy, an appeal for a patriotic economic measure. Autocracy and alcohol must both be overthrown. "Speed up" is the urgent cry echoing back to us from the awful battle-fronts of Europe. "Speed up" on Prohibition legislation is the respectful appeal of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the Congress of the United States. We pray that in this crucial time of a stupendous world crisis the House of Representatives will rise to this exalted opportunity and give the legislatures of the various States the chance to deal with a question so enormously vital to the economic and moral interests of our republic. When the war is over and a righteous peace has been secured, only the clear brain of a sober nation can be intrusted with the solution of the mighty problems that will then confront the greatest democracy on earth—the United States of America.

Our intensive program of war sacrifice and service, which will later be outlined, made our temperance and Prohibition program better known and appreciated.

W. C. T. U. IN RATIFICATION FIGHT

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union had a notable part in the wonderful sweep of ratification across our continent. Their petitions and arguments at State and Congressional legislative hearings were most effective. Their song, "Ratify, ratify, catch the word, ratify," echoed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Many women were voters and helped elect the State legislatures of 1918 on the ratification issue. When, on January 16, 1919, the proclamation was signed announcing the victory of National Constitutional Prohibition by the ratification of thirty-six States, the W. C. T. U. joined in the celebrations which were well-nigh universal. The first of several pens used by the Acting Secretary of State, the Honorable Frank L. Polk, in signing the proclamation, is proudly possessed by the National W. C. T. U.

WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE CRUSADE, 1873-1874

What is the history of the phenomenal movement which eventuated in the organization of the women of the United States and made them a mighty factor in securing these unprecedented temperance victories?

For nearly one hundred years after the founding of our republic woman was the silent, agonized sufferer from the liquor traffic. Her home, poetically supposed to be her castle, was despoiled by an insidious foe from within, and she was cruelly robbed of her dearest treasures. Except in isolated cases she made no public outcry. In Massachusetts in 1825 a prominent woman who had joined with eleven others in a compact not to serve alcoholic liquors in their homes, hearing that John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, would be speaking in the State, rode sixty miles on horseback in order to meet him and make a personal temperance appeal. The courtly gentleman gave

courteous hearing to her burning words, as she pleaded with him to save her husband and children and the homes all about her. His refusal to undertake the task was given with grave and manly dignity, and the interview ended with the surprising statement, "Madam, it is impossible. You might as well legislate against the winds and the tides."

In the winter of 1873-1874 the entire nation was startled and aroused by the Woman's Temperance Crusade. Suddenly woman had taken up offensive warfare against the legalized liquor traffic. Gentle, home-loving women were camping in hundreds of barrooms in Ohio and other States, pleading with rum-sellers to give up their business. Astute liquor-dealers must have foreseen their final everlasting doom in this uprising of women, even though the crusading women used only the apparently harmless weapons of prayer, song, and persuasion. God's hour for the beginning of the end of the legalized traffic in drink had struck, and that legislation against the "winds and tides" commenced, although at first the praying women knew it not. Like a prairie fire the Crusade swept over many States. Frances E. Willard described it as a "whirlwind of the Lord." Another Prohibitionist hero, Henry W. Blair, termed it "a great moral commotion in which woman escaped and learned her power, never again to be caged." Song was a mighty agency in the fifty days of this moral commotion of the "Rock of Ages yimmen," as the German saloon men called the crusading women of Ohio. Hundreds of dramshops were closed; countless barrels of alcoholic drinks gurgled into the gutters of 250 towns and villages as church bells pealed forth the people's joy. The Presbyterian church in Hillsboro, Ohio, from which Mrs. Eliza J. Thompson, daughter of Governor Trimble of Ohio, led the Crusaders in their successful effort in closing the saloons and barrooms of the town, has a Memorial Room in which are preserved many interesting souvenirs of the Crusade, and the Bible from which Mrs. Thompson read the Crusade Psalm (146th) in which it is prophesied that "the way of the wicked shall be turned upside down." Other prominent names connected with this historic anti-alcohol protest are: Mrs. M. G. Carpenter of Washington Courthouse, Ohio, who prepared an appeal much used in many States; Mother Stewart of Springfield, Ohio, who carried the Crusade fire to other lands; Mrs. Mattie McClellan Brown, Mrs. Mary A. Ingham, and Mrs. H. C. McCabe of Ohio; Mrs. Jennie Fowler Willing, Mrs. E. E. Marcy, and Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller of Illinois; Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace and Miss Aurette Hoyt of Indiana; Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer of Pennsylvania, first president of the National W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Mary C. Johnson and Miss Margaret Winslow of New York; Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and Mrs. Susan S. Gifford of Massachusetts.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE
UNION

During the "sacred fury" of the Crusade, women learned the strength of their organized foe. They discovered its political entrenchments, its legal and financial fortifications. They decided that to bring about the

triumph of National Prohibition, the crusading area must be greatly enlarged; the Crusade miracle, followed by a long campaign of education, agitation, organization, and legislation. Once convinced of this fact, the next logical step in the campaign of the women of the nation versus the liquor traffic was to call an organizing convention. This historic meeting convened November 18-20, 1874, in Cleveland, Ohio, a commonwealth that ever since has been known in W. C. T. U. annals as the Crusade State. The compelling urge of this convention was well stated by Mrs. Mattie McClellan Brown, one of its leaders, who said:

Woman is ordained to lead the vanguard of this great movement, until the American public is borne across the abysmal transition from the superstitious notion that "alcohol is food" to the scientific fact that alcohol is poison; from the pusillanimous concession that intemperance is a great evil to the responsible conviction that the liquor traffic is a crime.

With a divine command for its marching orders—"Make a chain, for the land is full of bloody crimes and the cities of violence"—the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union entered upon its great mission to make the world wider for women and more home-like for humanity. Christian women banded themselves together for "the protection of the home, for the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's Golden Rule in custom and in law." The spirit of their work is set forth in Miss Willard's famous resolution:

Resolved, That, recognizing the fact that our cause is, and will be combated by mighty, determined, and relentless forces, we will, trusting in Him who is the Prince of Peace, meet argument with argument, misjudgment with patience, denunciation with kindness, and all our difficulties and dangers with prayer.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In the peaceful antialcohol warfare of W. C. T. U. women, their first and greatest strategy was to secure legislation making the study and teaching of the laws of health, with special reference to the effects of stimulants and narcotics on the human body, obligatory throughout the entire system of public education. This fundamental work of the W. C. T. U. will receive detailed attention in another paper during this Congress or I would here pay tribute to the efforts of Frances E. Willard, Mary H. Hunt, Edith Smith Davis, and others prominently identified in promoting this vital factor in the victory of nation-wide Prohibition. In many States the W. C. T. U. has secured a law providing for the observance of Temperance Day in the public schools. In most of them it is designated as "Frances E. Willard Day." Thousands of Prohibition votes have been made and total-abstinence sentiment vastly increased through oratorical prize-medal contests, also essay contests, in which young people of schools and colleges have participated.

WINNING THE CHILDREN

Coincident with the teaching of the scientific facts concerning alcohol to twenty million children in the public schools, W. C. T. U. women everywhere rallied the twenty million children of the Sunday-schools. Largely through the efforts of the W. C. T. U. and the matchless appeals

of Frances E. Willard to Sunday-school leaders, the Quarterly Temperance Lesson was furnished in the International Lesson series used by many denominations.

The value of training children as active workers in the movement against alcohol always has been understood by women of the W. C. T. U. Our juvenile branch, the Loyal Temperance Legion, as well as its division for young people, has made deep and lasting sentiment for Prohibition and its enforcement. "Tremble, King Alcohol, we shall grow up," shouted the children, and in spirited fashion they sang, "We'll purify the ballot box, we'll consecrate the ballot box, we'll elevate the ballot box when we are twenty-one." In State and National Prohibition campaigns, as Young Campaigners for Prohibition, in patriotic regalia, with pennants flying and appealing, significant banners held aloft, the boys and girls prophesied the downfall of the trade that with its cruel heel dared "stifle down the beating of a child's heart." The cry of the children has been heeded by this great nation. Educated by the facts of science, by the precepts of the Bible, and by the joy of temperance service, the children have grown to manhood and womanhood and have helped vote out of existence the traffic in alcoholic beverages.

In its conflict against alcohol the W. C. T. U. has maintained National headquarters in Evanston, Illinois, and in Washington, D. C., and has issued millions of leaflets, posters, books, and pamphlets on all phases of the temperance reform. Besides the immense amount of organization supplies, issued by the National Headquarters and the superintendents of departments, its publishing house prints large quantities of campaign leaflets, posters, etc., for which there is a rapidly increasing demand. Each year it distributes from National Headquarters thousands of pages of free literature.

Literature is sent to lumbermen, railroad cabooses, ships, army posts, jails, penitentiaries, prisons, hospitals, schools, Junior League societies, Christian Endeavorers, ministers, missionaries, and the different countries that make up the World's W. C. T. U. The larger part of this is missionary work and is limited only by the lack of money. Its efficient weekly paper, *The Union Signal*, has been of high educational value in all State and National campaigns, and *The Young Crusader* has helped to make sentiment among the children.

NATIONAL ORGANIZERS, LECTURERS, AND EVANGELISTS

National organizers, National lecturers, and National evangelists numbering nearly one hundred are constantly in the field, besides those employed by the several States. Through its unique department work, classified under the general heads of preventive, educational, evangelistic, social and legal, and the department of organization, the W. C. T. U. during the forty-six years of its existence has done an incalculable amount of valuable service in the antialcohol movement.

MEDICAL TEMPERANCE

Its Medical Temperance department has been thoroughly scientific

and sagacious in its systematic campaign against the medicinal use of alcohol—one of the most subtle entrenchments of the alcohol trade. This department of W. C. T. U. work ranks high, educationally, in the struggle against alcohol, because it reaches the humblest home in the rural districts and in the congested city areas and tells new Americans of the alcohol contained in patent medicines and of their injurious effects as family remedies. Our leaders in this line of endeavor are working for the passage of laws against the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic patent medicines. Their crusade against alcohol in proprietary and patent medicines resulted in agitation for legislation requiring the publication of ingredients used, and awakened the church and secular press to the danger lurking in medicines.

One year eight thousand petitions were sent by the W. C. T. U. to the physicians of the United States, asking that their medical practise teaching, as well as their personal example, be upon the side of safety in regard to the use of alcohol. The sentiment aroused by this and similar agitation was doubtless an important factor in changing the medical viewpoint and thus eliminating whisky and brandy from the United States Pharmacopoeia. The majority of successful physicians are now condemning the use of alcoholic liquor, both as a beverage and as a medicine.

The National W. C. T. U. believes that since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment it is especially important to make widely known the official pronouncements against alcohol as a medicine of the leading American medical associations. Obviously the less demand there is for prescriptions from physicians for alcoholic liquors the less need there will be for their manufacture. At the present time one of the difficulties in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, which allows the manufacture of alcoholic liquors for medicinal purposes, is the opportunities it gives for unprincipled doctors and their so-called patients to break the law in order to obtain liquor under false pretenses. The W. C. T. U. is coöperating with the better class of physicians and with the health authorities.

WORK AMONG FOREIGN-SPEAKING PEOPLE

In the struggle against alcohol, "White Ribbon" women early learned the vital necessity and privilege of being neighbors to men and women from other lands, who too often were exploited by unprincipled liquor sympathizers. Through mass meetings, mothers' meetings, children's rallies, and by the use of literature in their own language, and classes for the study of English, the W. C. T. U. has come in close touch with the foreign-speaking people of America. The latter have been given, in attractive form, the latest scientific facts regarding the harmful effect of alcohol upon the human system and the benefits of total abstinence. Lessons in American citizenship have enabled them to see that Prohibition promotes prosperity.

CHILD WELFARE

A notable phase of our more intensive activities against alcoholism is the appropriation of a generous sum to the Child Welfare and Research

Station of the Iowa State University. In the investigation of the best methods for conserving and developing the normal child, we shall, ere long, have reliable scientific data to send out that will make this new and brave venture, as we hope, a world-wide blessing to children. We propose to open Mother-Children Centers in congested areas of large cities. One of these, already in successful operation, is located in an abandoned saloon in Detroit, Michigan.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

Educational efforts in the lines of Christian citizenship are effectively promoting antialcohol sentiment. Schoolhouses are used as social centers; classes for the study of community civics, citizenship, and morals are organized.

PUBLICITY

The great educative agency, the public press, has been utilized by the W. C. T. U. in its antialcohol fight. In addition to work done in this direction by its fifty-three State and 20,000 local organizations, the National W. C. T. U., through its Bureau of Publicity, supplies materials used by papers throughout the country. It has placed the best antialcohol reference books in hundreds of public libraries.

DO EVERYTHING

The physician, the lawyer, the preacher, the merchant, the hotel-keeper, the railroad manager, the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick-maker, as well as the distiller, the brewer, and the saloon-keeper, have heard of and from the women of America in their antialcohol warfare. Prize-winning antialcohol exhibits at great expositions testify to an important line of education successfully pursued by the W. C. T. U. Thousands of young mothers, instructed at mothers' meetings, pledge themselves to bring up their little ones in the principles of total abstinence and purity. Curfew ordinances, moral education, and rescue work in the towns and cities are among the ceaseless activities of the temperance women. For nearly fifty years it has been a great antiliquor, antivice and anti-everything-that-strikes-at-the-home organization. The National W. C. T. U. maintains headquarters every summer at Chautauqua, New York; and State unions have done much to educate the public in the principles of total abstinence and Prohibition by making W. C. T. U. institutes a feature of State assemblies. I wish it were possible to mention the great work carried forward by our forty distinct lines of endeavor, each doing its own peculiar work, but all converging toward one distinct end, honey-combing society with the fundamental truth that alcohol is a poison and that Prohibition brings social, civic, and economic prosperity.

HISTORIC PROCLAMATIONS

As early as 1875 the National W. C. T. U., through its president, Frances E. Willard, presented to the United States Congress a huge petition asking for the passage of a measure providing for national constitutional Prohibition. Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire cham-

pioned a bill for nation-wide Prohibition in 1876, the law to take effect in 1900. In 1884 Miss Willard sent out from her home office in Evanston, Illinois, addressed to each government of the world, a wonderful appeal for total abstinence, purity of life, and against the manufacture and sale of opium, with this clarion call for world Prohibition: "We come to you with the united voices of representative women of every land, beseeching you to raise the standard of the law to that of Christian morals, to strip away the safeguards and sanctions of the State from the drink traffic, and to protect our homes by the total Prohibition of this curse of civilization throughout all the territory over which your Government extends."

This "polyglot" petition, as it has been termed, is historically significant, for it is the first world-wide proclamation against the legalized liquor traffic. It marks an epoch in the annals of the temperance reform. It was endorsed by seven million people—Catholic and Protestant, Gentile and Jew, Hindu and Mohammedan.

In 1911, nearly thirty years later, when half the people of the United States were living in Prohibition territory, Lillian M. N. Stevens, then president of the National W. C. T. U. of the United States—a statesman with a mother heart—issued a proclamation for national constitutional Prohibition in the United States, with these closing paragraphs:

In the name of the World and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, we hereby make this proclamation for a great crusade to carry the vital truth to the people in all lands, and through them to place Prohibition in the organic law of the world; and to this high end we invoke the guidance and blessing of Almighty God and the coöperation of the men and women of all lands who love their fellow-men.

To America, the birthplace of the National and World's W. C. T. U., we hereby proclaim that within a decade, Prohibition shall be placed in the Constitution of the United States, and to this end, we call to active coöperation all temperance, religious, and philanthropic bodies, all patriotic, fraternal, and civic associations, and all Americans who love their country.

A spirit of heroic, holy self-sacrifice in the struggle against the liquor traffic animated every fiber of Mrs. Stevens' being. During her administration of nearly twenty years woman's attack upon the legal strongholds of the liquor traffic was greatly intensified.

When thirty-two States had voted for State-wide Prohibition and with national constitutional Prohibition assured, and coincident with the close of the World War (November 11, 1918), believing the time ripe for an intensive campaign for world Prohibition, I sent out from Evanston, on behalf of the National W. C. T. U., the following proclamation:

World democracy, world peace, world purity, and world patriotism, demand world Prohibition.

Representing the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, a Republic about to write Prohibition in its constitutional law, we hereby call upon the peoples of all faiths and of all organizations in the world's family of nations, to clasp hands with the World's W. C. T. U. and to help bring to full fruition its hope and its heroic service of thirty-five years on behalf of a sober world. Science declares against alcohol. Health, conservation, and business prosperity demand total abstinence and Prohibition. Together let us agitate, educate, organize, and legislate, until the exalted vision of the founder of the

World's W. C. T. U., Frances E. Willard, is realized; until the Gospel of the Golden Rule of Christ is worked out in the customs of society and in the laws of every land.

At the close of the devastating World War, in the white heat of the limitless, unparalleled opportunities of a new internationalism, depending upon the help of God and of all who love humanity, we hereby proclaim, by the year 1925, the triumph of world Prohibition.

Rest Cottage, Evanston, Illinois, U. S. A., November 11, 1918.

LEGISLATION

While Congress is in session a National W. C. T. U. representative remains in Washington to promote the passage of bills in which the organization is especially interested.

For twenty-two years Mrs. Margaret Dye Ellis held this important office, carrying out her commission with intense devotion and marked ability. Mrs. Lenna Lowe Yost is now most ably directing our legislative activities.

In 1901 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was an important factor in securing the passage of the Anti-Canteen Law which prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors in all army post exchanges, and was among the first agencies to ask for an appropriation by the United States Congress for amusement halls, libraries, and better food for the soldiers.

It helped to secure the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors in immigration stations, and in the appointment of women to meet incoming vessels at ports of entry to assist and protect women traveling alone.

It aided in the passage of the New Hebrides bill, prohibiting the sale of liquor, opium, or fire-arms by traders to the islanders of the Pacific not under a civilized government.

It was an important factor in securing the passage of the Webb-Kenyon law, prohibiting the shipment of liquor into dry States. This measure passed over President Taft's veto March 1, 1913, and was declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court in February, 1917.

Two memorials presented to the United States Congress by the National W. C. T. U. in 1904 were made Senate documents. The reply to the accusations of the Committee of Fifty in regard to the Scientific Temperance laws was "Senate Document 171," and 100,000 copies were distributed. A remonstrance against the union of Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory as one State unless the sale of intoxicants should be therein prohibited, was made "Senate Document 194." It was widely distributed through the mails and otherwise.

The W. C. T. U. does more petition work than any other organization in the world. As before mentioned, White Ribboners throughout the country were the means of securing for the Sheppard-Hobson and the Sheppard-Webb constitutional Prohibition measures some twelve million signatures.

The W. C. T. U. aided very materially also in the passage of the District of Columbia Prohibition bill; the ratification of the Alaska plebiscite; the Porto Rican Prohibition measure, and the Federal anti-

liquor advertising and "bone-dry" provisions of the postoffice appropriation bill, passed in the closing days of the Sixty-Fourth Congress.

WAR PROHIBITION

War Prohibition was enacted by the Sixty-Fifth Congress. During the campaign for this measure a memorial prepared and promoted by the National W. C. T. U. was addressed to the President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, signed and endorsed by six million women representing practically all the uplift organizations of women in the United States. President Wilson was addressed as follows:

TO THE HONORABLE WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States:

Believing that the women of the United States are loyally doing their utmost in our national crisis to carry out all Government plans for the conservation of food; and

Realizing that there is still an alarming waste of foodstuffs in the production of malt and vinous liquors;

We, in behalf of mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and sweethearts of enlisted men, appeal to you, our Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to prohibit the further waste of these foodstuffs in the production of malt and vinous liquors during the period of the war.

The document, engrossed on parchment in handsome book form, was presented to President Wilson with the following letter from the National W. C. T. U., the promoters of the conservation petition:

March 1, 1918.

MR. PRESIDENT:

We deeply appreciate the privilege of presenting to you a memorial representing six million women patriots of the United States.

We believe this is the first petition in the history of our country in which all leading organizations of women—civic, fraternal, social, patriotic, and religious as well as hundreds of notable women in the educational and official life of the Republic—have united. It comes to you, Mr. President, as the voice of the womanhood of America. It comes to you, our Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, at the time of an appalling crisis which peculiarly concerns the mothers of the nation.

Educated by the Government to believe that food will win the war, these women, whose magnificent war service and sacrifice everywhere are attested, plead for the maximum conservation of food materials for the duration of the war. They earnestly and respectfully ask that all food materials now used in the production of malt liquors be diverted to food supplies desperately needed by our Army and the Armies of the allies.

On behalf of these six million petitioners, Mr. President, we thank you for the steps in this direction already taken, and we beg your early and favorable consideration of the prayer of the Memorial we have the honor to place in your hands.

(Signed) ANNA A. GORDON,
President, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

THE W. C. T. U. SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN

The woman's movement against alcoholism, having passed through its first decade of organization, agitation, and education, entered one more circle of influence—that of government. The women saw that for every Christian man who had a voice in making and enforcing good laws

there were at least two Christian women who had no voice at all, and in 1882 the department of Franchise, as a weapon against the liquor traffic, was adopted. It is generally conceded that the W. C. T. U. has been more effective than any other one agency in overcoming prejudice and winning conservative women to a belief in the ballot as a powerful instrument against alcoholism, for the protection of the home, and the welfare of the nation. In Indiana the W. C. T. U. in the early days appealed to the legislature for a law that would protect the young from the ravages of the liquor traffic. This petition was signed by 20,000 influential women, including the wives and mothers of many of the substantial men of the State. The youngest member of the House, in a tirade against the bill, vehemently said: "I understand that this bill is backed by a petition of 20,000 women; but, gentlemen, the signatures of 20,000 women in this State mean no more to us than the signatures of 20,000 mice." The smallness of this masculine egotistical dictum so stirred one of Indiana's great women, Zerelda Wallace, that, to help gain Prohibition, she became a devoted woman suffragist.

This incident is typical of many that occurred and made the women ready for action along governmental lines. In campaigning for women's ballot, the National W. C. T. U. has been in heartiest cooperation with the National Suffrage Association and now joins with it in celebrating the new era of emancipation. Woman suffrage met in the legalized liquor traffic its greatest foe. It was a great triumph against alcoholism when, on August 28, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was proclaimed. It is the text of the original resolution presented to Congress in 1875 by Susan B. Anthony and reads:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

The Nineteenth Federal Amendment will be a tremendous aid in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. For this reason its ratification was bitterly opposed by the liquor forces.

PATRIOTIC SERVICE

During the European War no women were more patriotic or more at the front in deeds of week-day holiness than were those who wear the white ribbon. The National W. C. T. U., while closely cooperating with the Government plans for women's war service through the membership of its president on the Advisory Committee of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, carried out a special program of temperance effort. W. C. T. U. home centers and rest rooms near the camps furnished places where the touch of home and mother could be found. Not only during the war, but in the months of demobilization these centers proved a sheltering influence for thousands of lonely lads, and helped to keep them from unwholesome and dangerous areas. The State W. C. T. U. of Iowa maintained for a year a resident hospital mother at Fort Des Moines, and the National W. C. T. U. for two years made a similar contribution to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, Reconstruction

Hospital. W. C. T. U. ambulances at the front; stereomotorgraphs, with antialcohol slides in the training camps; comfort kits, each one furnished with homy comforts, a Testament, and a package of temperance literature, to the value of \$200,000, were supplied to the Army and Navy. Hundreds of French and Belgian orphans were supported by W. C. T. U. contributions. The amount of money expended by the organization in war work, not including Liberty Bonds, gifts to Red Cross and war budget, or the many unrecorded financial gifts, totals \$295,000.

THE FUTURE

The W. C. T. U. will continue its work for the protection of the home against every enemy that threatens its peace and happiness; with National Constitutional Prohibition of the liquor traffic secured, the organization will press its educational campaign for total abstinence from all intoxicating liquor and other narcotic poisons, for law enforcement and the election of officials who will fearlessly perform their duties according to their oath of office. The program will place also special emphasis upon Americanization, Child Welfare, Woman in Industry, Education and Information, and Health and Morality, with increased activity in every department included in our "Do Everything" policy.

In accord with the exalted vision of Frances E. Willard that "the mission of the white ribbon women is to organize the motherhood of the world for peace and purity and the protection and exaltation of its homes," the W. C. T. U. will continue to increase its membership and extend its influence in every land, to aid in obtaining Prohibition in other countries and in maintaining in all the world the high moral standards for which the organization has ever contended.

JUBILEE YEAR—1924

As an appropriate celebration of the Jubilee Year of the National W. C. T. U. which occurs in 1924, the organization has inaugurated a campaign for a million members and a million dollars. \$300,000 of the Jubilee Fund to be applied to aid W. C. T. U. plans for world Prohibition.

WORLD PROHIBITION

On board the steamship "Olympic," on which Miss Dean and I returned from a recent European survey made possible by the Jubilee Fund, were a thousand or more men, women, and children in the steerage. As we entered New York harbor they greeted with joy our nation's flag "With its red for love, its white for law, and its blue for the hope that our fathers saw of a larger liberty." Thoughts that could not be made articulate, and an intense love of our America the beautiful possessed my soul as we steamed toward the wonderful Statue of Liberty that embodies America's highest hopes. Although familiar with the womanly presence, I was impressed anew as I noted that the historic hostess of our Atlantic seaboard faces with her lighted torch—not the

home she loves, but the incoming tides of humanity. She is welcoming them, they believe, to happy homes, and to the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness guaranteed them by our Constitution, and especially by the Eighteenth Amendment. She is not only the Statue of Liberty, but, as her donor, the Republic of France, wisely named her, she is preeminently the Statute of Liberty Enlightening the World.

The Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution prohibiting the beverage liquor traffic is a Prohibition torch, radiant with the light of life and liberty. The women of America, newly enfranchised by the Nineteenth Amendment, sacredly will continue their anti-alcohol fight, and will hold aloft this shining Prohibition torch until it illumines the whole world.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, FATHER O'CALLAGHAN: Deeds speak louder than words. We are particularly delighted to-night because there has had to be a transfer, or a substitution of a speaker set down for to-morrow night, on account of engagements which he has to keep. He is one who has done great historic deeds for the cause of temperance. He startled the world by establishing a just law for the whole of the United States Navy, declaring that if the common sailor must be kept from whisky and be a sober man, the officers who have the lives of the sailors and the destiny of the ships in their keeping must be also put under the same regulation. Those who look to superficial and frivolous things rather than at the realities of life, and who take not the time to study, set up a hue and cry; but all the world and the whole Navy applaud the brave deed of its leader.

The Secretary of our Navy made a kingdom dry, though he is not an autocrat; by a stroke of his pen he established Prohibition in Guam.

I had the honor of introducing him some six years ago at a convention of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. I am glad that on this occasion of the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism I have the very great honor of presenting the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable Josephus Daniels.

ADDRESS

BY THE HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: There are a few dates in our recent history which will never be forgotten. The day of April 6, 1917, when the President of the United States, voicing the consecrated purpose of the American people, directed the mobilization of our people and the consecration of all that they had and all that they

were in the great war that should end autocracy, is a day ever memorable; and out of that memorable speech, and the memorable act that followed it, the American people summoned to arms more than four and one half millions of the finest flower of our young manhood. Up to that hour I dare say few of us had properly appraised and appreciated the place that youth occupied in the world. We had looked to older statesmen, to men of experience, to men of large vision, to guide and direct and inspire our national policies. But suddenly, as if it were a new thing, we found that however wise our older statesmen were, however eloquent our advocates of a holy cause, in the supreme hour of the world's need, youth was the very rock on which our nation and the liberties of the world rested. And I have never since passed on the street boys in uniform, or young men out of uniform, who were potential soldiers, without having the feeling toward them which Mr. Garfield said he always had toward youth. He said: "I rarely stop to speak to a man on the street, except in a hurry in passing, but I always speak to a boy or a young man; because I know what a man is, but a youth has all the unfolding possibilities of greatness." So the 6th was a memorable day.

But there is another day that followed shortly in our history, a day we have not marked on our calendars, which had a vital significance, and was closely related to this April 6th. It was the eighteenth day of May of that same year; and that eighteenth day of May—by the way, Bishop, it was my birthday—that eighteenth day of May, 1917, I think the American people did what no nation in the world ever did before, certainly what our nation never dreamed of doing before; they said by statute: "We have called from their homes the young men of America to fight in a holy crusade; we know they will respond, but we know there never has been a war in history when more men did not die from disease than from bullets." The mothers who gave their sons feared the bullets of the enemy less than they feared the danger of drink and immoral diseases. And so this Congress passed an act on the eighteenth day of May, authorizing the President to establish a zone system in America. We had had zone systems of postage, and zone systems for various other things, but on that date in our history it was the first time we had ever established a moral zone. The President was authorized to establish a zone around every school, around every cantonment, around every training station, around every place in which young men were gathered to be trained for war in Navy or Army. And soon the proclamation was issued, and before we had been able to send many thousand men across the seas, this zone had prohibited

within ten miles of any training station, Navy or Army, in America, the introduction of liquor or women of loose character.

We sent four and one half million of men into our camps, and from them more than two million across the sea. I had close touch with that transportation problem, and I knew then, as we all realized, the thing that gave pause to mothers in America was not that their sons might die on the field of battle—that was the hazard of war, and they were conscious that their boys though not trained in long military usage, had the initiative and the courage to meet any enemy on any field, and give a good account of themselves—but what tugged at their heart-strings, what made the pall upon a million homes in America, was lest these boys should be submarined while crossing the ocean. And when the first ship went abroad there were prayers in all these homes that these lads might escape this modern death, which was, of all deaths, the most awful for a soldier, and might land safely on the other side; and then, when they had landed, that they might not be submarined by the evils of intemperance and looseness. That was the prayer, that was the feeling; because we knew that if these young men of ours lived straight and walked straight, they'd shoot straight!

The war taught that if a man would shoot straight he must live straight, and he must think straight; and all the influences of our Government, of our associations, were united to throw around these youths environments that were wholesome, recreations that were harmless, amusements that would take them away from the grosser things. And the result was, Ladies and Gentlemen, that we sent a clean army to France, and it came back cleaner and purer than any army we ever had in the history of our Government.

We have learned we must vaccinate against evil, and we have learned also there are no walls or dikes of protection of people in one country against the people of another. There was a great organization some years ago in America that had as its motto "The injury of one is the concern of all." May we not all of us, since this new day has come, when narrow political lines are done with forever, and when all the world is coming into a day of unity, closeness of effort, mutual helpfulness, may we not say of the evils against which we fight—"The injury of one is the concern of all?"

Men of America are concerned for the welfare of men in Africa, and men in Asia, and men in Europe. And so this international body, powerless to legislate for any government, still has about it the power to educate, the power to inspire, and it has the purpose to say that what is evil to ignorant peoples and child races is evil to the educated people of the most advanced races. In the Spanish-American War we had two hundred and fifty-three thousand soldiers. We lost by death from

typhoid fever alone more than fifteen hundred, and twenty-five thousand were incapacitated by that dread disease. The study of preventive medicine and its application has almost done away with typhoid, once the greatest foe of the soldier. In this war we had an average of three and a quarter million men under arms, and we lost one hundred and fifty men from typhoid fever! Think of it! the progress we had made in preventive medicine! If we can do that in a disease so long fatal, we can surely make the loss of man-power in war due to alcoholism and immoral diseases almost as negligible as we have made the typhoid scourge.

We never heard of influenza until a few years ago. We heard of the Spanish influenza. People in Indiana or Texas supposed that they were far removed from Spain, and that the disease that had devastated parts of that country could not touch them; and yet the germs of disease float on the winds of every air, and soon the part of America furthest removed from the ocean had been contaminated by this new disease, and many of the people died before the doctors learned how to prevent its ravages. The disease which handicapped man by the use of alcohol was sharply called to our attention in the time of war, and because we must have strong young men to fight our battles, Congress rose to the need of protection; and the loss of man-power at the front by liquor and immoral diseases, the twin evils that curse the world, was reduced more than fivefold from what it was before the war.

Ladies and Gentlemen, if we preserved our man-power for war, shall we neglect it in peace? The battles of peace are to be fought as well as the battles of war. Messini was certainly right when he said "the morrow of victory is more dangerous than the eve." And the shell-shocked condition of the world, the gassed condition of many men, calls even for more heroic remedy, for a more united organization for the suppression of that which steals a man's brain and will and power, in these peace times even more than in war, because then men were lifted up to high consecration, whereas after the war the danger is that we shall lapse into indifference, and fall back from the elevation to which we ascended in days of peril.

Your presiding officer has done me the honor to speak of a small order that I signed one afternoon, which made the oceans in all the world, so far as Americans were concerned, dry. Somebody said that Mr. Roosevelt discovered the "River of Doubt," and that the Secretary of the Navy discovered that the Navy ought to run along on water!

During the war, when we were beginning our first Liberty Loan campaign, the Secretary of the Treasury paid a great tribute to the Navy, whose men, in proportion to their numbers, had subscribed more liberally for bonds than any other men in any other body in the country; and he issued the call for Americans to come forward, with the words, "Match the Navy!" And so, when the Navy, which is the first arm of defense, and the finest fighting body, Sir, in all the world, showed that

its efficiency had not been injured for the lack of stimulants, but that its hand was steady and its brain clear, why, the people of America said, "Let's match the Navy!" And so we have another great day in America—July 1, 1919—when General Order Number Ninety-nine in the Navy was made general orders for every part of the world that Uncle Sam's flag floats over.

It's very interesting to see the steady rise of the sentiment which is coming in the world, that men do not need alcohol. In 1800—I have forgotten the date, but in Andrew Jackson's administration, "Old Hickory"—there was a Secretary of the Navy who came from the State of North Carolina, and he was long enough in office to advocate and seek to obtain a law ending the regular rationing of grog served to men in the Navy. But it took until 1862, another great war, for people to see the power of young manhood, and to protest it against strong temptations; and then Congress passed a law forbidding the rationing of grog in the Navy.

And then Secretary John D. Long issued an order that the canteen—it was not called "the canteen," but a naval name—should not exist on a ship in the Navy. And then, in 1914, about the time the war broke out, another order was issued in the Navy which forbade intoxicants on any ship or shore station in the Navy. And a few weeks ago, the distinguished Surgeon-General of the Navy, a physician and surgeon who not only cares for the health of men, but has the wisdom to see what is the best remedy for medical men, issued an order that no more were intoxicants to be prescribed on any of the ships of the Navy.

So, Mr. Chairman, I say, "Match the Navy!" You would find it impossible to find officers or men on any ship in the American Navy to-day who would go back to the old conditions. And you will find it equally true that after the Eighteenth Amendment was made a part of our organic law, embodied in the Constitution, an instrument we all revere, an instrument born in the throes of liberty, improved to meet conditions of modern life—you will find that this Eighteenth Amendment will last as long as the preamble or any other part of this great contribution to the laws of our nation!

I wish to say to our friends from abroad who are here, who in many ways have led in this great cause, not only is the amendment embodied there sustained, but no man living will ever see a Congress that will lessen the enforcement of that law! The saloon is as dead as slavery! It is slavery, slavery worse than slavery of the body, because its effect is to destroy both the body and soul.

In this national gathering, where we have representatives from all parts of the world, we should feel as the great Apostle felt when he came near Rome and reached Appii Forum—we should thank God and take courage. That's a good text for the Bishop to preach upon when he follows me.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, FATHER O'CALLAGHAN: It has been suggested that I read here a letter which is supplementary to a cablegram received by the International Congress Against Alcoholism.

Archevêché de Malines,
Le 30 Août, 1920.

DEAR FATHER O'CALLAGHAN:

I duly received your kind letter of August 16th and your cable of a fortnight ago.

In the hope of being perhaps able to accept the pressing invitation of your committee I delayed answering.

Then when I felt that, do what I will, it would be impossible for me to leave my diocese at the present time, I, in agreement with Baron Ruijs de Beerenbrouck appointed Dr. Ariens, the well-known Dutch antialcoholist, in my place; but he, also, was unable to make the journey.

I have now named Father Vullings, the warmest champion of the cause here in Belgium, as my delegate and representative at your Congress.

Please express to your Committee my deep regret at not having been able to be with you on this occasion and to share your labors in the struggle against the evils of alcoholism.

Kindly also be my spokesman to assure them of my warm thanks for their courteous offer of receiving me as their guest.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) DESIDERATUS CARD. MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Very Rev. P. J. O'Callaghan, C. S. P.,
Treasurer, Fifteenth International Congress
Against Alcoholism, Washington.

This is one more to add to the long list of distinguished bishops of the Catholic Church that have spoken and labored for the cause of temperance.

I am sure that you are familiar with the great names of Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Hayes, and Archbishop Spalding. They have all passed to their reward; but, linking to their time, there is one amongst us than whom none has been more devoted, than whom none has been more tireless in every sort of service, none more intimately identified, through a long life, with the Total Abstinence Union of America, who has consented to speak tonight for the position of the Catholic Church, and the part it has played in the great cause of temperance—the Rt. Rev. Regis Canevin, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA IN THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

(a) THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY THE RIGHT REV. REGIS CANEVIN

BISHOP OF PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I have been asked to confine my remarks to the efforts of the Catholic Church in the United States against alcoholism. It is very gratifying to feel the religious atmosphere that surrounds this meeting. It reminds us of the admonition of

the great father of this republic—"Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion."

The whole civilization and order of society rests upon religion, and upon the basis and principles of the Christian religion our forefathers built the Commonwealth of these United States. Without religion there is no basis of authority above the human will, and without authority higher than the will of man there is no law and no morality. When the lights and laws of religion grow dim or are lost, no form of civil society can be maintained. Natural society, and civilization, apart from Divine revelation, must depend upon natural religion; Christian society and Christian civilization must spring from and depend upon the truths and laws of Christianity.

As in the commonwealth, authority, law, and morality depend upon religion, so in the individual, virtue, obedience, morals, and the manner and use of life are decided by man's relations with God, his Creator, Lawgiver, and Judge.

The Catholic Church has preached the doctrine of temperance as a natural virtue, and to natural virtue are added religious motives and supernatural grace that have raised the practise of total abstinence from intoxicating beverages to the heights of Christian asceticism; by which the passions are restrained and the body is brought into subjection to the soul, that man may more closely imitate Christ in His atoning sufferings.

The Catholic Church does not condemn alcohol as a thing evil *in se*; that is, the Church does not regard alcohol as intrinsically evil. She discriminates between the use which is lawful and the abuse which is condemned. Alcohol is not in itself an evil thing; alcoholism is men's abuse of alcohol and is evil. The terrible evils caused by alcoholic beverages have inclined some reformers to condemn any use of them. The Catholic Church has endeavored to prevent, or to cure, the evils of alcoholism rather by persuasion and voluntary abstinence than by wholesale condemnation.

No movement can succeed in preserving virtue, suppressing vice, reforming society, and leading men by noble ideals to better management of soul and body, unless the truth and grace of religion guide and sanctify the minds and actions of those who lead and those who follow. Though deeply concerned for the physical and social well-being of mankind, the Church is concerned chiefly with the moral consequences of alcoholism. It injures men in body and soul; it degrades him in the order of nature as well as in the order of grace. Even the animal powers sink under alcoholism. It clouds and debases the mind, brutifies the appetites, stimulates the lower passions, and is the source of the foulest sins that enslave the will and deaden the moral sense of men and women.

By her discipline of self-denial and mortification, the Church has been an advocate of all reasonable movements against alcoholism and intemperance in every form; but in a more definite way, she has

approved and encouraged abstinence from intoxicating liquors, and various organizations have been established to combat alcoholism and increase total abstinence as the surest remedial measure and preventive of the social and moral evils of intemperance. Many bishops and priests and thousands of the Catholic laity have been leaders in the antialcohol and temperance movements in this country. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the Church in the United States has taken part in the battle against alcoholism and drunkenness. No nation was in greater need of reform. As a nation we have been, and still are, strong drinkers of intoxicants. We have had to strive against traditions of intemperance inherited from European ancestors. Neither legislative enactments, pastorals of bishops, nor decrees of synods were sufficient to place us first in sobriety among the nations of the world.

Catholic bishops in the first half of the nineteenth century were among the leading advocates of total abstinence as a remedy for the plague of intemperance. We have records of men like Bishop Joseph Rosati in the West, and Bishop Francis P. Kendrick in Pennsylvania, in the twenties and thirties, Bishop Loras of Dubuque and Bishop Cretin of St. Paul in the forties and fifties, pleading the cause of total abstinence in courthouses, public halls, as well as in churches; and several large Catholic total-abstinence societies were organized before the temperance crusade of Father Mathew roused the enthusiasm of the American people, who hailed him as a benefactor of mankind. He landed on our shores in 1849, spent two years and a half in this country, visited twenty-five States, and administered the pledge of total abstinence to more than 500,000 persons.

Many societies were organized throughout the country after the visit of Father Mathew, but it was not until 1872 that a national union, The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, was organized at a convention held in the city of Baltimore. The Union is composed of societies of men, women, boys and girls. It has met in annual convention since 1872, and is now convened at the Catholic University during these days of this International Congress Against Alcoholism. Bishops, priests, and the laity have recognized the Catholic Total Abstinence Union as the principal Catholic organization combating the forces of intemperance and alcoholism in the United States. Its subordinate Unions and allied societies exist in all parts of the country, and thousands of men, women, and children are on the rolls of total abstinence. In addition to these there are thousands of Catholics pledged to total abstinence who are not members of any society.

The Church inculcates prayer as well as work in a good cause. Pious associations such as the Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst, the League of the Cross, St. Veronica's League, the Apostleship of Prayer, and other societies, have done much by their prayers to help in the conflict.

One of the principal societies of the Total Abstinence Union is the Priests' Total Abstinence League, made up of priests who are total

abstainers and coöperators in the aim and work of the temperance cause. The number of priests who are total abstainers has been greatly increased during the past thirty years, owing in a great measure to the Apostolate of total abstainers established in many seminaries by the late Father Anthony S. Siebenfoercher, who, as long as God gave him strength, visited seminaries and encouraged seminarians to pledge themselves for life to the self-denial of abstinence from alcoholic beverages and to the promotion of temperance among the people. His work lives after him and bears its blessings to mankind.

The Union has had among its leaders men like Archbishops John Ireland, John J. Keane, Patrick J. Ryan, John Lancaster Spalding, and many others, whom hundreds of priests and thousands of laymen followed in the crusade against the evils of intemperance and the drinking customs of American society. The Church stands for temperance, and has approved total abstinence as the safer course for young and old. Bishops yearly administer the pledge of total abstinence to thousands when giving confirmation in parish churches, and boys and girls are enrolled by pastors in the ranks of total abstainers at the time of their first communion.

All Catholics have not been total abstainers, but all Catholics by their religion as well as by their citizenship, are bound to do all in their power to suppress intemperance and to defend society against the perils of alcoholism. Every official declaration of the Church on the temperance question has been an exhortation to Catholics to do all in their power by word and example to suppress alcoholism.

In 1879 the Holy See addressed a letter of commendation to the members of the Total Abstinence Union for their noble determination "to oppose and uproot the baneful vice of drunkenness and to keep far from yourselves and those united with you all incentive to it, for, in the words of the wise man, "It goeth in pleasantly, but in the end it will bite like a snake, and will spread abroad poison like a basilisk."

In 1885 the Third Plenary Council of the Hierarchy of the United States declared:

There can be no manner of doubt that the abuse of intoxicating drinks is to be reckoned among the most deplorable evils of this country. This excess is an unceasing stimulant to vice and a fruitful source of misery; vast numbers of men and entire families are plunged into hopeless ruin, and multitudes of souls are by it dragged headlong into eternal perdition. Now because the ravages of this vice extend not a little among Catholics, non-Catholics are much scandalized and a great obstacle is set up against the spread of the true religion. Hence it behooves all Christians to be filled with zeal against this vice and for the love of God and of country to endeavor to root out this pestilential evil. (No. 260.)

It is from the priests of the Church that we especially hope for assistance in this work: for upon them has God imposed the duty of imparting the Word of Life, and of propagating sound morality among the people. Let them never cease to cry out boldly against drunkenness and whatsoever leads to it; and let this be done more especially during such seasons of devotion as Retreats and Missions. Let them bear in mind the teaching of the Apostle and earnestly admonish their people that "drunkards shall not possess the kingdom of God."

(I Cor. vi. 10.) Those of their flocks who presumptuously deem themselves above the danger of temptation should be warned that "he that loveth the danger shall perish in it." (Ecclus. iii. 27.) And since the moving force of instruction should be strengthened by the attractive power of good example, the clergy themselves should in this matter be patterns to their flocks, exhibiting in their conduct, living models of the virtue of temperance. (No. 261.)

On July 10, 1906, Pope Pius X sent the following message which for brevity sake, we quote in part:

BRIEF OF PIUS X, A. D. 1906

To our Venerable Brother, Francis Regis, Bishop of Pittsburgh, President of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America:

Venerable Brother: Health and apostolic benediction. We learn with pleasure that the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America is about to hold a convention in the city of Providence, for the most *praiseworthy purpose* of condemning *openly* the public and destructive evil of the excessive use of intoxicating liquors, and of *influencing and encouraging* the members of the Union to resist and *suppress it in private life*. Following the example of our predecessors, and especially the latest among them, to whom there seemed to be *no greater enemy of the teachings and commands of Christ than the abuse of strong drink, we heartily approve the work of the Union*, and congratulate all in this commendable assemblage, *because they are really our associates and helpers in persuading men to practice one of the principal Christian virtues—temperance*.

In the struggle to suppress drunkenness and inculcate temperance the Catholic Church has had to deplore not only the weakness and fall of many of her own members, but most of all the opposition or indifference of persons such as are described by Cardinal Manning in his article on the national vice of England:

They are too far removed from the life of the people to be conscious of the immensity of the evils which exist below their own level in life; or they are directly interested as capitalists, or as possessors of house property; or they are prejudiced by the imprudence and exaggeration of certain persons, and will neither see nor listen; or they are too delicate to touch so vulgar a subject; or they are refined free livers themselves; or they are thoughtless of the wreck of souls; or though never intoxicated they are sometimes not sober; or they belong to the *pessimum genus otiosorum* of idlers, triflers, and jokers, who, if they are ever serious, lament the evils of intemperance, and then mischievously obstruct the labors of more earnest men who are striving to save men, women, and children from the havoc of drink.

The international movement of Catholics against alcoholism received in 1914 through Cardinal Merry del Val, this hearty commendation of the Visible Head of the Catholic Church:

The Sovereign Pontiff congratulates you on the success of the splendid Crusade carried on by you throughout the world, based on the principles of the Gospel and guided by the authority of the hierarchy. He prays God to fructify the zeal you are displaying against the terrible scourge, which is the enemy of men's bodies and souls and which brings in its train so many miseries, physical and moral. . . . The Popes in these latter times have not failed to call attention to the deadly evil you are combating and have proclaimed the necessity of prompt and efficacious remedies. Provincial Councils, bishops in all parts of the world, have raised the cry of alarm and have roused men's consciences. Following them, men of faith, of science, of action have by their words and their example produced a most salutary movement in Catholic temperance organizations. . . . His Holiness earnestly expresses the desire that the clergy everywhere encour-

age this work of social re-education and preservation, and that they put themselves by their example in the very van of the struggle against an evil which, especially in some countries, is sowing so much shame among the faithful.

(Signed) R. CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL.

The mind of the Catholic Church against alcoholism and the means recommended to suppress alcoholism and all the evils of intemperance are clearly set forth in the words of the following document which Leo XIII sent in 1887 to Archbishop Ireland:

BRIEF OF LEO XIII., A. D. 1887

To Our Venerable Brother, John Ireland, Bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Venerable Brother: Health and apostolic benediction. The admirable works of piety and charity by which our faithful children in the United States labor to promote not only their own temporal and eternal welfare, but also that of their fellow-citizens, and which you have recently related to us, give to us exceeding great consolation. And, above all, we have rejoiced to learn with what energy and zeal, by means of various excellent associations, *and especially through the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, you combat the destructive vice of intemperance. For it is well known to us how ruinous, how deplorable is the injury, both to faith and to morals, that is to be feared from intemperance in drink.* Nor can we sufficiently praise the prelates of the United States, who recently, in the Plenary Council of Baltimore, with weightiest words condemned this abuse, declaring it to be a *perpetual incentive to sin and a fruitful root of all evils, plunging the families of the intemperate into direct ruin and dragging numberless souls down to everlasting perdition; declaring, moreover,* that the faithful who yield to this vice of intemperance become thereby *a scandal to non-Catholics and a great hindrance to the propagation of the true religion.*

Hence, we esteem worthy of all commendation the noble resolve of your pious associations, by which they pledge themselves to abstain totally from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is the proper and the truly efficacious remedy for this very great evil; and that so much the more strongly will all be induced to put this bridle upon appetite, by how much the greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example. But the greatest of all in this matter should be the zeal of the priests, who as they are called to instruct the people in the word of life and to mould them to Christian morality, should also, and above all, walk before them in the practice of virtue. Let pastors, therefore, do their best to drive the plague of intemperance from the fold of Christ, by assiduous preaching and exhortation, and to shine before all as models of abstinence, that so the many calamities with which this vice threatens both Church and State may, by their strenuous endeavors, be averted.

And we most earnestly beseech Almighty God that, in this important matter, He may graciously favor your desires, direct your counsels, and assist your endeavors; and as a pledge of the Divine protection and a testimony of our paternal affection we most lovingly bestow upon you, venerable brother, and upon all your associates in this holy league the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, this twenty-seventh day of March, in the year 1887, the tenth year of our Pontificate.

(Signed) LEO XIII, POPE.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, FATHER O'CALLAGHAN: Bishop Anderson, of Cincinnati, has been named as the spokesman for the Protestant Churches of America, to tell of the great work that they have done in behalf of temperance and Prohibition. I have the honor to introduce Bishop Anderson.

THE CHURCHES OF AMERICA IN THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

(b) PROTESTANT CHURCHES

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM F. ANDERSON
OF CINCINNATI

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have heard somewhere of a thrifty farmer who had two sons, whom he was very anxious to send to college. He was getting to be an old man himself, and the farm had to be taken care of. How should it be done? He struck upon the expedient of sending John to college one year, then the year following John would stay at home, and George would go. John went for his first year, had a very happy and prosperous time, and formed the acquaintance of a very charming young lady, who promised, before he went back home, to share with him the joys and sorrows of his life. He told her at the last meeting about the arrangements of the father, and said to her that he would not be back the year following, but that his brother George would be there, and he would be very glad if she would make it pleasant for his brother. George went and began the term, got his schedule happily arranged, set aside an evening to go out and call upon his brother's fiancée. He rang the door-bell, and in a moment a vision of loveliness stood before him. It was in the evening twilight hour. The two boys looked strangely like each other. In a moment the door opened, and he received her caresses. She said to him, "Why, John, it is so fine that you have come back to college again this year. I thought you were not coming. Isn't this perfectly splendid?" George took a moment to recover himself, and said, "Well, I am not John, I am George. But if this is where John left off, it's where I would like to begin!"

The Secretary of the Navy gave me his text. I want to begin where the Secretary and the good Bishop left off. "The Spirit of Temperance is filling the earth, and Uncle Sam is leading the International Reform!"

Prohibition with its reenforcement from every angle and viewpoint of life, from science, from sanitation, from economics, from experience, from law and order, from patriotism, and from religion—the Bishop well says that the inspiration, the great inspiration of the reform, is in the element of religion. The Protestant churches have so treated it, and unquestionably that which has given great impetus to it among all the people of the Protestant following is the fact that the Protestant churches have treated the temperance reform as a religious crusade. The Protestant churches seek to build their procedure upon the Christian revelation. At the very center of this revelation, in its manward side, stands man. The procedure of the Protestant churches recognizes man in his three-fold nature—physical, intellectual, spiritual. It goes forth in its crusade against intemperance with that sublime doctrine of the Christian revelation that the human body is the Temple of God, and that if a man defile the temple in which his spirit lives, he defiles thereby the Temple of God.

It recognizes the importance of the cultivation of the intellect in all true progress, and in all human welfare; recognizes the fact that, in the final analysis, there is nothing great in the world but man, and nothing great in man but mind, considered in itself, considering man in his entire spiritual being, in contrast with his material being. But it also recognizes the fact that trained intellect must be crystallized, that the imperial qualities of the soul are the moral qualities, and that the mind, which is cultivated, must be brought into subjection to the Divine ideal of a creator, and the Divine law of altruism.

Now I have not time to philosophize. I may say that the crusade of temperance is occupying today a greater place in the procedure of all the Protestant churches than ever before, and that the vital men, the progressive men, the dominant men, the vital women, and the progressive women, and the dominant women, are all hospitable towards the temperance reform.

There may have been many agencies at work. The Protestant churches, I may say, with perfect truthfulness, have been hospitable toward them all. Take, for example, if you please, the part that woman has played in temperance reform and legislation. If you have read that very interesting little volume by one of our fellow Americans, Mr. William Allen White, you recall that in discussing the consequences of the war, he makes this statement, that, as the result of this war, motherhood will be linked up to the world problems. Then it will be worth all that it has cost. Well, motherhood has been linked up to this great reform. Motherhood and sisterhood are linked to this reform, to-day as never before, thanks to the Nineteenth Amendment.

And we expect woman to give as good account of herself as a citizen as she has done through all the years as a religious reformer.

I was reading the other day the comments of a certain writer who seemed to have his reservations about the wisdom of this procedure. He said he was not at all afraid of what woman would do to politics, but he was very much concerned about what politics would do to woman. I have no concern except the highest congratulation as to what woman will do for politics, and also as to what politics will do for woman. As woman will lift politics to a high standard of morality, so also, I believe, politics, with the investiture of the full right of citizenship, will elevate woman to a higher standard of efficiency.

It was a great day for the cause of temperance when the churches of the Protestant communions determined officially to function in this reform through the Anti-Saloon League, which practically effected the mobilization of the Protestant forces of this country. That was the day of very great advance, and a time of real significant progress. So is it that the Protestant churches are going forward, basing their efforts upon a grand crusade for the bringing in of the time when the curse of strong drink shall have been done away with, and when men shall live by reason and by a high standard of morality.

I was greatly delighted, as you all were, as evidenced by your applause, a moment ago, to hear the Secretary of the Navy say that the Eighteenth Amendment would abide. I am glad to hear that utterance from one in his official position, and I am heartily glad for his sympathy and constant coöperation in that direction. Nevertheless, I think that those of us who are interested in this reform must prepare for a battle in the days that are near at hand. The liquor traffic dies hard, but it has got to die.

I wish to pay my respects to those who are engaged in one way or another in trying to defeat the Eighteenth Amendment. My general charge is that they are the enemies of every sacred interest in our national life, and in world life. My specifications are as follows: They are the enemies of the home, who would seek to defeat the Eighteenth Amendment, or in any way to cheat the American people out of the practical results of this amendment. They are the enemies, in the first place, of the home. It is well known that through all these years the liquor traffic has fattened on the poverty and suffering of women and children. Therefore, they put themselves in the attitude of being inhuman. They are the enemies likewise of the public school. It would be interesting if we could know how many boys and girls have been cheated out of their educational opportunities because of the ravages of drunkenness in their homes. It would be very interesting to know how much science has lost, how much statesmanship has lost, how much scholarship has lost, how much good citizenship has lost, how much religion has lost, how much all the great fundamental ideals have lost because the liquor traffic has defeated the young people of this country from realizing their educational opportunity. Therefore, we must write down these opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment as unprogressive, seeking to defeat the progress of our great country. There are the enemies of the church, of every branch of the church, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. You could call the priests and pastors from the various denominations, but I have their testimony as to how they have been trying, through the years, in almost every field, to undo the work of the American saloon. Very much of the time and strength and energy of all the churches has been devoted to the undoing of the evil that has been wrought by the liquor traffic. Therefore, we must write down these opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment as un-Christian.

Can they put themselves in the attitude of being un-patriotic? It is a rather remarkable thing that among the leaders, the political leaders, of this country at the present moment, there should be any debating as to what should be done with the Eighteenth Amendment. The American people have spoken. They have tried out the liquor traffic through all these years, and they are heartily weary of it, and yet there are those who would be called statesmen who shy at the question of the temperance reform. Any man in a position of leadership who takes that attitude ought not to be called a statesman, but a petty politician. The simple fact is that this reform affords at this moment the finest opportunity for

constructive statesmanship of any question, internal to the life of the American people at the present moment.

I am sorry that my train leaves in a few minutes, and that I must cut short my message. I want to bring before you in the closing moments a picture which I shall carry away with me from this place. I sat last night facing our classic and glorious Capitol Building. I saw the Spirit of Temperance welcome the representatives of all the foreign nations as they bore the insignia of their several countries. I saw her, the Spirit of Temperance, introduce these representatives from foreign countries to Columbia, who received them graciously, and grouped them with the several departments of state. What an inspiration it was! And as I stood there and looked upon that picture, and lifted my eyes heavenward, and saw the glorious moon, shining out of the cloudless sky, it symbolized to me the smile of the God of all the nations upon the procedure that was symbolizing a new period in American history and in world life. Yes, the spirit of temperance is filling the earth, and Uncle Sam is leading in the international reform. May the blessing of the good God rest upon our nation at this time, and lead us onward and upward to those higher ideals which are fundamental to the progress of human welfare, that at last the time may come when all men's good shall be each man's rule, and universal peace lie like a shaft of light, across the land, and like a lane of beams athwart the sea, through all the circle of the golden year. It is a long step towards the realization of that divine ideal of human brotherhood which has been given to the world by its great world-empire builder, Jesus Christ, for the cross and crowning of all good lives. "Make way for brotherhood, for it will bring again to earth her long-lost poesy and mirth; will send new light on every face, a kingly power upon the race. It will do good that men are slaves and travel to the dust of graves. Come clear the way, then clear the way, blind creeds and kings have had their day. Break the dead branches from the path, our hope is in the aftermath; our hope is in heroic men, now left to build the world again. To this event the ages ran; make way for brotherhood; make way for man."

This enemy of human brotherhood, thank God! has come to the end of its disgraceful career, and we are to have a dry nation, and in due time a dry world.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, FATHER O'CALLAGHAN: On the program it is announced that Rabbi Stephen Wise will speak for Judaism, but when he made this engagement he did not realize that this was a great holiday of Judaism, and he has asked to be allowed to speak to-morrow night.

The meeting then adjourned.

MORNING SESSION

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 23, 1920

The session was convened, with the Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, Chairman of the Congress, presiding.

THE REV. EARL D. WILFLEY, of the Federal Council of Churches of Washington, offered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: Agreeable to the announcement yesterday, we hope to hear this morning from the official representatives of such governments as were not represented in the responses on Tuesday morning. We have done our best to ascertain who they are, and whether they are present or not, and we have been receiving information daily and almost hourly from the State Department, some of it necessarily delayed, so that we may not have the complete list up to the present moment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Hon. Stephen Panaretoff, Minister from Bulgaria.

ADDRESS

BY THE HON. STEPHEN PANARETOFF
MINISTER FROM BULGARIA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I certainly did not expect to be called upon to make an address this morning. Moreover, the authorization whereby I was authorized to represent officially Bulgaria at the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism came so late that I have not been able to secure the data which might have been necessary for me to make an address; and that was the reason why I missed the opening sessions of the Congress. I have no program, I did not know the time or the place where the Congress was to meet, and I only got the program on Monday about noon, which was already too late for me to come.

I am very glad to be present at this Congress. I think I may say, without any desire to claim any privilege about it, that I am the first Bulgarian officially to represent his country in a Congress of this kind.

Alcoholism in Bulgaria is not to be understood in the same sense in which it is understood in countries of Europe or here in America. In Bulgaria, for example, almost every man of the middle class has his own vineyard out of which he makes his own wine for home consumption. Whisky, brandy, and gin are drinks altogether unknown in Bulgaria. Beer is made and used, and I am sorry to say that we have also our drinking-saloons like any other country. But within the last ten or twelve years a movement has been started in Bulgaria which has the

sympathy and support of the Bulgarian Government, for Prohibition. And it gives me added pleasure to say that the initiative for this movement in Bulgaria, which we hope will give good results in due season, was started by an American missionary by the name of Dr. Clark, a man who has spent almost all his life in Bulgaria, who speaks the language of the country, who is honored and beloved by the people, and who, in their love for him, generally call him "Grandpa Clark." In the few instances where Prohibition has been put to the vote of the people, a kind of local option, I am glad to say that invariably the vote has been in favor of Prohibition.

And I am also glad to say that even in villages where one would suppose the women are ignorant and uneducated as a rule, the women have voted invariably for Prohibition.

I cannot tell you or give you any statistics about the use of wine or any other liquors in Bulgaria. I am sorry to say I have not got them at my disposal. I am not also able to say how many temperance societies have been started. If I remember right I have read some time ago that there were over six hundred such temperance societies started.

It is a small beginning, but you must remember that Bulgaria is a small country, and that the production of wine, as I have said, for home consumption has been really the rule of the country; but I have no doubt that with the initiative which has been taken, with the desire of the people to prohibit the drinking of spirituous liquors, Bulgaria is one of the countries of the Near East which looks with sympathy and interest to a Congress of this kind. And I consider it a great honor to have been delegated by my Government to represent my country in this Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very glad to say that the Government of Chile has appointed five delegates to this Congress, and all of them are in the United States; but unfortunately three of them have not yet reached Washington; but the Consul-General of Chile and Señor Felix Nieto del Rio are present this morning; and as the Consul-General does not speak English fluently, he has requested Señor del Rio to say a few words of welcome on behalf of the Government of Chile.

SEÑOR DEL RIO briefly conveyed (in Spanish) the greetings of the Chilean Government.

THE CHAIRMAN: As as I said, the representatives of several of the other nations will be heard later at their own request. May I venture this request of several of them? I will not call on you for a speech now, but in order that the Congress may see you and know that you are here, will Sir Francois Demieux and Dr. Grant, the official representatives of Canada, simply rise, and in that way be presented to the Congress?

[The Canadian delegates in question thereupon rose.]

THE CHAIRMAN (continuing): I will ask the third one to rise

He spoke very admirably to us on Tuesday. Professor Zuirhal, of Czecho-Slovakia, will you introduce the other two gentlemen who have come from Czecho-Slovakia?

A DELEGATE: I beg your pardon. I am from Czecho-Slovakia, and Dr. Staitch is from Czecho-Slovakia, and I would like to introduce the other Czecho-Slovakia delegate. There are two of us here—Dr. Drime.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are very glad to see you. That being the case—we would like to hear for three minutes, from the Honorable Georges Staitch, of Czecho-Slovakia, or from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, as I ought to have said the other day.

MR. G. K. STAITCH (of Belgrade): Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I was prevented from coming here the other morning, because of unavoidable incidents. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes takes the opportunity to convey through me its greetings to the Congress. I shall have the opportunity to speak to-morrow afternoon about the temperance movement in my country, and especially about the temperance instruction in European schools. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have very great pleasure now in introducing Dr. Minosuke Yamaguchi, of Tokyo, Japan, who will speak to us on the movement against alcoholism in Japan.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN JAPAN

BY MINOSUKE YAMAGUCHI, M. A., M. D.
OF TOKYO, JAPAN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: This is a great privilege for me to come here and to speak a few words on the present condition of our movement against alcoholism in my native country, Japan. First of all, in the name of the National Temperance League of Japan, let me salute you, the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism.

THE NATIONAL DRINK, SAKE

Japan was a hermit nation for a great many centuries, but she was not behind at least on the matter of drink. She knew how to produce a fermented drink long before our first Emperor came to the throne, some 2,568 years ago. Our national drink, *sake*, is made from brewed rice. It is the most favorite drink of the Japanese men and women as well as Japanese gods. It is a drink enjoyed at all feasts, picnics, evening gatherings, and in fact at every occasion. *Omiki*, or *sake* offered to Shinto gods, is divided among the members of the family, in order that every one drinking it may receive the blessings from the gods. Men and women, young and old, drink it. By drinking *sake* from the same cups nine times man and woman are made husband and wife. Thus,

sake is most important at a Japanese wedding. New Year's Day is greeted with *tosu* drinking, which is a fancy mixture of *sake*. Every New Year's visitor is persuaded to partake of the drink. It is extremely difficult to refuse such a drink. Thus, *sake* occupies a very important place in our daily life in our country. Its poisonous effect is very little studied and thought of, and every one is encouraged to drink it. One who does not drink it is often teased by others very much. The worst saying the Devil ever invented for the support of *sake* is this, *Sake wa Hyakuyaku no cho*, or "Sake is the superior of all medicine." The great majority of our people, not only ignorant, but many educated, do believe this saying to be the truth, and use *sake* freely whenever a little symptom appears. No wonder, therefore, Japan produced some 240,000,000 gallons of *sake* and some 20,000,000 gallons of beer in 1917, which is the latest report obtainable. Fifty-five million of people have drunk this vast quantity.

OUR TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

Ever since the first able temperance worker, representing the W. C. T. U., arrived in Japan, in 1884, many equally strong representatives have followed, in order to teach us the evil of the drink. When we think of this we can not help but stop a moment to salute and express sincere gratitude to the W. C. T. U. from the bottom of our hearts for what they have done for us. Meanwhile, many able natives took it up and did some splendid work for the cause. The National Temperance League of Japan was organized twenty-two years ago. Mr. Ando, Mr. Nemoto, and many, many strong coworkers did excellent work for the country against alcohol. The League has more than 100 active societies at present, scattered all over the land, and new organizations are added from time to time. These societies are now very much alive and most effective work is carried on everywhere by the respective leaders. "Dry Nippon in Ten Years" is the goal many such leaders are aiming at for the present.

JUVENILE TEMPERANCE LAW

For the last twenty-one years the Hon. Sho Nemoto, a member of the Lower House of the National Diet, introduced a bill prohibiting the sale or giving away of liquor to minors for their own use. This bill has passed the Lower House eleven times, and has been several times approved by a committee of the House of Peers, but has always been finally voted down in the House of Peers. It is encouraging, however, to know that the number of supporting votes is increasing steadily, and the last fight shows 79 members in favor of this bill against 100. The gulf is not very wide. Moreover, temperance sentiment is certainly increasing, and it is not difficult to predict that the final victory is very near.

THE INFLUENCE OF PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES

After the United States effected national Prohibition, Japanese sentiment went through wonderful changes. Prohibition in the United

States was a very popular topic in our papers and magazines. Every one seemed eager to know more about why and how such a wonderful prohibition was introduced to such a free people—the strongest and richest nation—like the United States. Our people became very serious over it. They read and listened. Now they have begun to think. It was, therefore, my great privilege to take the opportunity to speak on these subjects every where I visited. The few scientific facts I gathered in this country helped me much. Our people were very much impressed with them. It is a fact, ladies and gentlemen, your research work done in many laboratories helped to awaken many prominent scientific men and women of our country. Many able scholars were converted to carry the banner for Prohibition. You will see that many university professors and college teachers are taking part in our active campaign. Many prominent government officers, statesmen, medical men, business men, many well-known manufacturers and such may be found among our ranks. Even many rice-brewers expressed their intention to give it up. Indeed, there is a strong sentiment to follow the steps of this great United States of America in Prohibition.

THE JAPANESE PRESS

There is another fact. The great majority of our press people are drinking men. Naturally, their eyes catch eagerly the news against Prohibition. A great many of those false reports, printed in this country as well as on the continent, are carefully translated and printed in our dailies. No wonder, therefore, our people are sometimes much confused. Some go so far as to say that the experiment in this country is a failure. When we hear that even English people were fooled by their own press, it is not any surprise to find such a condition among the Japanese.

In spite of everything said, Japan as a nation is now ready to listen to the truth and to the scientific facts. Whatever is spoken before this Congress will be carefully reported and presented to their scientific minds. No doubt, it will help to revolutionize their thought. Our aggressive temperance force is now marching on, and with your splendid example and sympathetic coöperation we feel confident in predicting that there will come the final victory. The time will soon come when we will be able to join with you in the Great League of Dry Nations. May God help us!

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Theodore Neild J. P., of Leominster, England, who will speak on "The Alcohol Problem in Great Britain During and After the War."

I am very glad to say that Mr. Neild is a member of the Permanent International Committee of the Congress, and I think he has attended every session of the Congress since and including the Bremen session of 1903.

THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM IN GREAT BRITAIN DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

By THEODORE NEILD, J. P.

OF LEOMINSTER, ENGLAND

Mr. President, Ladies, Gentlemen: The title of my paper is, as you know, "The Alcohol Problem in Great Britain During and After the War." I wish to be allowed to anticipate two of the criticisms which will be made; one, that Ireland is hardly referred to. Ireland is not a part of Great Britain, and we earnestly hope that the day is not far distant when Ireland will be allowed to manage this and her other internal affairs herself. Then Scotland is only casually referred to. Scotland does not come within the scope of the heading of my paper, because Scotland's charter of potential liberty was granted her before the war. She has always been the favored nation of the British Parliament. Seven years were given the trade to wind up their affairs, and in the course of two or three weeks, in November, the localities will be at liberty to vote upon three options: (1) whether the trade shall remain as before; (2) whether it shall be reduced; and (3) whether it shall be prohibited. And any votes which are granted for the third, in case the third, that is Prohibition, is not granted, will reckon towards reduction. But it is most carefully guarded. There must be thirty-five per cent of the population, of the total voters, voting. You must get a majority of fifty-five per cent of those who actually do vote, and you must get ten per cent of the voters to sign a request that they may be allowed to vote. But during the war Scotland has been preparing, and there is very much hope that a considerable proportion of Scotland will in a short time follow the example of the United States.

No other single event in the course of the last hundred years has so profoundly altered the status of a social problem as the European War has altered that of the Drink Question. The reform of the common sale and use of alcohol then sprang at once from the list of things desirable into the very forefront of reforms of imperative importance. This change was not due, in Great Britain at least, to any sudden aggravation of the evils of intemperance, but rather to the fact—natural at a time of grave danger to the State—that the public attention was concentrated as never before upon any habit or arrangement that was seen to impair national efficiency.

In the years immediately preceding the war there was in England and Wales little popular interest in the Licensing Question. The rejection of the Bill of 1908 by the House of Lords, and the preoccupation of the Government and Parliament with great constitutional questions in the years immediately following, had left the Drink Question in a backwater, into which public interest rarely drifted. The rejection of Mr. Asquith's bill had disheartened the Liberal Party, and, what was far worse, had more deeply rooted those trade interests which the Act of 1904 had to a large extent recognized

Prior to 1904 the licensing justices had unlimited discretion not to re-grant a certificate if they deemed it to be superfluous. The Act of 1904 took away that discretionary power, and holders of redundant licenses henceforward had to be compensated, after reference to Quarter Sessions, out of money levied upon the trade. The machinery for reduction was cumbersome, and the funds available for compensation in the various licensing areas were small. The levies made upon the trade could not exceed a maximum scale; and the compensation authorities could, in their discretion (a discretion freely used), impose smaller levies, or even no levy at all. (In the first year of the Act of 1904 the total funds available for compensation in England and Wales amounted to £1,136,000; and in 1906 to £1,219,711. Then began a decline, and by 1914 the total amount available was only £859,000. A corresponding decline naturally took place in the number of licenses suppressed.)

In the interval between 1908 and the outbreak of the war, the national expenditure upon drink persisted, and even increased. The estimated drink bill for the United Kingdom in 1908 was £161,000,000. In 1913, the year preceding the war, it amounted to well over £166,000,000.

In the early part of 1914, when the hope of a Government Bill was dead, an attempt was made to get a Sunday Closing Bill passed for England. The bill secured a second reading in the House of Lords, but did not get further, whilst a similar bill was summarily rejected in the House of Commons.

Then came the war, and in a few months the position of the temperance question was greatly and even dramatically changed. From being a sectional and (in the political sense) a partizan movement, it became a subject of growing anxious national concern.

The earliest of the steps taken (apart from the prohibition placed upon the transmission of alcoholic liquors to the British troops at the front, and from the powers of restriction conferred upon the naval and military authorities in particular areas at home) was the enactment of "The Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restriction) Act, 1914," which empowered local licensing authorities, acting upon the recommendation of the police, to restrict the hours of sale both in licensed premises and in clubs.

This was far from being a revolutionary measure; the discretionary powers it conferred were slight in themselves and carefully safeguarded against capricious use or abuse. Its utmost powers—powers, moreover, that could be exercised only upon the advice of the police—did not allow a local licensing authority to close licensed premises earlier than 9 p. m. without the special sanction of the Secretary of State. Nevertheless, owing to the resistance of the trade, it was obtained with a difficulty, and at the cost of negotiations and of compromise, which separated the measure sharply from the other far more important war measures which were readily

accepted by Parliament. In this respect it was a reminder of the obstacles which, in England, have for generations barred the way against all attempts to adjust licensing arrangements to public opinion; and it was also a prophecy of serious difficulties ahead. The powers of the act were nevertheless widely used. In less than three months orders for early closing were issued in more than 250 licensing districts in England and Wales alone. In Scotland, where the initiative was left with the local sheriff, the result was less satisfactory, whilst in Ireland little action was taken outside of Dublin.

The act had, however, but scratched the surface of a problem which war-needs gradually, but with ever-increasing speed, uncovered to the public view. Within a few months of its acceptance as a statute, reports from the naval and military authorities drew repeated and more and more urgent attention to the delays caused by "broken time" in the shipyards and dockyards and munition factories—delays due to drink. It was not a new evil, nor was there convincing evidence that it had assumed greater proportions since the outbreak of war. What was new was the widespread appreciation of its gravity and far-reaching consequences. The national emergency made it a fateful and, potentially, a tragic fact.

Public opinion was alarmed. There arose a widespread demand for drastic action. The drink question emerged as a national problem. Prohibition was impossible. In the circumstances which then obtained the Government was informed that it would have provoked a serious revolt. At the same time the existing law, even as temporarily modified, was powerless to cure the evil. What was wanted was full and unfettered control, unhampered by private vested interests. The present Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George), cutting his way at a stroke to the heart of the problem, urged upon his colleagues the policy of State Purchase as a means of acquiring a control that would be immediately effective and also complete. The suggestion was opposed by some sections of the temperance party and was rejected by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. The problem remained. The Cabinet was divided, but action of some sort was imperative. Resort was had to taxation; and a novel and—as it then seemed—drastic scheme of surtaxes on beer and spirits was hastily introduced into Parliament. The scheme roused intense opposition and was ultimately destroyed by trade influence, especially by the antagonism of Irish liquor-traders.

In the difficult situation which resulted as a temporary expedient, resort was had to the creation of a Central Board of Control. It was an experiment without precedent in British licensing history, but it also justified itself by an unprecedented measure of success. It was, however, a temporary expedient, limited in duration to a period not exceeding twelve months after the termination of the war. It, therefore, leaves the question of ultimate policy still unsolved.

The powers conferred upon the Board were wide, and they were

freely exercised. In the main they were restrictive in character, and were applied in the direction of drastic restriction of the hours of sale, the abolition of "treating," the limitation of facilities for the sale of spirits, and the prohibition of all "off" sales of spirits in less quantities than a "reputed quart." Discretionary power to take constructive action, extending to the purchase of existing licenses and to experiments in direct control, was also conferred upon the Board, and this power was used in a few munition areas where the policy of restriction did not suffice. Apart from these experiments (of which Carlisle is the outstanding illustration) the constructive powers of the Board were chiefly applied to the encouragement of food sales, and to the provision (by direct action or by subsidy) of canteens for the munition workers.

As the war developed, other problems arose which vitally affected the attitude of the nation towards the drink traffic. The shortage of cereals, the difficulties of transport, and the ever-expanding demand for recruits and for munition workers, brought the question of the suspension of the liquor traffic into the forefront of public questions. The demand for war-time Prohibition grew and received significant support from many quarters, including some in which little sympathy with advanced temperance policy had hitherto been displayed. It was not a temperance demand, although it was strongly supported by the leading temperance organizations in the country; it was a war demand pure and simple, based on needs that were urgent and vital. It was the most generously financed, the best worked, and the most widespread effort of the kind that Great Britain has known; it was also made at the psychological moment. Had success been possible, it must have succeeded, and later embarrassments would have been avoided. Unfortunately it was found to be impracticable. Large sections of labor opinion were resolutely opposed to it, and labor leaders and the Labor Party in Parliament withheld their support. The Government was warned of the danger of industrial trouble, and they shrank from the risk. They fell back upon a policy of drastic limitation of output in the case of both beer and spirits—a policy which included sweeping reductions in the gravity of beer and in the strength of spirits.

These measures—tentative and hesitating at first, but applied with progressive severity as the war advanced—did something to relieve the situation, and, in their final forms, had important effects upon sobriety; but they did not solve the problem. Nor did repeated increases in taxation—unduly delayed at the outset, but unprecedented in their weight in the end—contribute to a solution. (Under the Schedule of Fixed Prices instituted by the Food Controller, the weight of the new taxes was shifted from the manufacturer and trader to the consumer, and in consequence added greatly to an already heavy drink bill. The national drink bill in 1913 was £166,700,000; by 1917 it had risen to £259,000,000 for little more than

half the quantity of beer, wine and spirits! In other words, consumers in 1917 actually paid nearly £100,000,000 more for half the liquor consumed in 1913.)

In 1917 came further developments. Owing to the vital need of conserving man-power and of economizing fuel and transport, the Government entered into negotiations with the leaders of the liquor trade with a view to securing a voluntary concentration of the industry by the closing down of unnecessary breweries and licensed houses. The expedient was to be a temporary one and was to continue in force only for the period of the war. The negotiations were prolonged, and were repeated at intervals; but they led to no result. In the end the War Cabinet decided upon Mr. Lloyd George's earlier proposal of State Purchase and Control, and appointed an influential committee, with Lord Sumner as chairman, to advise them on the financial aspects of the project. The committee reported unanimately on the financial practicability of the scheme, and made definite recommendations to the Government as to the basis and method of purchase.

Nothing however was done. The military situation was critical, and the War Cabinet was too preoccupied with developments in France to grapple with difficult domestic problems.

Since the Armistice the question has tended to recede from public attention. The Government show an increasing reluctance to deal with the question, and the reconstruction of the English licensing system is apparently indefinitely delayed. The war-time regulations have in large part been modified or repealed, and little remains of the emergency restrictions except a modified limitation of the hours of sale, and certain restrictions on the "off" sale of spirits. The limitation of output in the case of beer and spirits has been withdrawn, and the gravity of beer has been raised to a point which, allowing for beers brewed for export, the gravity of which is not restricted, is not far removed from the average pre-war gravity. Happily the strength of spirits is still subject to the war-time restrictions.

Meantime, the trade is active, and strongly entrenched. It is fostering and stimulating the spirit of reaction which always follows the conclusion of a war. The outlook is not good, but something at least has been gained. In the first place, large and important sections of the population who before the war took little interest in the temperance question, have awakened to a sense of its national importance; and, if temperance statesmanship be wise, they may be reckoned on as allies in a struggle which may be delayed, but cannot be avoided. In the second place—in spite of that spirit of resentment to all restrictions which has been engendered or accentuated by the war—antagonism to Prohibition, as a local experiment, has certainly diminished under war-time experience. The obstacles to its enactment have been reduced by the removal of much pre-war prejudice; and of those which remain the most formidable is that represented

by the interests in possession. But Local Veto—which, moreover, will operate last where most needed—is not likely, in the expectation of most of its advocates, to win rapid success in England; the conditions are in important respects against it: for one reason, before it can be tried at all, the way to its enactment must be unbarred. To open the way for this is the great task before constructive statesmanship.

It is here that our war experience has greatly helped. Mr. Lloyd George's proposal of purchase by the State has made the "open road" a legislative possibility. It has arrested attention and won support as no other proposal in our lifetime has done. It is, in view of its supporters, the way to unfettered advance.

In its proposed application to England and Wales the policy of State purchase and control is not one to be approved or condemned on general abstract principles. It must be judged by its relation to particular circumstances and by its challenge to real facts. The goal of temperance reforms in all nations and lands is, broadly, the same. The roads leading to the goal, and the methods of approach, do and must vary. Some reformers are apt to confound policy with the goal and to forget that it is merely the instrument of progress, and thus controversy wastes the strength which is needed for successful advance. Standardization of policy is impossible where there is dissimilarity of conditions. In European groups of nations there are diversities of taste, divergences of law, and variations in custom, in traditions, and in social habit; and there are even more important differences still in economic and political circumstances. When we cross the Atlantic these differences become more marked. Custom is not rooted in century-old habit; the population is more sparsely distributed; tradition does not mold and fashion law; policy has the adventurousness of legal freedom, and vested interests do not, to anything like the same extent, bar the road of advance.

Let me, not as advocate but as narrator, put the case for State Purchase, as its supporters see it, in its relation to the position in England and Wales, a community overwhelmingly industrial in character, with a vast preponderance of urban centers and with a density of population twenty times as great as that of the United States of America.

The proposal is based upon a frank recognition of certain basic facts. The drink habit in England—moderately indulged in on the whole, as judged by the ordinary unscientific standard—is widespread and deep-rooted. The average British workingman is intolerant of extreme policies; Prohibition, as a national policy, is—as General Booth, just back from Australia, agrees—impracticable. Experience during the war and for centuries previously has disclosed fundamental defects in the existing licensing system. It is not capable of easy adaptation to special needs and it blocks advance.

The nation does not lack policies—it lacks the power to apply them. For reform is obstructed by the interests in possession. What is needed before all else is to secure complete control. That is the first step. To achieve it requires a definitive settlement of the compensation difficulty regarded as equitable by the general public. That difficulty has thwarted reforms for half a century. It was recognized by Mr. Bruce in 1871, and was accentuated and aggravated by Mr. Balfour in 1904. There seems to be only two ways of achieving such a settlement: Either (1) by a time-notice to the trade, or (2) by State purchase of trade interests. The former method has plain disadvantages; it postpones the day of freedom by many years, and it is less sure in its results. State purchase, on the other hand (so its advocates argue), would satisfy all considerations of equity and give immediate freedom of action.

This is not all. State purchase is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. It is an instrument for the recovery of complete freedom of action. It would give the State power to reconstruct its licensing arrangements and to incline them, wherever the sale of drink continues, in the direction of sobriety and public health. The present system, whilst aiming at restriction, leaves the management of the trade in the hands of those whose monetary interests are necessarily opposed to restriction. In this way a barrier is erected against reform, and a sinister political influence is introduced into national and municipal politics. The most enlightened effort that is based on a private license system falls in its results far short of the results achievable under State management and control. That, in bare outline, is the argument advanced for the policy of State purchase and control, and it is an argument which has evoked powerful and widespread support. It is reinforced by actual experiment. The very remarkable achievement of the Central Control Board in the Carlisle area both during and since the war are, to most persons, a convincing illustration of the possibilities open to wise management and control, when the sole determining motive is the public welfare and interest.

State purchase is not a challenge to other policies; it is certainly not a substitute for local veto, but is its pioneer and comrade. Its aim is to open a path at present closed against the restrictionist and the vetoist alike, and to give a real liberation to progressive public opinion.

THE CHAIRMAN announced that, with the concurrence of the meeting, discussion of Mr. Neild's paper would be put over to Friday morning, and he then called upon Dr. Jean Météil.

THE ANTIALCOHOLIC STRUGGLE IN FRANCE

By DR. JEAN MÉTEIL

SECRETARY OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL LEAGUE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

(*Ligue National contre l'Alcoolisme*)

At what stage, in France, is the antialcoholic struggle? What are the forces at hand? What are the difficulties of economic and moral order met by the antialcoholists? What results have they obtained? What are their hopes for the future? Such are the principal questions which I wish to answer here.

The forces at hand? One must admit that up to the present time the struggle is not equal. In the antialcoholic camp we find the following organizations:

1. The National League Against Alcoholism (147 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris), directed by Mr. Riémain, its general secretary since 1905. It is in France the only antialcoholic association recognized as a public utility, the only one authorized to spread its propaganda in the army and navy. It has succeeded in grouping into a federation of the French antialcoholic societies, societies and personalities of very different political and religious opinions. It comprises antialcoholists of diverse degrees, such as total abstainers (enemies of all alcoholic drinks, fermented or distilled) "moderates" (who pledge themselves to abstain from all distilled drinks, liquors, apéritifs, or appetizers, but who admit for adults a moderate use of fermented drinks, wine, beer, or cider), and, lastly, subscribers who take no pledges at all. It is its character, as a federation of French antialcoholic societies, which, in a measure, imposes upon the National League the necessity of having a hygienic program common to all the antialcoholists of whom it is composed. It is as such a federation that the National League does not combat the moderate use of fermented drinks by adults, and limits its action to combating the use of distilled beverages.

Every action, in order to be efficacious, must take into consideration the actual customs of the country in which it exercises itself. In France the Academy of Medicine, which represents the scientific élite, declared, at its sitting on the 25th of January, 1916, when it issued some advice on hygiene destined for the soldiers, that fermented drinks might be consumed expressly on the dual condition that they were taken only in moderate quantities (which for wine should never exceed $1\frac{3}{4}$ pints every 24 hours), and only with food. This equals one French liter.

The National League never advises the three-fourths of a liter which doctors recognize as non-injurious to working adults, but it combats all use exceeding this limit.

The National League Against Alcoholism, being the Federation of the principal antialcoholic organizations, possesses a service of documentation sufficiently rich. It represents the antialcoholists near to the Government and the public authorities, it strives to ameliorate antialcoholic legislation, and watches strict application of the existing laws. It

works for the creation of cafés without alcoholic drinks and of refuges for the reformation of drinkers. It is very much hindered from this point of view by French legislation, of which not one text provides for the internment of drinkers, or even of those who may be dangerous. It follows very closely and seeks to encourage every industrial effort having for an end to divert from the fabrication of alcoholic drinks fruits, grapes, or apples, in order to conserve their nutritious value.

Its budget has passed in twenty years from 4,000 to 300,000 francs. It publishes two monthly journals, *The Blue Star* and *Work*, a popular organ, in all about 20,000 copies every month. It publishes numerous bills and tracts, and an important quantity of literature which it spreads throughout all countries. It has a bookselling and information service commercially organized.

It organizes numerous conferences and employs a field secretary especially occupied throughout the year in conference tours.

Very approximately one can estimate the members of the National League Against Alcoholism at 100,000.

2. The Blue Cross Society of total abstinence, affiliated to the National League, but very much less important in numbers than the League, is, nevertheless, very active. It has at its head convinced and ardent men, and works for the reformation of drinkers with the aid of God, in the small French Protestant circle which constitutes certainly, from a moral point of view, an elite. Mr. E. Matter has been for many years the President of the French Blue Cross.

I leave to my friend, Mr. Gallienne, general agent, here present, the privilege to speak of the Blue Cross. Mr. Gallienne is a man of spirit and generous qualities who will certainly interest you.

The Blue Cross publishes a monthly journal, *The Liberator*, of which the issue is about 4,000 copies. The Blue Cross numbers about 2,000 members in Paris and 1,500 in the other sections of France.

3. "The Hope" abstinence society works among the Protestant youth. It is affiliated to the National League.

4. The Good Templars are a handful in France. I do not think that they number more than one hundred. A branch of the Good Templars affiliated to the National League is the Federation of the Independent and Neutral Order of Good Templars. One of the personalities the most spoken of in the International Order of Good Templars in France is Doctor Legrain, head physician at the lunatic asylum at Villejuif. Like all those who have approached him, I admire his quick intelligence, his force as a controversialist, and his talent as an orator.

The French abstainers convened in the month of April, 1920, an anti-alcohol congress, nearly entirely devoted to the study of the fabrication of must and of wine without alcohol and to the conservation of fruits, principally of the grape, in order to protect them from being fermented. This is a question of first importance in France where one could not think of fighting officially the moderate use of wine as long as the utilization of grapes, notably in the form of wine without alcohol, agree-

able to drink and at an accessible price, shall not have been practically realized.

The question has already been often studied by French antialcoholists, abstinent and non-abstinent, but the Congress assembled in April has had the merit of bringing to light the gaps in French legislation uniquely preoccupied in developing the market for fermented drinks and which is unfavorable to the fabrication of wines without alcohol.

The total abstainers have constituted a federation of abstinent societies of which Mr. A. Monod is secretary, with headquarters at 53 bis, Rue Saint Lazare, Paris.

As all minorities, the total abstainers are very much alive, and make their voices heard with force, but in a very limited circle. Their means of action are very narrow. They appear desirous to effect a collaboration more cordial than formerly with organizations less inaccessible to reason than themselves, and we rejoice in it sincerely.

The monthly journal which Doctor Legrain publishes, *The Antialcoholic Annals*, is very well edited and admirably documented.

5. The Gold Cross, a small Catholic temperance society, a group very convinced, but which has as yet few members. Its Alsatian branch is the most prosperous. The society publishes a monthly journal, *The Gold Cross*, which is very well edited.

6. The White Cross, a Catholic temperance society affiliated to the National League, is older and larger than her sister society, the Gold Cross, in order to facilitate its propaganda, its publishing service and the western dioceses are the most energetic.

The National League put this year at the disposition of the White Cross, in order to facilitate its propaganda, its publishing service and secretaryship. One may say that, at present the Catholic centers in their entirety, which represent nine tenths of the French population, are not yet truly in the antialcoholic movement. Its directors have feared no doubt to compromise their influence in shocking the prejudices of a good number of French Catholics and have not, therefore, taken a position with energy and insistence, with the exception of a few rare prelates or militant Catholics who have upheld the Gold Cross or the White Cross.

The White Cross publishes a monthly antialcoholic journal, *The Anti-Alcoholic Peril*, which issues 4,000 copies, and several of its local communities have publications of their own.

Among the working classes alone two groups exist at present, of which the most important is the Anti-alcoholic Association of the Railroad Agents of France, affiliated with the National League (about 600 active members,) which publishes a monthly journal of 5,000 copies entitled *The Health of the Family*; the second is the Federation of Antialcoholic Workers, not very numerous, but total abstainers.

The working class seems to lean courageously toward temperance. In the workmen's syndicates a certain number of leaders are convinced abstainers or "temperates."

At its Congress held in Lyons in September, 1919, the Labor Union voted a motion in which it resolutely engaged its militants to lead an antialcoholic fight in the cooperatives and syndicates. The field secretary of the National League, Gustave Cauvin, who himself belonged to the working class, gives a great part of his effort to this side, and in each locality visited gives special conferences for syndicalists, establishing, where possible, local antialcoholic groups.

7. The White Ribbon, a branch of the Universal League of Christian Women Abstainers, of which Mademoiselle Weyer is the secretary for France, and which counted 150 members in 1914.

8. To be complete, we will mention a "moderate" society, the Union of French Women Against Alcohol, affiliated with the National League, established during the war by Madam Fallot Matter. The society conducts a propaganda in feminine circles by bills, tracts, and conferences.

9. Finally, the society "The Alarm," founded by a generous philanthropist to conduct an antialcoholic campaign at the elections in 1914. It survived this temporary aim and has manifested itself since by a few posters and some newspaper articles. Its present president seems to seek his way a little in the midst of a labyrinth of antialcoholic theories, experiences, and laws. At present he seems to wish to cure the French of alcoholism by encouraging the use of wine.

It is already an old and dangerous theory upheld by a good number of French politicians who never speak of wine, beer, or cider without calling them "hygienic drinks," which is at least unscientific. The war has shown abundantly that the abuse of wine was frequent, and leads to alcoholism just as well as spirits.

Here I shall terminate this short review of the French antialcoholic societies without stepping aside from the rôle of an impartial observer, which I wish to maintain here. I must state that the National League is the only one exercising an important action in Parliament and in public opinion.

The alcoholic camp has many members. It is rich and has a considerable political influence. The different branches of the alcoholic drink trade were formerly sufficiently isolated; their interests often opposed each other. In the past few months they have effected a complete union and constituted a veritable challenge, under the direction of powerful syndicates which comprise a large number of Frenchmen interested in the sales of alcoholic drinks and of all that which relates to them.

Total Prohibition in America and Finland, and the fear that the French antialcoholic societies will undertake a step in the same direction, have brought about this union of all the alcoholic forces in France.

In comparison with our small antialcoholic group the alcohol drink trade is powerful. It disposes of considerable capital, and supports, by an enormous publicity, the secular prejudices upon the pretended hygienic virtues of alcoholic drinks. It secures the favor of nearly the entire press, which creates around us the conspiracy of silence.

Finally and above all the drink trade is largely represented in the French Congress and Senate. It is easy to understand. France possesses 513,000 saloon-keepers and at least 1,500,000 small cultivators, proprietors of vineyards or fruiterers living from the sale of their wine, cider, and alcohols which they distill, and still again, the alcohol beet, one of the principal cultures of the north of France where distilleries for such beets are important.

Saloon-keepers and large distillers, proprietors of small vineyards, and peasant distillers have in the French Parliament numerous defenders, devoted and clever, who constitute a considerable majority. Of the 650 Deputies who compose Congress, but 50 declare themselves openly enemies of distilled alcohol, *but not one is hostile to the moderate use of fermented drinks, wine, cider, or beer.*

The French Congress or Senate does not count one single member who publicly avows himself a partizan of total abstinence. Which goes to show how strong is the current against which the antialcoholists must swim. The small vine cultivators and distillers are the best represented in Congress and in the Senate. Prior to 1916 the small proprietors were permitted to distill their harvest at home and consume the alcohol obtained without paying a revenue tax, upon the condition not to sell or transport their product.

In 1916 the State requisitioned for the manufacture of munitions the alcohol from grains, potatoes and beets, produced in large distilleries and called industrial alcohol. The alcohol from fruits of the peasant distillers was alone authorized for consumption by man; but its distillation was submitted to supervision by the fiscal authorities, and the quantities produced submitted to the revenue tax with the exception of 10 liters of pure alcohol to each cultivator for his family consumption. This privilege is still a terrible encouragement to fraud and family intoxication in the country, but the suppression of industrial alcohol for human consumption has lowered the consumption of distilled alcohol one half from 1913 to 1919.

It has passed from 1,658,000 hectoliters (one hectoliter equals 22 96/100 gallons approximately) in 1913 to 863,000 hectoliters in 1919. Here was an appreciable result which was important to maintain after the armistice and which has been maintained until the present.

Let us see now what are the principal obstacles to the progress of the antialcoholic fight in France.

DIFFICULTIES OF AN ECONOMIC ORDER

1. The parceling out of French property. At least two million French peasants are interested in the sale of wines or alcohols which they produce. Often their soil would not lend itself to any other culture than that of the vineyard, and the peasants themselves are generally attached by tradition to this venerable occupation. While it would be possible to make laws against 100 or 200 large distillers or importers of wines or alcohols, it would be dangerous, if not impossible, to legislate against a notable part of the French peasant population.

It is indispensable to be prudent and to prepare gradually the transition, which will be long; to persuade the French peasants to convert their fruits not into alcoholic drink, but into useful and sane nourishing products, such as wines without alcohol, marmalades, preserves, sugared fruits, fruit paste, etc.

2. In France the number of wine and liquor saloon-keepers is enormous, in proportion to the population; one saloon-keeper for every 82 citizens in 1914, and without a doubt more now. Gambetta designated the saloon as "the sitting-room of the poor." In fact the saloon is most of the time a place of rest and of conversation; the saloon-keeper is the friend of his clients and an important electoral agent. Congressmen and Senators are obliged to treat him with respect, if they wish to be reelected.

Our friend M. Schmidt, former Congressman, owed his defeat to the last election partly to the fact that he was the president of the anti-alcoholic group in Congress.

3. The propaganda against alcohol hits enormous interests. The French cognacs and liqueurs constitute an important part of the domestic trade and have considerable exportation value, and every one knows how France needs to export in order to raise her exchange. It is said that the wine and liquor industry in France represents 13 billions!

In order to understand well the antialcoholic situation in France, it is necessary to know that winegrowing occupies one thirteenth of the soil fit for cultivation in France; that the value of the production in 1919 amounted for wine to 6,300,000,000 francs and for cider to 800,000,000; in all to 7,100,000,000 francs, and I do not speak of the beer production, which is less important. This total of 7,100,000,000 francs exceeds the total value of the production of cereals, which amounts only to 6,610,000,000 francs. It is double the value of the production of wheat, which amounts to 3,610,000,000 francs.

The Government associates itself but timidly with the struggle against alcoholism, fearing to depreciate in the eyes of foreign countries a product of our own soil which is one of its riches.

DIFFICULTIES OF A MORAL ORDER

1. The French mentality. The majority of French people retain ancient prejudices as to the virtues of alcohol, above all, the alcohol which they have distilled at home from their fruits and which is called "natural alcohol." Many French keep a few old bottles of brandy from which they drink a small glass upon rare occasions. They are not able to understand that one might deprive them of this privilege.

In regard to wine the antialcoholic question is still more delicate. All Frenchmen, except a few abstainers of whom I am one, have wine on their family table; they drink it with the meal in one half or three quarters as much water; it is an ancestral habit. To try to suppress wine brusquely at present is an economic impossibility, and, morally, it would bring into France an economic perturbation that we are not in a condition to support; it would menace seriously public order, for which

we have made so many sacrifices, but which we have maintained with success. Beware that in bettering a thing you do not make it worse! To each country the reforms which its present situation requires! To wish to decree in France total Prohibition before having led opinion little by little in successive transitions to adopt this idea, would be a dangerous and ineffective violence. This is at least the sentiment of good reflecting Frenchmen, who know their country well and who do not let themselves be influenced by the beauty of "everything or nothing," who do not let themselves be carried away by a passionate stubbornness, and who are not hypnotized or led beyond realities.

Our abstainers of France have felt very strongly that there was danger of failure, and they wished to put themselves upon more solid ground. Therefore they have said: "We do not ask that one tear down the vineyards, but that one develop the trade in table grapes, the industry of wines without alcohol, of marmalades from fruits, or jams, fruit paste," etc. These are common-sense words, and this is why all anti-alcoholists of France, with a few unimportant exceptions, pull together upon this subject.

Finally, three traits of the French mentality constitute an added difficulty: the individualism of the Frenchman, which makes him hesitate to enroll himself under a banner; the instinct of independence, which often turns him away from signing an engagement of abstinence; and the fear of the ridiculous, which makes him afraid to affirm his anti-alcoholic convictions.

2. French antialcoholists find funds with difficulty on account of the character of their work, which is above all educative, and which does not strike the imagination on account of the impossibility of proving the efficacy of their efforts. One will give more willingly to build a sanatorium than to instruct the French on the dangers of alcohol, notwithstanding that one always says "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

WHAT RESULTS HAVE WE OBTAINED AT THE PRESENT TIME?

From the standpoint of legislation:

1. The consumption of absinth, forbidden in 1915, remains forbidden in spite of the efforts of the distillers.

2. The prohibition of distilled alcohol was on the point of passing Congress in 1915. The Ministry presided over by Mr. Briand entered it upon its program and tried to obtain from Congress an authorization to pass certain laws, counting upon using this latitude at first in order to prohibit alcohol. It came very nearly succeeding, but Congress recovered possession of itself, and refused the request. A few weeks later Mr. Briand's ministry fell. One can see a certain connection between the campaign conducted by the alcoholic powers against Mr. Briand and his fall. It served as a lesson to many politicians, and when, 18 months later (in 1916), Mr. Ribot and Mr. Siegfried defended a project for the prohibition of alcohol, they were only followed by 47 Congressmen.

3. I have already said that all industrial alcohols had been reserved

exclusively for the Government since the 30th of June, 1916, for the manufacture of powder for the duration of the war. This measure has been several times extended.

In 1920 the large distillers tried to have raised the embargo put on industrial alcohols; the Government, on whose treasury the demands were enormous, wished to sell for human consumption the stocks of industrial alcohols which they were detaining. The antialcoholists protested very strongly, together with all the societies interested in public welfare. They had, besides, allies in the opposite camp. The small distillers, for whom alone the alcohol admitted for human consumption has increased tenfold in value, protested violently; and we at any rate secured the decision that these 1,200,000 hectoliters of industrial alcohol should not go into the stomachs of our fellow-citizens.

It will be necessary to watch very closely as long as the utilization of industrial alcohol as a carburant in motors, about which there is a great deal of discussion, shall not be practically organized. And the high price of alcohol, in comparison with imported gasoline, is a serious obstacle, more especially as the Government has built its fiscal system upon the sale of spirits. It expects the taxes on drink voted for 1920 to amount to 2,000,000,000 francs.

4. The alcohol trade supports the heaviest burden in the new fiscal organization. Our antialcoholic campaign has prepared opinion certainly to accept that alcoholic drink be very strongly taxed and considered as a non-indispensable luxury.

Wines, which before the war one had not dared to touch, are undergoing increases in taxes. For the first time in the French Congress, a minister of finances dared, in order to justify his taxes, to speak of the abuse of wine so frequent in many places and which constitutes a real alcoholization. He cited industrial localities in which the average per capita consumption for each workman or workwoman was 7 pints of wine a day, containing 10 per cent of alcohol. All French antialcoholists fight against such abuses, no matter to what society they may belong.

The taxes on wine have passed from 1 fr. 50 in 1914 to 19 frs. in 1920. As to alcohol, the price of a liter of brandy, which in coming out of the still in 1914 was 1 fr. 20, is in 1920 no less than 16 frs., an increase of 795 per cent. The increase on the retail prices would be still higher.

5. Our most redoubtable enemies are, as I have said, the small distillers, the courageous French peasants who paid such a heavy tribute to the war, who have done their duty so nobly, who have saved France from the Bolshevist peril by their attachment to traditions, but who have become the favored ones of the hour in a time of scarcity and exhaustion of stocks. The last elections showed their power, and the majority of them demand jealously the maintenance of their privileges. Since June 30, 1916, they may no longer distill freely without control and are liable to the payment of revenue on the consumption of the alcohol. We have

succeeded up to the present in safeguarding this situation. There will still be rude battles to fight.

6. The following measures, taken during the war, remain in force: prohibition of access to cafés by children; prohibition to introduce alcohol into factories; prohibition to serve alcohol to women between meals.

In short, considering the appetite of enjoyment and gain which follows all upheavals, considering the general lowering of the morality in the world, we esteem ourselves relatively happy not to have lost the little legislative progress realized during the war.

In order to judge of the results which we obtained during the war we may trust ourselves I think, to the judgment of our enemies the alcohol merchants, who are not suspected of partiality.

Here is testimony which appeared in the alcoholic journal *The Wine-growing Review* (June 29, 1916):

Let us willingly admit that the National League Against Alcoholism has, notwithstanding, brought back a victory for the small distilleries....its pressure upon the country has been efficacious.

The number of the same journal of July 16, 1916, said:

The adversaries of alcohol may abandon themselves to cries of joy and triumph, thanks to their untiring propaganda and to its formidable pressure. Very well directed, they have conquered alcohol....They have a perfect organism and directors of great intelligence, writers and speakers of talent.

WHAT SHALL BE THE FUTURE OF THE ANTIALCOHOLIC FIGHT IN FRANCE?

This will depend above all upon the support which we shall secure; whether men spring up who will increase and renew the small group of antialcoholic leaders and who will give a new impulse to the movement. And above all, strong financial aid will perhaps come to us, as we are seeking it. Without it nothing can be done; and the moment to act has never been so critical, nor has it been so opportune as now.

There are at this moment numerous symptoms favorable to anti-alcoholic action. Our campaign has already so well acted upon public opinion that the greater part of the Congressional candidates at the last elections thought for the first time that it was necessary to enlist upon their program the fight against alcohol. At the last election many candidates and several large political parties answered our demands by giving us the assurance that they would vote certain antialcoholic measures proposed by us. Formerly we did not receive even a response. The president of one of the political parties, the most well-known for the support it gave to the drink trade, Mr. Herriot, accepted the presidency of the National League upon the eve of the elections. Our conferences were formerly little followed and were often welcomed by mockery and scepticism. The public comes now in numbers to our reunions, and listens to our orators with sympathy and a visible interest.

On the 22nd of March, 1920, to the stupefaction of all, the Municipal Council of Paris issued unanimously the desire:

That a law be voted in Parliament forbidding rigorously the consumption of alcohol upon all territory of the Republic.

I have said that Parliament had been more daring than ever in taxing drinks; it is because it feels itself more upheld by public opinion. Are there not here some favorable symptoms? There are many others, and the awakening of the laboring classes to the anti-alcoholic fight is not the least of them.

In order to create in France an agitation, a movement of opinion capable of carrying the vote of efficacious antialcoholic laws, it would suffice to instruct the French public who obey still the prejudices inculcated. Worthy and reasonable people are in the majority in France. With sufficient means of action, I am certain that one would convince them, and, public opinion once upon our side, the politicians would follow.

For this what is necessary? Money above all. With money we should find means with which to compensate talented men to travel through France, as Messieurs Cauvin and Gallienne are doing.

With \$300 a month, that the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church generously allows us, the Blue Cross has engaged a new field secretary, and the National League has taken on a new delegate, Mr. Demarquette, a total abstainer who is going to establish societies of boy scout abstainers and groups of adults veritably convinced and practising temperance in the liberated regions so menaced by alcohol.

But four field secretaries are not sufficient to obtain an adequate result; a good dozen are needed. We have not the means for it.

The National League possesses a few antialcoholic films, namely, five, of which two only have two copies. They are continually in circulation; but it would be necessary to have twenty-five of them in order to answer to the demands which come to us. Some antialcoholic films have recently been edited in France that we, a temperance society, have not even the means to buy.

The antialcoholic press is ridiculously insufficient. We should have one or two weekly journals in order to hold the public, and we should be able to issue from 50,000 to 100,000 copies instead of 15,000.

Instead of this the lack of funds and the rise in the price of paper and impression has obliged us to reduce the journal one half and to close entirely the publication of new books.

The alcoholic press has free play against us; it speaks thus entirely unchallenged.

There is a question I would like to insist upon before ending this report. For many years our friend Dr. Hercod, chief of the International Bureau at Lausanne, has been doing a very useful and interesting work of statistics and documentation. His paper *L'Abstinence* brings to all the temperance leaders of Europe a powerful aid. At the international conference held in April, 1919, in Paris, the delegates

agreed upon the necessity of aiding financially the International Bureau.

This organization is soon going to cease its activity for the want of about thirty thousand francs yearly. I will express here the hope that the Fifteenth Congress will be an opportunity to decide measures in order to prevent the disappearance of the International Bureau at Lausanne.

I am not personally partizan to make a campaign in France at present for total Prohibition, but the experience which you are having in America inspires us strongly. Do you know what the French public knows of Prohibition? When one speaks of American Prohibition to some Frenchman not especially in touch with the anti-alcoholic movement abroad, one is quite surprised to hear him serve you idle talk and the stupid stories invented for the use of the press by the powerful international information agency in the pay of the American and English brewers. This agency unscrupulously conducts an intense campaign against Prohibition. The French believe, though astonished, that Prohibition in America has increased crime, developed fraud, poisoning by wood alcohol, emigration in masses, corruption, intoxication by ether, cocaine, etc. We publish a few statistics in our little antialcoholic journals of the Blue Cross, the Gold Cross, the National League, and the Good Templars. But we have very little space, and we appear once a month. Our small corrections of this enormous campaign of error pass unnoticed.

It is a question of the salvation of France. She will only rise to fall again, if alcohol remains at the base of her treasury, if alcohol poisons in the germ her future generations.

Those of your compatriots who came to pay us a visit in Paris were struck to see all the work which the National League accomplished with so little money. A few hundred thousand francs a year would suffice to increase tenfold our means of action, to reinforce our work of education in the schools and among the public. Because we are still at the period of antialcoholic education while you Americans harvest the fruit of a hundred years of effort, and you are at the period of legislative realizations.

The war gave me the occasion to see close by many Americans. The artillery group in which I was doctor was for several months incorporated with the American army at Verdun, at St. Mihiel, and elsewhere. I was often able to appreciate the American qualities, the large hospitality, generosity, the broadness of view, and the spirit of realization. Many Americans have proved for our country a sympathy and solidarity born of the war; they have organized in France social works which showed a great clairvoyance for our needs.

We traverse at present a particularly critical period from a financial viewpoint. I hope that our American antialcoholic friends will wish to bring us the aid which should permit us to undertake upon a large scale propaganda against alcoholism.

In ending I wish to thank you in the name of the French Government, in the name of the National League, and of all the French antialcoholists, for the very generous hospitality which we have found in your country.

I knew this hospitality, cordiality and simplicity, having appreciated them at the side of your officers and soldiers in some bad corners on the front.

Were it only for the pleasure to have come into contact with our antialcoholic friends of all countries and to have felt their warm sympathy, I should carry away every feeling of satisfaction from this trip.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper may run a few moments over the hour for adjournment; but, if there is no objection, we will have it so that we can catch up with our program. I have pleasure in calling upon Advocate Ole Solnordal, Chief of the Norwegian Antialcohol Bureau, of Christiania, whose subject is "The Fight Against Alcoholism in Norway."

THE FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN NORWAY

By ADVOCATE OLE S. SOLNORDAL

CHIEF OF THE NORWEGIAN ANTIALCOHOL BUREAU, CHRISTIANIA

*The legislative fight against alcoholism in Norway began in the years 1840 and following. In 1845 free distillation was suppressed. In 1871 licenses were given to societies or *Samlags*. Since 1894 the *Samlags* have enjoyed a monopoly, but they may be suppressed by a popular vote. Many votes have been taken, so that in 1913 there were only 13 *Samlags*.

Since Christmas, 1916, Norway has been under prohibition of spirits, and, with a short interruption, of wine with more than 12 per cent alcohol. On October 5th and 6th the voters (both men and women) were consulted as to the desirability of the permanent prohibition of spirits and strong wine, and they pronounced for it with a majority of 184,419.

The results of the Prohibition measure taken during the war have been very good. The arrests for drunkenness sank from 52,000 in 1915, to 23,000 in 1918. In 1919 there was an increase to 35,000, which is to be attributed to the greater consumption of light wines.

Since April, 1919, there has been no new increase. We have thus a decrease of 40 per cent since 1916.

The results of partial Prohibition are encouraging the members of temperance societies (one tenth of the whole population) to ask for full Prohibition and to work for the formation of a strong Prohibition opinion among the population.

*It is much regretted that only the above abstract of Advocate Solnordal's paper can be given, the original manuscript having been lost in course of transmission from the official reporter to the offices of the Committee.

AFTERNOON SESSION

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1920

THE CHAIRMAN and THE SECRETARY made some announcements, and the Congress then adjourned till the afternoon.

At the session held on Thursday afternoon the REV. EDWIN C. DINWIDDIE, Chairman of the Congress, presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will have the paper on "The Movement Against Alcoholism in China," by Mr. Wei, in place of Minister Wellington Koo, who is ill. I am very glad to introduce Mr. Wei.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN CHINA

BY MR. W. P. WEI

OF THE CHINESE LEGATION, WASHINGTON

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: When a man of the diplomatic profession is asked to make an address, he is apt to be very dry, if he wants to be discreet. It happens to-day that I have to speak on a dry subject. So I am bound to be doubly dry.

I have been instructed by my Government to bring to the attention of this Congress the liquor question that is now menacing the people of all classes in China. I am conscious of the fact that we have met here not so much to draw up a program for legislation as for the purpose of exchanging views on a subject that is of common interest to all of us; and I am hoping and feel confident that the movements we represent will gather more momentum, and that a stronger sentiment, world-wide in scope, will be built up as a result of this conference.

Until the last few years there was no liquor question in China in the sense we understand it. Of course I would be telling an untruth if I said that the Chinese do not manufacture liquors. The Chinese make some twenty varieties of wines, mostly weak. Taxes on these wines are heavy, especially in recent years. Taking the country as a whole, we may say that the use of wines is limited to festive occasions, weddings, and feast-days. The Chinese seldom drink to excess, and those who do so are generally despised. Foreign wines, whisky, and beer have been introduced into China in increasing quantities in recent years, and with the introduction of foreign breweries the problem has now become a serious one. The liquor problem in China is a problem of foreign liquors.

Low tariff has greatly helped the liquor cause. For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with Far-Eastern affairs I may add that the tariff now in force in China was arranged by treaty. The duty rate of 5 per cent *ad valorem* applied to all articles, fixed in 1858, has remained unchanged for nearly sixty years. Through the operation of the Most-Favored-Nation clause every treaty-power enjoys the benefit of China's 5 per cent tariff, but Chinese goods entering the ports of other countries are not entitled to a corresponding benefit. There is no reciprocity. Moreover, this treaty-made tariff is economically unsound. All goods are taxed a 5 per cent duty, raw materials and articles of necessity as well as articles of luxury. Owing to the low rate many articles which ought to be admitted free are taxed, while such articles as tobacco and wine are taxed at the uniform rate of 5 per cent. The absurdity of this is shown when we compare the taxes on wines of some of the leading countries trading with China.

England	15s. 2d.	per gallon (spirits)
United States	10s. 10d.	" "
Japan	10s. 2d.	" "
China	4½d.	" "

For this state of affairs the present generation in China is not responsible. It is a legacy from the Monarchy. China has again and again demanded not only the revision of the basis of valuation, but also that of the duty rate—a right enjoyed by all independent nations. She will keep on demanding it until the object is achieved.

To go back to the question of liquors. Western liquors follow the spread of Western civilization in China, unfortunately. Side by side with the importation of foreign liquors and wines came the establishment of foreign breweries in China. First we had the German breweries. Since the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment in America it seems as if the liquor interests have decided to make China a dumping-ground for the American liquors. I am authoritatively informed that in the last two years no fewer than eight breweries have gone to China. In the Fall of 1918 the Ranier brewery of California went to China, and started a plant there with a capital of \$2,000,000. In 1919 two St Louis breweries and one from Milwaukee went to China, and lately four more from the State of Illinois. These breweries have brought with them the latest methods of advertising. Such advertising signs as "American Alcohol Cures Opium" and "Sanitary Alcohol" are frequently seen.

I don't like to say anything offensive to my American friends, but I must say that you may give us your religion, your sciences, your methods of government and systems of education—we welcome all of these; but don't give us your breweries. I feel encouraged to say so because I know you don't like to see these liquor interests established in China.

There is another reason. It is personal. I received my college education in America, and have lived in this country over ten years.

China is my mother country, but America is a foster mother to me. I like to see America represented in China by her schools, by her churches, and by her other constructive enterprises; but I don't like to see America represented by breweries.

The activity of American liquor interests has caused many protests from Americans in China. It has led to the establishment of the Chinese Prohibition League. This League was founded by Chinese students in American universities and colleges and has an active membership of nearly 1,000 workers. The League is extending its activities in China. A representative of the League is here among us, a delegate to this Congress.

The Chinese Prohibition movement is a new one, because the menace is new. We seek your coöperation. Both the Government and thoughtful people in China are seriously concerned over this question. Your sympathy and your coöperation will be of great encouragement to us.

DISCUSSION

MR. HERMAN C. E. LIN (Representative of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association): Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen. Dr. Wei, of China, has mentioned in his speech that there are many American brewers going to China. The liquor traffic question in China has been more serious than you and I can realize now. China considers America as one of her best friends. From America China has received many gifts, both material and spiritual; but, my friends, China cannot accept the offer of the American brewers as a friendly gift. In order to maintain the friendship of these two great republics of the Pacific it is absolutely necessary for America not to allow her brewers to go into China.

American churches have sent hundreds of missionaries, and have established thousands of schools in China; but, my friends, on the same boats you send to China many American breweries. It is contradictory to that which you preach. The common people will not believe what you preach because it is contradictory. So, friends, if you continue to allow your brewers to go into China, it is just as well to call back all your missionaries.

Furthermore, do you not claim that America is a Christian nation? Do you not believe the Golden Rule? Will you not practise what you believe, and apply it to your neighbors? My friends, liquor is not desirable in America, nor is it desirable in China. It should be rooted out of the world.

This issue is a challenge to you, American friends. What are you going to do with it? Somebody has suggested that the American Congress should pass a law prohibiting any American citizen going to a foreign land for this purpose. Are you supporting this bill? Do you not give your helping hand? The delegates from other nations,

I hope, will not misunderstand me, that there are only American brewers in China. As a matter of fact there are many Japanese and other brewers in China, and they should all be rooted out of the world.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts is recognized for five minutes.

DR. WILBUR F. CRAFTS (President of the International Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C.): Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: The International Reform Bureau, which I represent, has had an office in China for ten years, with the Rev. T. W. Twing, who is so much beloved in China, in charge. Under the Monarchy and under the Republic he has been in close touch with the Government, with the missionaries, and with the people, so that we are in very deep interest with this movement in China; and we at the headquarters here in Washington are seeking legislation that will cover this subject. There is very little that can be done in China except from the educational side.

No doubt you have heard about a bill,—I am afraid you have not supported it, if it's news to you; there are so many bills in the States and Congress—but the Randall Bill in Congress, first of all, makes an American, wherever he is in this world, puts him under Prohibition. Why should a dry nation defend an American brewer in Europe or China? All over Europe you will see American brewers, and there is nothing in our laws yet that would prevent that misrepresentation of a dry country.

Mrs. Crafts went into a restaurant or a bar-room in Italy, which had a sign "American Bar," where she saw barmaids, and she said, "This is not an American bar; we don't have barmaids in America." And so all over the world there are likely to be these American bars. And the proposition is that the Prohibition that applies to every American in the United States shall apply to every American everywhere, so far as treaties do not prevent.

And in China they have consular courts, and a man can be tried under any law which is specifically applied to that country, but not, except in common law, to other cases; so that this particular law, the State Department informs me, would not apply unless Congress makes the specific application, which should be one of the many amendments we need to the Volstead Law. It should not be weakened, but in many points it should be strengthened.

Another law should be passed and put in the Volstead Law—that there should be no shipment of liquor, and no shipment of brewers' machinery, for the brewers have only begun to ship to China. They are hoping still for two and three-fourths beer. They hold on to their machinery. And when Congress sooner or later settles all their hopes to the contrary, then they will be shipping their machinery to a much larger extent. So I bid you keep in touch with us who are here in Washington with regard to this legislation.

The other thing I want to say is that, after all, in China, where they could prohibit it, if the Government was strong enough, and put out all these brewers, they can not protect themselves by Prohibition; they are not informed sufficiently yet of the harm of beer, which is a new drink to them, to take vigorous action. We have to do educational work; so we have taken Miss Stoddard's wonderful booklet, used more than any other one booklet in the world, "Shall we spare beer and wine?" and put it into the new general Chinese language, which a laundryman can learn in two weeks, and that great nation will presently be able to read in the new script the great arguments as to the harmfulness of beer. Then they can not be deceived into the idea that beer is a sure cure for opium.

The attempt, then, is an educational one; and it seems to me we ought to go very deeply and heartily into this matter of publishing the harmfulness of beer and wine, which is the danger-point there. They will not be caught with whisky or the harder liquors. They are likely to be more in danger because of beer and wine. And I hope we shall also circulate so that when they make a law they may make it more thorough than ours, such teachings as I hold in my hands, published in English years ago, that we need no drug-store exceptions, that there is a harmless substitute for alcohol in medicine. As I have written in this book years ago, from the hand of Dr. Nichols of New England, let us seek, when these foreign nations get Prohibition, to learn from our mistakes and make it bone dry from the first. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: We shall have the paper on "Prohibition in Russia," which was to have been given by State Attorney-General M. Glass, of Warsaw, by Dr. Robert Hercod of the International Temperance Bureau, Lausanne.

PROHIBITION IN RUSSIA

BY DR. ROBERT HERCOD

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Early in May of this year I suggested, on behalf of the European Program Committee, that the State Attorney-General of Poland, Mr. Glass, should read at this Congress a paper on Russian Prohibition during the war. Mr. Glass accepted, but owing to the political and military situation of his country in July and August, he could not think, as a high official, of coming to this country; and he did not even send me his paper, as he did not receive some important Russian documents which I had sent him. However, Russian Prohibition is of such importance for the students of the Prohibition question, that we thought it would be well to have a very short paper on the subject, and as I was during the war in touch with the Russian Prohibition workers, who sent me all the scientific investigations which had been published in Russia on the subject, I believed that I could give you a short statement on the results of Russian Prohibition.

When war broke out the Government of Russia prohibited the sale of spirits in the Empire, and empowered the cities and parishes to prohibit

the sale of wine and beer. A great many cities, among them the second capital of the empire, Moscow, prohibited wine and beer, so that the greatest part of Russia was for three years under full Prohibition.

Since the revolution we have no precise news about what is going on in Russia concerning Prohibition. Some newspapers affirm that Prohibition is rigorously enforced; others, that everybody is free to sell or to buy alcoholic liquors.

During the three years of effective Prohibition, the effects of this measure on the Russian population have been studied with great care by statistical societies, government authorities, and private scientists, and these investigations have been conducted with such rigorous scientific methods that they have a great permanent value. It is impossible, of course, to give in a ten-minute paper detailed information as to the results of Russian Prohibition. I only try to submit to you a general statement.

It was affirmed in adverse newspapers that Prohibition in Russia had been followed by a real epidemic of intoxication through methylated alcohol and similar substances; but the investigations which have dealt with this matter show that this has been greatly exaggerated. There were inveterate drunkards who, not finding spirits, and feeling in their organism an imperious desire for narcotics, resorted to every kind of drugs, but these people are degenerate and are to be considered as an exception. The normal drinker in Russia, as elsewhere, being deprived of alcohol, renounces altogether every drug.

We have also some special statistics showing a great decrease in the numbers of patients received into the lunatic asylums.

Russian statisticians have studied the effects of Prohibition on the number of fires—a great evil in Russia—a country where most houses are built of wood. For thirteen governments of Russia, we have from August to October in the years 1909 to 1913 an average of 883 fires from imprudence, and 935 criminal fires. During the same months, under Prohibition, 1914, we have 546 fires from imprudence, a decrease of 38 per cent, and 395 criminal fires, a decrease of 57 per cent.

The effects of Prohibition on the industrial production of the country have been carefully investigated by the Industrial Union of Moscow and surroundings. Their inquiry extended to about 200,000 working men and women. They endeavored especially to ascertain the influence of Prohibition on the number of working hours, that is, to compare the number of absentees from work prior to Prohibition and since Prohibition was enforced. We can not give even a small part of the statistics which have been gathered. What we bring here may be considered as illustrative. From August to October, 1913, there was an average of 23 hours of absence; for every working man or woman during the same months in the Prohibition year 1914 we have only an average of 16.5 hours of absence. For the men the difference between Prohibition and license is greater—about 40 per cent. It is common, in every country where the consumption of alcohol is general, to notice a greater number of absentees the days after Sundays and holidays and

after the pay-days. The investigation at Moscow showed that there was in Prohibition time hardly a difference as to the hours of absence between ordinary days and days after Sundays and pay-days. That is, one did not drink any more on the holidays, and the men were fitter for work on the following days.

During the time they were at work, the men produced more because they were not under the depressing influence of spirits. The investigation which we are analyzing chose a small number of industrial establishments, with about 3,400 working men and women, which had full exploitation as well in 1913 as in 1914, which were giving their people the same rate of wages and had the same organization of work. Now, we find that, as a consequence of Prohibition, the production during the time the men were really at work, was 4.5 per cent greater. For the men alone, the statistics give more favorable results, an increase of produced work of 8.9. For the metal-workers the results are still more favorable.

Several of the Russian investigations dealt, also, with the amount of deposits in savings banks, and every one registered a great increase since Prohibition was enforced. It is true that Prohibition can not be the *only* cause of such a phenomenon, because the perturbations brought into economic life by war, and the high prices which were paid for a number of necessities, have contributed to the favorable economic situation of several classes of the population.

The Russian investigations give not only statistics, but also the results of personal inquiries of officials or other reliable correspondents in several parts of the Empire, and these personal inquiries are not less interesting than the statistics. They bring a great many striking and almost touching testimonials of the feeling of the population, quite especially of the country population, concerning Prohibition. We hear the voice of peasants, and working men, of humble parish priests or parish teachers, of country physicians, of local authorities; in one word, of men and women representing the great majority of Russia, and these testimonials are almost unanimous. They all point to a great amelioration of family life. There is, since Prohibition has been in force, much more happiness in the home. There is also a great desire for more culture; instead of spending their time as they did in drinking-places, the peasants—those who are able to read—are longing for newspapers and books. They feel, much better than before, the benefits of instruction and education; and they attend with thankfulness all the educational lectures which are given them. The general impression which every impartial man must draw from the Russian investigations on Prohibition is that Prohibition has been a great boon for Russia; and one may hope that as soon as this great country finds again its equilibrium, it will save, from the measures taken under its last emperor, alcohol Prohibition, which will do wonders for the progress of the population.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have Miss Spence's paper, which we were to have had to-morrow, but which for her conven-

ience has been set for this afternoon. The subject of it is "The Movement Against Alcoholism in the Dominion of Canada."

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA

By MISS RUTH E. SPENCE
OF TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Congress: May I say how much I appreciate the honor that the American Committee has done me in asking me to speak here, and also their courtesies in arranging that I should be able to do so this afternoon? I feel very hesitant, as you will understand, in addressing this august assembly, and feel that I should be sitting at your feet, as indeed I have been doing for the last few days. I am somewhat of an amateur at this subject; but having had occasion to make a study of this particular aspect of the subject I am glad to be able to contribute what I can this afternoon.

The movement against alcoholism in Canada, although of phenomenally rapid progress, has gone through distinct stages of growth. Our present Prohibition situation was not brought about suddenly by fanatical agitation or by pressure of temporary exigencies, but was reached step by step. The strength of the movement lies in sound fundamental principles, and their steadily enlarging application to social conditions. It has developed, in Canada, as elsewhere, from a personal idea to a social one, from advocacy of abstinence by the individual to that of Prohibition by the State—an essentially logical order of development under democratic institutions.

TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES

Organized temperance reform in Canada began early in the nineteenth century, very humbly, with a few individuals who, believing the use of intoxicating beverages harmful, pledged themselves to renounce it, and formed little temperance societies for mutual encouragement and the propagation of their ideas. They were opposed, scoffed at, or ignored as a handful of fanatics. Yet it was not long before there was a Band of Hope, Blue Ribbon Club, or Temperance Lodge in almost every village. These early temperance societies took more definite form as fraternal and benefit organizations—Sons of Temperance, Independent Order of Good Templars, and Royal Templars of Temperance, which, following up the interest created by the pledge-signing crusade, went further and advocated total Prohibition as well as total abstinence.

THE CHURCH

At first this movement was entirely outside the organized church. But through the young people's societies the churches were swung into line and, indeed, came in time to supersede the temperance societies, which gradually dropped out as their torch was carried for-

ward by the older and stronger institution of the Christian Church.

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, organized in Canada in 1874, with the fraternal societies, stood for legislative action as well as moral suasion. All these agencies took an increasingly active part in political campaigns. Moreover, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union pioneered the road that led to the enfranchisement of women in Canada, realizing that without the ballot women could not effectively combat the legalized liquor traffic.

EARLY LAWS

The direct logical result of this campaign of education, in which the fundamentals of sound temperance doctrine took root in the public conscience, was the early enactment of prohibitory legislation. Men saw that if they would be effectual, it was not enough to oppose wrong ideas and customs by moral suasion. They must deal with the institution of the liquor traffic, invested as it was with the strength and respectability of legal sanction.

In 1855 the Province of New Brunswick enacted total Prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating beverages. Because of political complications, however, the law was repealed within a year.

DUNKIN ACT

In 1864 the Legislature of Canada passed the Dunkin Act, giving to counties, cities, towns, townships and villages of Ontario and Quebec authority to prohibit the *retail sale* of liquor within their respective limits. Many municipalities availed themselves of the law. Although it had weaknesses which impaired its usefulness, yet it did good in reducing crime and drunkenness where it was honestly enforced.

CONFEDERATION

In 1867 Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were confederated with the old Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The Dunkin Act had no application to these Maritime Provinces, and temperance workers sought the enactment of legislation which should supersede it. Deputations, petitions, resolutions voiced the growing demand for a law of Dominion-wide Prohibition.

There arose now a serious difficulty—uncertainty as to the relative extent of Dominion and Provincial power in the enactment of prohibitory legislation. The British North America Act, which defined the terms of confederation, dealt with the subject of jurisdiction only in general terms. This has necessitated much long, tedious, expensive litigation in the submission to the courts of test cases on various matters. The Prohibition movement has suffered particularly from this jurisdiction difficulty, which is even to-day the cause of serious hindrance in the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory legislation.

CANADA TEMPERANCE ACT

Pleading uncertainty of their legislative power, the Federal Parliament, in the face of strong pressure, delayed action until 1878, when they passed, not the Prohibition law asked for, but a Dominion local-option law, the Canada Temperance Act, which improved upon the Dunkin Act in many particulars. This enabled electors in a city or county to prohibit by vote the sale of intoxicating liquors within their boundaries, except for medicinal, sacramental or industrial purposes. Its constitutionality being established by the Imperial Privy Council in 1882, the measure was adopted successfully in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

In Prince Edward Island within seven years the Act was in operation throughout the whole province of three counties and one city. The counties maintained the law against attempts at repeal till the passing of provincial Prohibition in 1900. Nova Scotia cleared the liquor traffic out of every county and city in the province except the capital city, Halifax. In New Brunswick nine of the fourteen counties and two of the three cities were under the operation of the Canada Temperance Act at the time of the enactment of the provincial prohibitory law.

In Ontario and Quebec the Act had a different history, however. In Ontario 25 counties and 2 cities adopted it, and it was repealed in all of them before 1889. It ran a similar course in Quebec. The reason for its unpopularity in these places was not that the Act itself was a failure where properly tried. In Ontario in one year of its operation, commitments to jail for drunkenness were reduced by more than 50 per cent. But various circumstances conspired to interfere with its successful administration. Great dissatisfaction ensued, and the Act was repealed. That its repeal was not due to ebb of Prohibition sentiment, however, is clearly evident from succeeding events.

PLEBISCITES

Repeated requests of the electors for the enactment of prohibitory legislation led four of the Provincial Governments to take plebiscites on the question, with the following results:

	Manitoba (1892)	Prince Edward Island (1893)	Ontario (1894)	Nova Scotia (1894)
In favor of Prohibition.....	19,637	10,616	192,489	43,756
Against Prohibition	7,115	3,390	110,720	12,355
Majority in favor	12,522	7,226	81,769	31,401

No legislative action followed these votes, the Provincial Assemblies taking refuge behind the old excuse of uncertainty as to the extent of their jurisdiction.

As early as 1884 the Federal Parliament had adopted an historic resolution to the effect that the right and most effectual legislative remedy for alcoholism was the enactment and enforcement of a law

of total Prohibition, and that the House was prepared, as soon as public opinion would sustain it, to promote such legislation so far as lay within its powers.

In 1898 the Federal Government in its turn decided to test public opinion on the question of Prohibition by a plebiscite. The results were:

Province	For	Against	Majority	
			For	Against
Ontario	154,498	115,284	39,214	.....
Quebec	28,436	122,760	.....	94,324
Nova Scotia	34,678	5,370	29,308	.....
New Brunswick	26,919	9,575	17,344	.....
Prince Edward Island	9,461	1,146	8,315	.....
Manitoba	12,419	2,978	9,441	.....
British Columbia	5,731	4,756	975	.....
N.-W. Territory	6,238	2,824	3,414	.....
Total	278,380	264,693	108,011	94,324
	Net majority "for." 13,687.			

In spite of this overwhelming majority in favor of Prohibition in eight out of nine provinces, the Government declared that the results did not justify the introduction of a prohibitory measure. This threw the burden of responsibility back upon the provinces to go as far as they could constitutionally.

REFERENDA

In 1900 there was passed by the Manitoba Legislature a drastic measure of Prohibition of all liquor transactions originating and ending within the province. The law was declared *ultra vires* of provincial jurisdiction by the Supreme Court of Manitoba, but was sustained upon appeal to the Imperial Privy Council. Instead of putting the law into operation, however, a new government, disclaiming responsibility for its enactment, in 1902 held a referendum on the question of its enforcement. Temperance people were divided in opinion as to the wisdom of the vote, many holding that the conditions were unjust. A very small poll was cast, which resulted in a majority of 6,857 against the law, and the Act was repealed.

Upon the decision of the Privy Council in regard to provincial jurisdiction, the Ontario Government in 1902 introduced a bill to bring into operation in that province an act similar to the Manitoba Prohibition Law, if approved by a referendum. The conditions imposed required an aggregate vote of 213,723 in favor of the Act. The vote polled was as follows:

For the Act	199,749
Against the Act	103,548

Majority for the Act 96,201

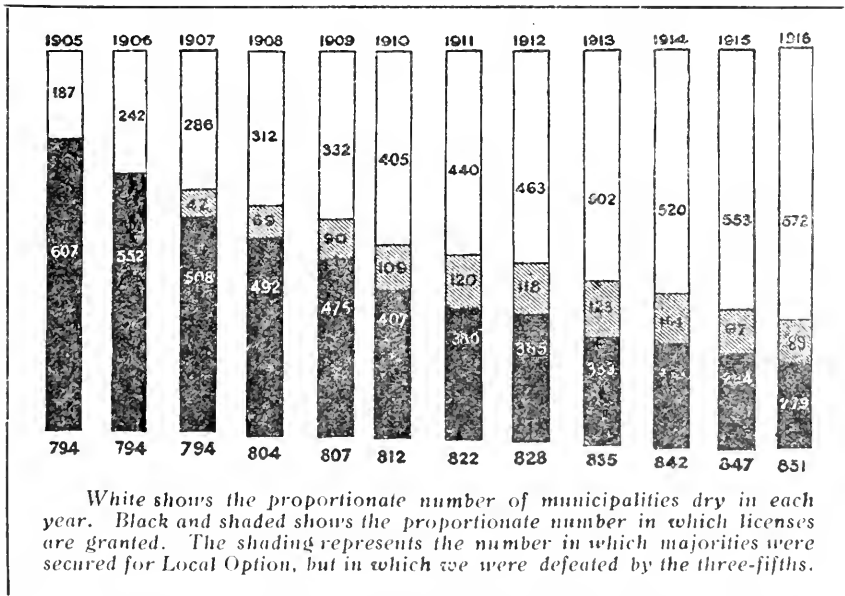
Thus the vote was not large enough to bring the Act into force.

LOCAL OPTION

The Provincial and Dominion plebiscites and Provincial referenda

were unequivocal expressions of strong public sentiment in favor of Prohibition. Denied expression in the law of the land, that sentiment inevitably sought outlet through another channel, by the use of local option clauses early incorporated in the provincial license laws and heretofore practically neglected in favor of the Dunkin Act and Canada Temperance Act, or in efforts to obtain from Federal and Provincial Parliaments more comprehensive thoroughgoing legislation. The local-option laws provided that any municipality might enact a by-law prohibiting the retail sale of liquor within its limits. The case of Ontario may be cited as the province in which the local-option method was most widely adopted. Here the by-law was first to be passed by the municipal council and then ratified by a majority vote of the electors.

The subjoined diagram illustrates the progress in that province:



In 1906 an amendment was enacted providing that in future no local-option by-law would be considered ratified unless there was polled in its favor 60 per cent of all votes cast upon the question. Notwithstanding this serious obstacle, the increase in the number of local Prohibition areas during the next ten years was remarkable. In 1906 there were 242 municipalities under local option. By 1916 the number had increased to 572. During those years, opportunity was given for the repeal of Prohibition at any time after it had been in force for three years. But such was its success that in the last six years of the local-option period, out of 1,330 opportunities for repeal, in 1,260 cases the law was so firmly established that there was

not even sufficient opposition to bring the matter to a vote. Seventy repeal contests were brought on, and the law was sustained in 69 of these cases.

In Quebec, even in 1898, out of a total of 933 municipalities, 603 had forbidden the sale of liquor within their boundaries. The use of the local-option method was continued until in 1917 there were 1,097 of the 1,187 municipalities of the province under no license. One of the last and most striking victories was that of the capital city of Quebec, which in 1917 adopted the Canada Temperance Act by a majority of 3,251.

In the Province of Manitoba out of 158 municipalities, 87 went dry.

Similar methods were used by the provinces of the west, except British Columbia, which never had a local-option law.

The gaining of local Prohibition meant practical demonstrations of the business, social, and moral benefits of its operation. People saw the good results in other places and adopted the measure for themselves. Thus the movement grew from the earliest beginnings of the first pledge-signers. Public opinion was built up by sound educational methods and brought forth a certain measure of prohibitory legislation. That legislation, imperfect as it was, nevertheless proved a means of further education. It taught the worth of the Prohibition principle by the sure method of experiment and example, and laid the foundation for a larger and better law.

MODERATION VERSUS TEETOTALISM

Looking back once again to those early temperance societies, we find that at first they allowed, indeed sometimes encouraged, the use by their members of beer, ales, and light wines in the supposed interests of true temperance. They set out to remedy drunkenness by what they considered wise methods of drinking. Through experience they learned, however, not only that moderate indulgence in intoxicants had as certainly its own harmful effects as excess of their use, but also that partial regulations were more difficult of enforcement than thoroughgoing ones—that laxity of law made for lawlessness. Thus the movement against alcoholism in Canada, which began by advocating moderation, to-day stands for teetotalism.

LICENSE LAWS

This development is to be found in the evolution of temperance legislation. The first step in dealing with the liquor traffic in Canada was to license it with the purpose of bringing it under control and making it revenue-productive.

The license laws which filled the statute books for the next hundred and fifty years were in essence prohibitory. That is to say, they were made up of partial Prohibition—temperance in moderation. By their enactment, the liquor traffic was recognized as an evil which must be repressed. The sale of intoxicants was forbidden except by certain persons, in certain places, on certain days, within certain

hours, under certain conditions, in certain quantities, to certain people. But they perpetuated the institution of the liquor traffic by making it legal and an apparent source of profit to the nation. As was said by the late F. S. Spence, a leading Canadian temperance authority:

The history of civil government and governmental methods records no more complete failure than that which has invariably attended all efforts to regulate admitted evils. Slavery, gambling, social vice, the liquor traffic have all developed their worst features and produced their worst results under legislation enacted with the avowed object of controlling them and making them revenue-productive.

The license laws, different in detail in the different provinces, were continually made more and more stringent. Fees were increased, hours of sale were shortened, the age limit of those to whom liquor might be sold was raised, penalties for law violation were made more and more severe, better provision was supplied for law enforcement, and facilities were increased for limiting or reducing the number of licenses in any vicinity. In Ontario the number of licenses issued in 1875 was 6,185. Notwithstanding a steady increase in population, there was a steady reduction in the licenses until the number in 1916 (when Provincial Prohibition came into operation) was 1,529.

LIMITATIONS OF LOCAL OPTION

The local-option laws, federal and provincial, which supplemented the license laws were, also, only partial measures, and contained serious elements of weakness.

As local option spread, a difficulty arose because of the contiguity of wet and dry areas. Local option in any locality did not interfere with the working of license in an adjoining or adjacent locality, but adjacent licenses did interfere with the successful operation of local Prohibition. The more the province became checker-boarded with "local option" and "license," and particularly when the local-option areas gained preponderance, the licenses in the remaining territory became not simply a matter of local concern to be dealt with by action of the people of that municipality, but a matter of general concern, to be dealt with only by a general law. Thus, local option paved the way and created the demand for the logical next step—Provincial Prohibition, which exists to-day in eight out of nine provinces of Canada.

PROVINCIAL PROHIBITION

There is no doubt that the outbreak of the war helped to hasten the end of the legalized liquor traffic in Canada. The imperative demand for efficiency and economy gave force to the appeal for immediate action. But Prohibition as it exists in Canada to-day is not a moral whim, nor was it brought about by war conditions. It is rather the expression in legislation of a growing determination to suppress the evils of the liquor traffic. The progressive development throughout Canada may be seen by a general survey of the provinces.

Prince Edward Island was the first to go dry. In 1900 a Provincial Prohibition Act was passed. At first it applied only to Char-

lottedown, since the Canada Temperance Act in operation in the counties took precedence over the provincial law. But the validity of this first provincial prohibitory law being finally established by the Supreme Court in 1902, the Dominion measure was repealed in the counties, and the entire island was thus brought under provincial Prohibition.

In 1910 the Nova Scotia Legislature enacted a provincial prohibitory law, the city of Halifax, however, being exempt. In 1916 Halifax was also brought under its operation.

In New Brunswick the provincial law went into operation in 1917. In 1920 the electors by a majority of 20,667 voted in favor of the law and gave a majority of 14,662 against the sale of light wines and beer.

In 1916 the leaders of both political parties in Ontario joined hands in passing the Ontario Temperance Act, which was carried by a unanimous vote of the members of the Legislature and went into operation the same year. In 1919 the electors voted on the question of its continuance, as it stood, or with three proposed modifications. The Act was sustained by a majority of 407,789, and every proposition to weaken it was overwhelmingly defeated.

The Manitoba Legislature in 1915 passed a Prohibition act which was to be subject to ratification by the people. The voting the following year gave a majority of 24,595 in favor of the law, every constituency but one returning a favorable vote. The law went into operation in 1916.

Saskatchewan made an attempt at a partial measure which proved unsatisfactory and was abandoned. In 1915 the Legislature passed an act closing all the bars and the 38 liquor-stores of the province, but established Government dispensaries for the retail sale of liquor, in original packages, in 22 of the principal cities and towns. These dispensaries were made subject to local option and were promptly wiped out in six districts. A provincial referendum the following year on the question of abolishing the remainder resulted in a vote of 95,249 to 23,666 in favor of their abolition. The law giving effect to this demand, and thus bringing the province under provincial Prohibition, became operative in 1917.

The Province of Alberta in 1915 voted on provincial Prohibition, which was approved by a majority of 21,086, the total vote being nearly 2 to 1, and the law went into force in 1916.

The Legislature of British Columbia passed a Prohibition bill in 1916 which was approved by a large majority of the electors and went into operation in 1917. The Province is voting at an early date upon the question of the continuance of this measure.

All these provincial Prohibition acts are practically the same. They prohibit the sale or keeping for sale of liquors containing more than 2½ per cent proof spirits, except for medicinal, industrial, or sacramental purposes, by druggists, authorized vendors, or government agencies.

The Province of Quebec alone in Canada permits the sale of intoxicating beverages. In 1918 the Legislature passed a thorough-going Prohibition measure; but the following year, before the benefits of the new law had been tried out, a referendum was held on the question of permitting the sale of light beer, cider and wine. The result was a majority of 129,699 for the breaking down of the law.

FEDERAL LAW

From the start Prohibitionists in Canada have never receded from their position that the only successful method of dealing with the liquor traffic is by a thorough-going measure of Dominion-wide Prohibition. Failing to secure that, they sought provincial legislation. Failing again there, they demonstrated the strength of their cause through the local-option method. The smaller the area, the more limited, of course, the extent of jurisdiction.

Although the decisions of the courts are not conclusive, it has been generally considered that the Federal Parliament has the right to prohibit or control the manufacture, importation, and interprovincial shipment of intoxicating liquor; and the Provincial Legislature to control local selling, that is, transactions that are completed within the boundaries of a Province.

During the war, when every province but one had enacted a Prohibitory law, the Federal Parliament, supplemented the provincial laws by war-time orders-in-council, prohibiting all manufacture and importation of liquor, and the shipment of liquor into prohibited areas, this to be in force during the war and for twelve months after the declaration of peace. An appeal was made to Parliament that this measure of national Prohibition should be made permanent by being embodied in legislation. Instead, however, there was passed an amendment to the Canada Temperance Act. This amendment, commonly known as "Bill 26," provides that a vote of the electors may be taken in a province for or against the prohibition of the importation and bringing of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes into that province. If a majority of electors voting are favorable, the Governor in Council shall proclaim that Prohibition to be in force.

On December 31, 1919, before any provinces could avail themselves of this new law, the war-time orders-in-council were repealed by the Government, and liquor can once more be freely manufactured and imported and shipped interprovincially. A vote under the provisions of Bill 26 is to be taken in October in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and in the Yukon Territory. Ontario is to vote in April, 1921.

This Federal legislation is, however, incomplete. It does not presume to deal with the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, or with the importation for other than beverage purposes, or with the shipment within the province of liquor ordered from any place outside the province but manufactured and delivered within the limits of that province. This last

transaction, known as "short-circuiting," is being carried on extensively in Ontario, where there are seven distilleries and thirty-four breweries. Moreover, the free importation of liquor for permitted purposes gives facility for law violation.

These loopholes in the Federal legislation necessitate further action on the part of Prohibition provinces in order to make effective the enforcement of their Prohibition laws. Ontario has dealt with the situation by the enactment of what is known as the "Sandy Bill." This bill makes it an offense to transport, carry, deliver, or take delivery of liquor for sale or consumption within the province except by order of the Board of License Commissioners. The act, which effectively supplements the provisions of the Ontario Temperance Act, only goes into operation, however, after the Governor-General's proclamation following the vote on importation.

The legislation upon the statute-books is not accepted by the Prohibitionists of Canada as final. The last word is yet to be spoken. Already an organized campaign is in progress to supplement all the laws by a larger, stronger, more comprehensive measure of total, nation-wide Prohibition as effective as that in force in the United States of America.

GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION

To-day scientific facts re-enforce moral persuasion in the movement against alcoholism in Canada.

ACTUARIAL SCIENCE FIGURES

Early opposition to the temperance crusade was quite unscientific in its attitude. There are men living to-day who tell of having been refused in the early days by life-insurance companies because as total abstainers they were considered subnormal. Contrast that attitude with the fact that in our public schools to-day children are being taught from authorized scientific text-books that abstainers are better insurance risks than even moderate drinkers.

The following table of actuarial statistics is taken from the text-book authorized for use in the schools of Ontario:

YEARS OF EXPECTED LIFE			
	Healthy	Temperance	Greater Average
Age	Males	Males	Life of Abstainers
20	41.56	46.95	12.97 per cent
25	37.90	42.97	13.38 " "
35	30.52	34.59	13.23 " "
45	23.29	26.10	12.06 " "
55	16.46	18.13	10.14 " "
60	13.33	14.55	9.15 " "

The above is not a comparison of abstainers' lives with those of non-abstainers', but of abstainers' lives with the standards for well-selected lives generally, which are not classified.

MEDICAL SCIENCE

During the serious influenza epidemics in Ontario in the last two winters, amongst a part of the population, dissatisfaction was loudly

conditions, and adding that, during the eleven months ending April 30, 1919, only 9 cases out of 773 were reported as having the handicap of intemperance. Ordinarily the bulk of such cases would be due to alcoholism in some form.

EDUCATION

Education in Canada pronounces strongly to-day against alcoholism. Through the efforts of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, temperance teaching was early made compulsory in Ontario. But the instruction suffered neglect because of its not being an examination subject. A couple of years ago the Ontario Minister of Education renewed the ruling that the teaching of temperance should be compulsory. He showed the measure of his conviction by acceptance of the most pronounced views on the subject, and the temperance matter in the new authorized text-book has been prepared by the Scientific Temperance Department of one of the leading temperance organizations of Canada. The present Minister of Education, the Hon. R. H. Grant, has promised that not only shall teachers teach the subject, but that it shall be put on the curriculum of the provincial normal schools.

In the Maritime Provinces temperance has for many years been an examination subject in the public schools, beginning with oral instruction for the small children and continuing through the high schools into the model and normal schools. These provinces have always been strongholds of prohibition sentiment, and Prince Edward Island preceded the rest of Canada by fifteen years in the enactment of a provincial Prohibitory law.

Illustrating the development of favorable opinion on the part of business men regarding Prohibition, a case might be cited of the questionnaire sent to members of the Board of Trade of Toronto after Prohibition had been in force in that city for just one year. One member wrote to his fellow members for a brief line giving their frank opinion as to the working of Prohibition and the effect, beneficial or otherwise, particularly in regard to business conditions. 397 replies were received covering the major industries and commercial institutions of the city. These were divided into five classes and the replies were as follows:

(1) Strongly unfavorable	3
(2) Mildly unfavorable	6
(3) No opinion	22
(4) Mildly favorable	25
(5) Strongly favorable	341

From the testimonies received in answer to these questions, there was compiled the following summary of opinions:

1. Retail and wholesale business increased and improved, a larger proportion of cash trade, a greater demand for the better class of goods.
2. Increased regularity, punctuality, and efficiency of workers, resulting in greater earnings for labor and larger returns for capital.
3. More employment at better wages, better conditions and greater safety of work, higher standard of living.

PROHIBITION IN FINLAND

BY DR. MATTI HELENIUS-SEPPÄLÄ

CHIEF OF THE TEMPERANCE SECTION OF THE MINISTRY FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS, HELSINGFORS, FINLAND.

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: More than fifty years ago Finland was one of the most strongly alcoholized countries in the world, and consumed annually an average of 15 liters of whisky per inhabitant. There were thousands of legal household distilleries and a large number of illegal distilleries at work. Even the women were given to intoxicating drinks. Often children were christened not in water alone, but water in which some whisky had been mixed was used for this rite. In one country parish a blue suit was solemnly presented to a young man as a great reward, because he was the only sober youth in the parish. The farmers carried on a solemn discussion in the press on the important question whether the older cows ought not to be given spirits as an appetizer, as such had proved to be wholesome for human beings. Under these conditions the Finnish people would have been ruined if legislation on Prohibition had not come to the rescue.

Now what was it that made the people rise against the domination of spirits? Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to tell you a short anecdote in answer to this question.

We in Finland make a kind of very weak, almost non-alcoholic malt liquor, which forms a kind of national drink. It is brewed in the country on every farm, and kept in larger or smaller wooden casks, which have at the bottom a hole with a wooden plug, so that the liquor can be drawn off. The liquor is called in Finnish *kalja* ("weak drink"). Now one day it happened that the servant-maid on a farm was to take out a pot of *kalja* to the farm-people, and so she removed the plug to fill the pot. At the same moment she heard the coffee-pot boil over on the kitchen stove. Now all women know that a coffee-pot which boils over must be attended to before anything else in the world, so the girl rushed into the kitchen. Then the mistress called to her to hurry up with the pot of *kalja*. So she went into the dining-room with the pot she had filled. When she went back into the room where the cask stood, she saw that the most frightful havoc had been wrought, the whole floor was swimming with *kalja*. The girl gave a scream of dismay, and began to collect all the mats, towels, and rags she could find to mop up the *kalja*. Her mistress heard her cry and rushed in and began to mop the floor too, but soon noticed that the plug was not in the cask, and that more *kalja* was, therefore, pouring out of it. "Where in the world have you put the plug?" she asked the girl, who only then noticed that all the time she had been running about with the plug in her left hand. Well, when the plug had been replaced in the cask, it was possible to get the floor dry.

In a case like that, everyone understands what must be done before it is possible to begin repairing the damage done by a flood of drink.

Likewise we cannot remedy the evil done by intoxicants until we have "plugged the hole," *i. e.*, until we have Prohibition.

Now that was what the Finnish people saw. Their action contains the simple philosophy of Prohibition.

The Prohibition fight in Finland began more than half a century ago,—in the year 1866, when the law was put in force which prohibited the distilling of whisky at home. The Finnish farmers thought, that in giving up their old privilege of home distilling, in this way all drinking would end. But slowly whisky distilleries and breweries began spreading the drinking habit all over the land. On the other side the best forces of the nation fought, with the help of temperance education and legislation, for Prohibition.

Already in 1883, at the first general Finnish Temperance Conference at Abo, it was expressly said that the legislative goal of the Finnish temperance movement was Prohibition. Step by step restrictions were carried through with regard to the sale of alcoholic drinks. Then, when the general franchise had come into force in 1906, the Prohibition fight began decidedly in earnest, conditions being about as follows: There was not one labor association in Finland which would permit the serving of alcohol on its premises. The restaurant of the National Theater of Finland and the restaurant of the House of Students were entirely free from alcohol. Not one newspaper printed in the Finnish language would accept advertisements for whisky or other alcoholic drinks. The newly created One-House Parliament of 1907 never allowed the serving of alcoholic drinks in its restaurant.

When the Finnish Social-Democratic party was founded it had at once as part of its program the advocacy of National Prohibition, and when the general franchise had come into force, all other political parties followed the example of the Social-Democrats, with the exception of the Swedish party. But when the Swedish Radicals broke away from this party, this new party adopted in its program the claim for strict enforcement of Prohibition.

Inasmuch as in 1907 Finland's first prohibitory act was passed almost unanimously, it was in no sense a rebellious action, but the fruit of ten years of temperance work, and the result of the slowly ripening general sentiment.

The Grand Duke of Finland, the Russian Czar, did not, however, sanction the first Prohibition law. On the 15th day of November, 1917, the Finnish Parliament again passed a Prohibition act by a vote of 158 to 34. This act, after many ups and downs, finally went into effect as a law on the first day of June, 1919. Twice the Parliament petitioned the Grand Duke to confirm the Prohibition act, first in 1914 by a vote of 123 to 38, and again in 1916 by a vote of 126 to 62. In the last-named year we find that to the minority belonged a group of the supporters of the Prohibition law, who did not wish to petition for anything more from the Russian Czar.

Especially hard was the fight of the proalcohol capitalists against

the Prohibition act in the last part of the year 1914 and at the beginning of 1915. There was great danger that they, assisted by the pro-Russian Senate would prevent the sanctioning of the bill by the Grand Duke. The leaders of the temperance movement thought it necessary that public opinion again be heard. First the municipal assemblies in the country were asked to express their opinion; and the great majority of these demanded that the bill, as soon as possible, should be forwarded to the Czar to be sanctioned. In the towns there were circulated the so-called "Prohibition lists," to which the friends of Prohibition were asked to sign their names.

In the towns where the lists were circulated, the names of from 50 to 97 per cent of all the citizens aged 21 years and over were secured. At Helsingfors the circulation of lists was stopped by the Russian Governor-General, Mr. Seyn; but before this happened more than one half of the citizens of the metropolis, aged 21 years and over, had signed their names—more than 43,000 persons. About 80 per cent of those asked to sign their names did so. This mighty expression of public opinion had great influence upon the Senate, and besides it highly encouraged the temperance people to carry the fight for Prohibition through to completion.

When Finland, in the year 1917, after the great Russian revolution, received her freedom, the Parliament was unanimously in favor of having the Prohibition act confirmed, and the confirmation took place on the 29th of May, 1917. In this law it was decreed that it was to go into effect two years after it was confirmed, counting from the first day of June following. During the period of the war, however, Finland was, practically speaking, under almost complete Prohibition as regards alcoholic drinks. This war-time Prohibition began in August, 1914. The Prohibition law, as stated above, went into effect on the 1st of June, 1919. On the 26th day of July, 1919, Parliament by a vote of 142 to 39, passed a new law strengthening the provisions of the Prohibition law. The Prohibition law thus reinforced went into effect immediately after being sanctioned by the President.

No less than six times during twelve years the Parliament of Finland has passed Prohibition bills; and this has been done either by common consent, so that a vote was not taken, or at least by a great majority. The political situation changed as did the grouping of the parties, but there was always a large majority of the members of Parliament who supported Prohibition.

Finland's Prohibition law totally prohibits the manufacture, importation, sale, transportation, and storing of all substances containing more than two per cent of ethyl alcohol by volume, unless used for medical, technical or scientific purposes. The manufacturing of alcohol for the last-mentioned purposes is monopolized by the Government; and the Temperance Section of the Ministry for Social Affairs, which was organized May 7, 1919, has charge of this monopoly. It, also, in cooperation with the temperance organizations, has charge of the temperance edu-

cational work. The country has been divided into several districts, each district having its own temperance instructor. These instructors go from one parish to another, lecturing and holding conferences with the municipal authorities, including the policemen, instructing these officials concerning the operation and upholding of the Prohibition law. The municipal councils may elect their own delegates to assist the police authorities in enforcing the Prohibition law. The chemists and the manufacturers may buy alcohol only from the State's stores, with the permission and under the control of the Temperance Section of the Ministry for Social Affairs. In Finland we believe the enforcement of the Prohibitory law to be possible and satisfactory only on the condition that the State has in its own hand entire control of the manufacture, importation and sale of alcohol for legal purposes. There is thus left no room for any legal private distillers or wholesalers.

The opponents of Prohibition in Finland maintain that the number of illegal distilleries will grow when the legal liquor traffic is prohibited. With regard to Finland, the so-called "moonshining" has always existed in our land, a condition of affairs which was complained of in the early days when home distilling was legal. In 1863-1864 it was officially reported in the Parliament that illegal distilling occurred chiefly in those places where legal distilling had its centers. A person may have a disease of the chest a long time before he goes to seek medical aid. If the doctor diagnoses the disease as phthisis, this does not of course alter the condition of the patient one bit; he was sick before he knew the diagnosis. That the Finnish people's attention has been turned to the illegal distilling is the first step toward a change for the better. As we have no longer any public and legal liquor traffic to conceal and protect the illegal traffic, it is easier to find both the illegal distilleries and the illicit saloons. On the other hand, the fight against these evils is quite hopeless, as long as there is a legal liquor traffic. If a ship has sprung a leak it is, of course, of no use to allow the secret holes to make a large hole, to be seen by every one.

Another objection against the Finnish Prohibition law has been that Finland would get no treaty of commerce with France if the Prohibition law was not repealed. It is true that France protested against the enactment of the Prohibition law of Finland; but very likely France is now ready to make an agreement with Finland without any demand for the repeal of the Prohibition law, on condition, of course, that Finland shall buy other products from France. This affair has by no means been of the importance which the opponents of Prohibition hoped it would be. France understands how to value the acts of our Parliament and the will of the Finnish people better than certain citizens of our own country do.

In order to judge of the results of the Finnish Prohibition law up to the present time, you will have to take into consideration the state of affairs in our country when this law was enacted. The war had caused a weakening of the moral tone of our people, and no law was fully

respected. Nor had there been time for working out all the measures which were necessary for the effective enforcement of the Prohibition law. The Parliament of Finland had calculated that about two years would be needed for the preparatory measures leading up to the introduction of the Prohibition act, but the conditions after the "Red Revolution" in 1918 were such that we had in the end not more than about two weeks for these preparations. Consequently much of the work concerning the enforcement of the law has not yet been done.

The social statistics of Finland are in general very deficient, so that they do not constitute a good basis for a universal judgment of the results of the Prohibition law. We must be content with some outstanding facts.

With regard to illegal distilling we have reliable statistics only from the county of Vasa. These statistics show that the number of illegal distilleries and illegal selling-places for intoxicants ("blind tigers") was as follows:

	Illegal Dis- tilleries	"Blind Tigers"
1919		
January, February and March, together	379	159
April	155	62
May	108	42
June	104	23
July	51	5
August	37	31
September	70	30
October	123	48
November	106	17
December	138	30
1920		
January	47	26
February	87	41
March	84	30
April	78	39
May	59	30
June	66	21

From these figures we learn that "moonshining" in this county, which has been one of the worst counties with regard to illegal distilling, has not increased since Prohibition went into effect, but, on the contrary, has decreased. This is owing to a better control on the part of the authorities, but more than all to the fact that the people themselves have opened a systematic fight against this evil. In fact, in no county from which we have official records has "moonshining" increased during the last months. In the county of Nyland, including the City of Helsingfors, there was only one case of illegal distilling during last June, and one case during last July.

The quantity of illegally distilled whisky is quite insignificant compared with the amount of whisky manufactured during the period when the liquor traffic was legal. I once made a test of this, supposing that at any rate one tenth of the moonshining would be discovered, which is

perhaps not very complimentary to the police authorities. The result of my investigation was that in the county of Vasa in the course of one year some ten thousand liters of whisky were distilled illegally (multiplying by ten the quantity of illegally distilled liquors which were discovered). But, according to Finland's official statistical year-book, there was in the year 1913, the last year of legal distilling, in the county of Vasa legally distilled 573,740 liters of alcohol (50 per cent). The difference was, as you will see, not less than half a million liters. Remembering the quantities of legally and illegally distilled liquors, I think that the Finnish Minister, Kairame, was right when he said at a meeting of the Finnish Parliament's Financial Committee that, if the total quantity of illegally distilled liquor had to be divided into equal parts according to the population of Finland, there would now be as many thimbles per head as there were liters when liquor was legally distilled, that is, before the present Prohibition law.

As to the arrests for drunkenness, I shall only present figures from the metropolis of Finland, where the number of these arrests is greater than in other places in Finland. At Helsingfors the arrests for drunkenness were as follows:

1912.....	22,727	1916.....	4,290
1913.....	23,266	1917.....	5,133
1914.....	13,121	1918.....	2,928
1915.....	4,446	1919.....	5,488

In the year 1914 you will find that the number of arrests fell about one half, when war-time Prohibition went into effect at the beginning of August, and during the following years it has been only a fractional part of what it was when the alcoholic traffic was legal. The statistics for 1918, the year of the revolt, are not to be relied on.

This year the number of arrests for drunkenness increased a little, on account of the drinking of denatured alcohol until the process of denaturizing was made thorough, and later on account of the smuggling of liquors from Esthonia. Furthermore, the police now arrest many persons who formerly were not considered as drunk.

There are other facts which supplement these statistics. The Temperance Section of the Ministry for Social Affairs sent out a circular letter to the chiefs of police in Finland. When I left Finland, the most of these had answered, 32 out of 36 stating that drunkenness had decreased, and 33 out of 36 stating that it is now easier to keep order than during the legal alcohol traffic. The cases of drunkenness in the city of Helsingfors were one fourth of the number before war-time Prohibition; in Wiborg they were one fifth; Sbo, one fourth; Tammerfors one third; Kuopio one fifth; Tavastehus, as well as in the smaller towns in general, one ninth or less. In a northern town, Kemi, drunkenness has decreased by 90 per cent. It is especially interesting to notice that the number of Finnish "knife fights" greatly decreased. During the great church festivals, it was formerly necessary for the surgical hospital in Helsingfors to have additional surgical help and

extra supplies of dressing material for those who had been wounded while under the influence of alcohol. These people were in great numbers brought to the hospitals during the night in order to have their wounds dressed. Such instances are now very rare.

Of 392 ministers of the State Church, who replied to a circular letter sent out by the Government Temperance Office, 290 stated that drunkenness had been very materially reduced in their parishes through the enactment of Prohibition; 31 reported no change; 29 could not give definite answers; and only 42 insisted that drunkenness had increased. Most of the county township officials reported a like result. The circular letter referred to above was discussed at most of the country-town assemblies in Finland. Out of 309 townships which replied, 259 reported a decrease in drunkenness; 24 reported an increase; 16 reported no change; and 10 were uncertain as to the facts.

How is it, then, that so many hold to the belief that drunkenness is just as common as before Prohibition was put into effect?

It is true that there are many who, although they know better, willingly exaggerate the facts connected with this evil. From the United States the antiprohibitionists have shouted for many years, "Prohibition does not prohibit," thereby trying to get the people accustomed to the notion that Prohibition was of no use. Their hope has been, in this way, to get rid of the Prohibition laws. And everybody knows what the result has been in the United States, and one may say that those people have scant logic to support this position, who are now trying the same method in Finland. The Executive Committee of the Union of restaurant keepers at Helsingfors, at the annual meeting of the Union, held on the 30th of April, this year, gave out a report of the results of the Prohibition law, saying that it had been of no use, as shown by the fact that drunkenness had increased after the law went into effect. At the same time the report contained a bitter lamentation over the fact that the Prohibition law had spoiled the business of those gentlemen! If Prohibition did not reduce the use of liquors, why should the restaurant keepers fight the law!

As to the temperance people, some of them are mistaken because they look at present conditions from quite a different point of view from before. Formerly drunken persons were so often seen that nobody took notice of them. Now, however, when we meet a drunken person in Finland, we instinctively turn round to look at him, because the ordinary expectation is that no one will be drunk.

A few months ago the chief deaconess of the City Mission of Helsingfors, Miss Elin Schlman, who has for more than ten years worked amongst the poor population of the metropolis, was interviewed by the Swedish editor, Mr. Fnander. Asked if the Prohibition act had bettered the conditions of the homes of the poor, the deaconess answered: "It is absolutely better now than before. It was already better from the year 1914, when war-time Prohibition came into effect, and from that time on conditions have continued to grow better. Many homes which were

quite ruined have been rehabilitated, and the wives in those homes are all saying that the conditions of former times should never return. Some sorts of liquor are to be had, but they do not come into the homes, at any rate. The fathers of the families generally do not drink any more, even if some young men do. Formerly we often were in danger of our lives amongst the drunken men. Now the situation is quite changed. In the course of time the Prohibition law will most assuredly be respected by all the people. Those who talk about the liquor traffic being made legal again do not know the meaning of their words. He who knows what it means for a weak man, who has not the power to pass by a saloon without going in, cannot consistently advocate the return of the saloon. I feel sure that if liquors came back to Finland, it would be all over with the people."

Is it likely, then, that Finland's Prohibition law will be repealed? A few facts will have to answer this question. The two largest political bodies in the Finnish Parliament, namely the Socialists and the Farmers' party, are in their entirety absolutely for Prohibition. These two parties control more than three fifths of all the votes in Parliament. Beside these we find Prohibitionists in all of the other political parties. Many labor unions have decided to expel every member who transgresses the Prohibition law. The farmers have for the last few decades been out and out Prohibitionists. The opponents of Prohibition found in the so-called "better class" of people constitute but a small minority of the entire population. The great majority of the people are in favor of the continuation of Prohibition.

A large number of all kinds of organizations of citizens, as well as municipal councils of larger cities and country towns, have entered the Prohibition Union, founded in 1919, with Mr. Akio, then Minister of Social Affairs, as president and your speaker as vice-president. The aim of the Union is to work for the furtherance of the enforcement and efficacy of the Prohibition law. "The Union seeks to extend its work into all classes of people so that persons of the same mind may together work for Prohibition. Political, religious, and social questions, the discussion of which might cause disagreement, are looked upon as outside the sphere of action of this Union."

We expect, however, that it will require many years of hard work to get Finland's Prohibition law carried out fully. We know better than anyone else how deeply the evil extends its roots. But our strength lies in this very knowledge of the difficulty of our task. Since the future of our people is at stake and the happiness and prosperity of the growing generation, we shall not give in, however great the difficulties may be.

We would all do well to keep in mind what was said to me some years ago by the Governor of Kansas: "The gun is a good weapon, but it is of no use unless a man stands behind it. Prohibition is the best weapon of legislation in the fight for temperance, but even Prohibition is of no service if there are not found watchful, energetic persons to carry through the Prohibition law." Education and legislation must work together. Then we shall reach the goal—the sober nation.

THE CHAIRMAN: "Prohibition in the United States; Analysis of Results," by the Honorable Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Welfare, New York City.

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES—ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

BY THE HONORABLE BIRD S. COLER

COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I had hoped to be entirely free to speak here this afternoon. I did not seek the opportunity to make an address. I was invited to be present here, and I am here for business, and to get a result, if the results can be obtained. But in getting that result, or in anything that I may say now or in the future upon the Eighteenth Amendment, I want to be thoroughly understood as in no way and in no manner and in no shape countenancing the Anti-Saloon League of the State of New York.

I was not for the Eighteenth Amendment. That has been said before. But I occupied the one position perhaps in the entire world where the results can be more seen, where the evils of alcohol can be more determined, and the benefits to be derived, than in any other position; and I want to say to friends in my own party or in the Republican party, or in any other party, who are now opposed to the Amendment, that if they would occupy the same position that I have occupied, and see what the doing away with alcohol does for the people, they would be bound to take the same position that I take.

And I want to say frankly, so as not to be misunderstood in any shape, manner, or form, that any opportunity that I can take to sustain the Eighteenth Amendment, I am going to do so.

The Eighteenth Amendment is now the law of the land. The Supreme Court of the United States has found it consonant with the preceding provisions of the fundamental law and has denied the liberty of the individual to indulge in the practise socially harmful. The law of the land had declared alcohol to be a drug, the same as any other drug, which destroys freedom of action of the addict. That this definition is correct has been proved by the experience of the great hospitals. Many of us were not favorable to the passage of this Amendment nor the methods employed to bring about its adoption. These opinions are now matters of history. Some oppose the Amendment and desire its repeal; others do not, of which I am one. The immediate effect of nation-wide Prohibition in the city of New York was almost miraculous. Patients in alcoholic wards vanished to the point that rooms were used for other purposes. The saloon-keeper was afraid, and the bootlegger had not yet gotten thoroughly to work. To this was added the wide publicity given to deaths caused by wood alcohol. Certain types were frightened for a time from taking anything. Strange as it may seem, during this period, I have been

unable to find any appreciable increase in drug addicts. However, as time goes by, the careless and wanton non-enforcement of the law has caused such an increase of alcoholic patients that it has been necessary to reopen the wards in the two great hospitals in the city of New York that care for such cases—Bellevue, in the Borough of Manhattan, and Kings County, in the Borough of Brooklyn. The following letters from each institution give the actual facts:

BELLEVUE HOSPITAL
First Avenue and 26th Street

New York, August 26, 1920.

Hon. Bird S. Coler, Commissioner,
Department of Public Welfare,
Municipal Building, New York City.

Sir: In reply to your letter of recent date, regarding the admission of patients, suffering from alcoholism, I enclose, herewith, tabulation, month by month, up to August 26th, for this year. I regret that I cannot give you the same figures for corresponding months of previous years, as the clerk who has these files is on vacation, and we are unable to find them. We would say, however, that previous to 1916 we averaged 1,000 admissions a month to the Alcoholic Service. With the advent of war this number dropped to between four and five hundred.

The symptoms manifested by admissions at the present time are not materially different from those in the past, except the patients seem more susceptible to the action of whatever they may drink, as many of them say they will be perfectly sober and working steadily, may not have had anything to drink for days or weeks, and after taking two or three drinks find themselves entirely irresponsible and in the hospital. Without exception they say it is possible to buy liquor anywhere in Manhattan or on Staten Island without difficulty if you have the price.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) GEORGE O'HANLON,
General Medical Supt.

ALCOHOLIC ADMISSIONS BELLEVUE HOSPITAL
1920

	Men	Women
January	101	29
February	45	16
March	68	25
April	97	24
May	218	42
June	197	64
July	147	44
August 25th	245	36
Total	1118	280

Now I will read a letter from a man whom I consider one of the finest hospital executives and one of the finest men that I ever had the pleasure of coming in contact with, Dr. Mortimer D. Jones, of Kings County Hospital, with one hundred beds, a few beds less than Bellevue itself; and almost as acute, because Brooklyn is now bigger than the Borough of Manhattan. It is a curious fact that we have had more cases come in there the last month than we did in 1916.

So I will read you what Dr. Jones says, so you will have an idea; and I wanted to have authentic letters from the heads of great institutions. so I would not be questioned as to statements of facts.

CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
KINGS COUNTY HOSPITAL

August 24, 1920.

RE: **Admission to Alcoholic Wards**

Hon. Bird S. Coler, Commissioner,
Department of Public Welfare,
Municipal Building, New York City.

Dear Sir: In acknowledgment of your inquiry dated August 18th, 1920, relative to the number of alcoholic cases admitted to this institution since January 1st, the writer would respectfully advise that the admissions to the alcoholic wards from January 1st to September 21st during 1918, 1919 and 1920, respectively, have been as follows:

Month	"M"—male			"F"—female			"T"—Total		
	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.
	1918			1919			1920		
January	81	1	82	102	12	114	26	1	27
February	92	6	98	82	6	88	11	0	11
March	114	9	123	70	6	76	25	0	25
April	74	14	88	78	4	82	45	2	47
May	58	8	66	73	4	77	51	2	53
June	47	6	53	58	5	63	38	6	44
July	79	7	86	45	5	50	51	8	59
Aug. 1st to Aug. 19..	42	8	50	30	3	33	29	3	32
Aug. 19 to Sept. 21..	73	9	82	37	3	40	84	8	93
Total	660	68	728	575	48	623	360	30	391

Generally speaking, the principal results of Prohibition have been fewer admissions and a milder type of alcoholism. We find from the patients that this is mostly due to the greater difficulty in getting alcoholic beverages and to the smaller amount consumed on account of the high prices. Another noticeable feature has been the absence of the beer and wine drinking type.

That is due to the utter freedom with which liquor is dispensed in the Borough of Brooklyn. I will come to that later. This section is entitled "Fewer Cases."

Fewer Cases: Prior to the war the admissions of our alcoholic cases averaged from one hundred to one hundred twenty-five per month, the peak on the whole being registered during the times of greater stress and poverty. During the war and until Prohibition became effective the number of cases held rather steadily to the experience of 1918 and 1919.

From the above table it may be noted that the number of admissions during the 1920 period is about one-half of that for the same period of the previous year. This may be due to the fact that alcoholic beverages may not be openly bought or it may be due to the higher prices. It is our opinion, from the stories told by the patients, that the reduction is essentially due to the higher prices.

Milder Types: It has been noted that the type of cases admitted to the alcoholic wards since Prohibition became effective has been generally less toxic than in the former days, with the exception of very recently—during the past month. Most of the patients seem to be suffering more from excessive drinking than from acute alcoholism in the full sense of the medical

term. It would seem as though the patient had drunk too much to responsibly care for himself and for one or more reasons was brought to the hospital; and yet the patient was more than just intoxicated. This of course is because the patient drank less either on account of the price or the opportunity and in consequence, there have been fewer cases of alcoholic "wet brains" and delirium tremens. Of late, however, the average of this severer type has come back and we are now admitting about one in six of the severer type which rather closely approximates the percentage of former times—fifteen to twenty per cent severe cases.

In the former days the majority of alcoholic patients remained in the institution on the average of two or three days before they were sufficiently cleared up to take their discharge. Since Prohibition, the majority of patients have been "one nighters" and seem to be in rather good condition the following day. We believe this to be simply due to the fact that the men drink to excess, but not to the same excess which they formerly did. The far fewer number of severe cases such as above mentioned would be consistent with this idea that the principal effect of Prohibition has been the slowing down of the individual alcoholic consumption. But lately, for some unknown reason, they are either drinking to greater excess or are getting a more poisonous drink or they are experiencing the effect of the constant saturation, because we receive more of the severe types of alcoholism besides noticing that the average alcoholic patient requires a longer time to sober up.

Beverage Used: Practically all of our patients confess to the hard liquors as the responsible source of their alcoholism. It is the general consensus of opinion that "near beer" is utterly useless as a beverage, that it affords no pleasure whatsoever and that it is a waste of time to bother with it. The consumption of six or eight bottles gives them a sense of nauseated fullness with none of the stimulated sense of well-being that the old-time beer gave after only two or three bottles. We have received no beer drinkers into the wards, and either the beer drinkers who become drunken on the "home brew" are sobered up by their hosts or else they do not drink to the same excess because the good fellowship which prevails in the saloon is absent or not permitted in the home. "Home brew" is unquestionably as intoxicating as the formerly legalized brew, although perhaps not as palatable. Drunk under different environments and by individuals, who for some reason are more considerate of their respectability, there would undoubtedly be less excess than when the conviviality was over the bar. This phase probably explains the absence of beer drinkers in our alcoholic wards during the present time.

Wine drinkers have also been noticeably absent since Prohibition went into effect. In previous years a "Rhine wine drunk" was not uncommon and always extremely pugnacious. Our wine drinkers were mostly Italians and Germans, and we believe they were more frequently brought in to us because of their troublesomeness, because the hospital afforded the family a better solution than the jail.

[MR. COLER: That is from one of the best physicians in this country, written just as a straight statement of facts to his superior officer, and he described a light wine drinker as "extremely pugnacious." We used to think the fights came from whisky, but it seems the light wines did some work too.]

Our patients, therefore, are practically without exception all hard liquor drinkers. Old timers, who always drank beer, now drink gin, whisky, or the like because they can get nothing else. Both the hard liquor veteran and the new recruit complain bitterly about the price of the "stuff" they get.

Seemingly they can get all they want wherever they happen to be, but the price is costly and the service is never generous. The taste of the usual drink is described as "fiere," and by the old hospital rounder is mostly compared to ether. Many are unable to describe the odor; some say that if they stopped to smell it they would not drink it, and if they do not drink it there is nothing else. It is a common complaint that they early become "headachy" and nauseated, which also lessens the desire to drink. Even in the best places that they frequent it is almost impossible, they bewail, to get anything that drinks like the old-fashioned liquors, and the outstanding complaint of the chronic alcoholic to-day is not with the difficulty in getting his drink, but with the price and, more particularly, that Prohibition has done away with "decent booze" and gives a "man poison" instead.

Wood Alcohol Poisoning: We have not found in our experience that Prohibition has relatively increased the number of wood alcohol cases. It has always been that the chronic alcoholic would drink anything that had a "kick" to it. Cologne, various flavoring extracts, shellac, wood alcohol and what not would be indifferently consumed if he had no money to get his regular toddy. This vicarious drinking was basically the result of the denial of the regular habit, most frequently because of insufficient funds. A great many cases have been brought to us with the diagnosis of wood alcohol poisoning, but very few were found to be such. This was probably due to a general hysteria on the part of physicians, owing to the wide publicity given to certain instances of wood alcohol poisoning. We do not find that our number of cases has been markedly increased.

Conclusion: From our viewpoint Prohibition, while it has unquestionably been helpful in its cause, has been practically a failure during the past six months. Seemingly, those who desire to drink, drink as much as they want to [Mr. COLER: And this hospital is situated in Flatbush, right in the center of the home section of the home borough of Greater New York.]—perhaps not to the same beastly extent, but sufficiently so to become thoroughly drunk. The indulgence is much more expensive—several times more. The opportunity to buy has been restricted, but apparently without any material inconvenience. The quality of the goods has, according to the common opinion of the users, markedly deteriorated, but only exasperatingly so. All the conviviality of the saloon still exists, to which has been added the keenness of a puffed pride in having an inside drag with one of more establishments. Our employees still frequent the saloons in the neighborhood with about as much regularity as of old and with about as much drunkenness—at least in the number of cases if not to the same beastliness. Yet all of this is apparent to anyone with the normal senses of sight and hearing.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) MORTIMER, D. JONES,
Medical Superintendent.

The letter of Dr. Mortimer D. Jones is probably the most complete analysis of anything yet written on this subject by any authority in a large city. There is no higher type or better qualified man in charge of any hospital than Dr. Jones, and what he states may be relied upon absolutely and without qualifications.

Practically every one in this audience is over twenty-one years of age, and without going into any long arguments, pro and con, you all know that the law is being violated by the highest to the lowest in the land. You know as well as I know that the extreme violation of the law in the city of New York could never be accomplished

without the authorities at Washington knowing about it. You know that the proprietors of saloons and gardens which are merely places of pleasure would not be licensed to handle liquor for medicinal purposes without the authorities in Washington being aware of it, and you know that these places did not obtain their licenses to dispense liquor for medical purposes.

Coney Island has legitimate drug-stores run by honorable people, and there are enough wholesale drug houses to supply their demands and handle the liquor needed by the doctors in the neighborhood, and Coney Island Hospital, in our own Department, was also available for emergency cases. Why, then, should the proprietor of a beer-garden have a medical license to handle hard liquor, unless it was done with the consent of some authority in Washington? It is extremely tiresome to me to have people all the time denounce local appointees of the Federal Government. When the frauds of the present-day enforcement are fully known, they will reach individuals almost as high up as did the exposé of the whisky ring of old. I for one would not allow high authorities to dodge behind the connivances of their local appointees. Everybody seems to be dodging! The Republican National Convention "ducked" entirely, and the next day the Anti-Saloon League "ducked" also, and said the Eighteenth Amendment was not then a national question. If the Democratic party had "ducked" first, perhaps the Anti-Saloon League of New York State would not have dodged so completely. The Democratic platform, as pointed out by Mr. William G. McAdoo, is consistent in support of the law. Senator Harding, either on or off the porch, has vociferously said nothing. Governor Cox has announced, after being heckled, that he knows when an issue has become a thing of the past, and that he would enforce the Amendment. I would have preferred if he had said he believed in the Amendment. Perhaps he does. In any event, you may rest assured his belief is as strong as that of his opponent. It is a psychological fact that these hecklers moved in one groove. They are willing to bother a Democratic candidate and let the Republican candidate alone in the same manner as the Anti-Saloon League of New York let the action alone at the Republican National Convention. I am not saying this in any partizan way except to show that all are endeavoring to "pass the buck," including the partizans of each party that may be enrolled in the Anti-Saloon League. When it comes to a national election all professional reformers go back in one way or another to their old love, and try to excuse its frailty. The present type of enforcement of the law in this country is bound to increase the spiritual unrest. Rich men in clubs, high officials of the State and nation, aid each other in violating the law without any attempt whatever by the Federal Government to reach people in high authority. They have caught hundreds of small fry, but men in great positions have been let alone. The very people who are violating the law to the greatest extent are

the loudest to cry against Bolshevism and Socialism. They are also the first to give the young man a drink at their home or club. To my mind they are the greatest violators of the law. Until public sentiment is so thoroughly aroused that the Government reaches out among the big fish, even of its own kind, there will not be any real improvement in the situation.

I will break away from my manuscript for a moment. These are serious times that we are facing now, and this country has to face this proposition right now, and face it squarely. We either have law in the United States, or we have not got it. One thing or the other. We have men decrying Bolshevism and Socialism in high circles, and in Wall Street, and in banks, and in churches, and in politics, and in the Internal Revenue Department itself who are violating openly the law of the land. My complaint on the enforcement of Prohibition by our own Government is that they are making no attempt to catch people in high places. The Prohibition Commissioner (and I have no personal disrespect for him; I hear him very well spoken of) if he wanted to, with one or two men could catch Governors, Senators, Assemblymen, Mayors, all over the States of the Union.

It could be done. The city of New York could be cleaned up in sixty days—the violation of it—if the Department of Justice and the Internal Revenue Department worked on the level together. Everybody seems to be ducking. Even the Anti-Saloon League ducked. After the Republican National Convention they said it was not a national matter, or something of that kind. I am not referring to that particularly, except both candidates for President seem to be ducking more or less. I referred to this a few minutes ago.

We haven't heard anything from Senator Harding either on or off the porch. Governor Cox says if elected he will enforce the law. I would have preferred if he said he believed in the law. I believe, however, if he had been in my position, and had known as much as I do about it from actual experience, he would say he believed in the law, because Dr. Jones's letter only states one phase of it—those actually going into the hospital. Our lodging-house is still empty.

Our other wards are very much depleted, and the commitments of children are very much less. And I wanted to bring that out, because I wanted to give you frankly, as far as I could, the whole phase of the subject. But it's up to this Federal Government right now to be on the level in this.

Now let us discuss it just a minute. I do not want to say anything against the Prohibition Commissioner of the United States, but I only used seven hundred gallons of whisky last year. Now I just want to say what that means.

We used in the allied hospitals, five thousand beds, my Department seventeen thousand beds, Health Department probably five thousand beds, and several thousand beds in the tuberculosis hospitals, with an

epidemic of flu last Spring, seven hundred gallons. I would be willing to wager my life, though I have not the figures, that in one concert-hall saloon where they used to sell beer, that got a license from the Federal Commissioner to sell alcohol for medicinal purposes, they sold more in one week than all the hospitals in the city of New York used legitimately in a year. Now they cannot say that they have not got it. Somebody ought to know that somebody got whisky. The hospitals and the doctors and medical societies in New York should know what quantity would be used, if it is necessary. The Navy Department has cut it off as medicine. They could readily get from the Health Department and the great hospitals of New York and the district what proportion ought to be allowed to get loose; and then they are such innocent fellows, these fellows who sell for medicinal purposes, who used to run beer-halls and dance-halls, etc.—they get robbed so often. The truck backs up to their place and robs them; but they don't go out of business. Possibly the fellow who steals liquor will make some honest restitution in some far-off day! Nevertheless, it gets lost. And so I have taken this up with the present administration, with some one who is entitled to very great consideration, and whose reputation the administration depends on, and I want to say if they don't take a hand right away quick, there will be a worse scandal on the going out of this administration than in the old whisky ring, twenty-five years ago. I say that as a Democrat who does not want his party put into that type of disgrace; and I am prepared, through the proper channels, to go the limit on getting some people in high places. I am not going to bother with the poor devils that anybody can get—five thousand of them. You want to get some game that's worth while, if you have to reach into the heart of the Government itself.

I have already talked too long; but I could give you some names right now that you could get, but if I gave them to you, before I got off the platform they would know who it was—the leaks are that close up in the Departments; and we will handle it in a way, I hope, that we will get to it—at least some sections of the Government will have that opportunity of getting some of their own people. I think that's the best way to start out, by getting our own people, both in the Government and in the League, and in all those places, where they do not properly belong.

And I just want to touch on one other phase of this whole business in conclusion. We talk of the political situation. Now we are talking law and restraint, and all that sort of thing. But you never can permanently make people better or governments better merely by law or restrictive legislation. You have got to have the permanent education; and you have got to go back, if the pastors will excuse me for a moment, we have got to go back by putting religion into the minds of the people and into the children.

What is the situation among children to-day? And I am going

to talk awfully frank now, and I may hurt some of my own church people's feelings. We are letting our children take care of themselves. The Catholic people are holding their schools; the Moravians theirs; the Lutherans theirs; the Episcopalians, in Brooklyn and New York, theirs; but in the other churches in the city of New York we are spending more money for music, and double the money for janitor service, than we are for religious education and moral education of children. Now you have got to get away from that. We have got to have week-day religious education or some other way of bringing up children in the faith, and showing them what these things are. The church has got to do its duty with the children. Just teaching dancing and music and that sort of thing will not do. We have got to get the children back to us. We have seventeen thousand children that I am guardian of in New York. We had twenty-one thousand two years ago; and we have been able to place in homes and to get discharged through the better times, and Prohibition, etc., nearly five thousand children. So we are down to about sixteen thousand five hundred; but we have got one or two great institutions that the people of these war drives and all this outside business have made the people forget, and one or two of our great institutions will have to be turned over to the city. All our Protestant institutions will have to be turned over to the city, if we do not get behind them. And the law provides we must provide a child with a home or an institution of its own. And if I have to take it over, as a city, then they have to be run in an open way, to be run with all kinds of chaplains, all kinds of scraps inside the place.

Charles D. Hillis said to me, "Mr. Coler, what are you going to do, if we have to turn this great institution over?" He is a very able and very fine man. For years, as a young man, he was superintendent of our children's village, the home for semidelinquent Protestant children. Mr. Taft became acquainted with him. He was then and now is a very well-to-do man. He said: "What will you have to do if you can not maintain this institution, and turn it over to the city? We practically paid off all the entire cost; but the moral end of it, the city can not pay for, and it must be raised by outside money." I said, "Yes"; and I want to say this to everybody, that here we have not much luck in raising money for our party, and the Republicans raising money, etc.—yet the Bolshevists, if they could only say that one institution of one particular faith had to be turned over to the city of New York because that faith fell down, that would give them and the Socialists the greatest argument they ever had. They would say the child belongs to the State. Take it away from the family, and rear it by the State. And so you must get behind your churches; get behind your children in them, and teach the moral uplift and the evils of alcoholism. This is only one phase of it, and those of us who are able to go on the firing line are going on the firing line, but this is a desperate firing line, and if this

Government does not want to go out in disgrace, it has got to get on the job right now.

Just think of licenses to dance-halls practically to distribute liquor for medicinal purposes! There's no excuse on the face of the earth for that! You can say anything you please about coöperation with the Federal Government and all that, but when you grant the license to get out, then you say it's too bad somebody won't let you catch it after you get out. I thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing an old friend, a man whom everybody that knows him knows to be honest, and I hope he'll catch the dishonest men, if they are here, and he will if he has a chance. Mr. Commissioner Kramer.

ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES

BY THE HON. JOHN F. KRAMER

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: You have listened to some pretty plain statements from what I presume to be a plain citizen of this democracy. I, for my part, enjoyed them very much. They are along the line that I have been hearing, and to which I have been listening, for some months past. I am thinking that I will have a personal interview with Brother Coler after I get through. Of course I am not quite sure whether Brother Coler would trust me with these secrets or not. But if he does not, why of course he can readily tell me. But, friends, those are some of the sentiments to which we listen often; and I can say that they are true to a considerable extent. There's just one peculiar thing about it, before I enter upon my few statements that I have to make, however, and that is, we are never able to get the bill of particulars. I have had lawyers come down from New York City and tell me that every man in our organization, practically, in New York City is crooked. Well, now, I always tell them that that's interesting; and then I proceed to make inquiries. I tell them that there's no man in the Government that would rather have a bill of particulars with reference to that statement than I myself, and being a lawyer I proceed to cross-examine, and when I cross-examine them I don't get much. It's my view that what Mr. Coler says is a great deal of it true, but the trouble with me is I haven't been able to get it, and that's the reason why I think I am going to see Brother Coler, and have a personal interview with him; and unless he is turning it up himself, if he's turning that thing up himself, he will be congratulated more by me than he will by any other man in the Government, after he gets it turned up and gets it turned inside out. So, Mr. Coler and I pretty nearly agree on this thing. We have had a secret service man in New York City for nearly four months trying to get evidence. They had a special grand

jury in New York that was going to indict all our officers, or at least that's what they started out to investigate. Well, that grand jury adjourned, and I didn't hear of a true bill. We have crooked men in New York—and let me tell you right here if any of you people know the names of those crooked men, and the facts upon which you base your judgment, just tell me, and they won't be in our service long. That's just by way of a few preliminary statements. We have our troubles in New York as we have our troubles elsewhere, only maybe not to quite such extent.

There are a few things, friends, when we talk about Prohibition, that we must keep in mind. If I did not keep three or four fundamental principles in my mind I'd go crazy. One of the principles which I have always kept in mind is this, that great reforms go slowly, especially if the things being attacked are of a political, economic, or personal character, and have been fastening themselves upon the very vitals of the people for centuries. Such reforms as those move slowly. They illustrate the Scriptural statement that "A day is as a thousand years with the Lord, and a thousand years as a day." The people of England fought for centuries for political freedom before they could wring from King John the Great Charter upon the plains of Runnymede, in 1215. And remember this, that the Great Charter did not give the English people any liberty at all. It took ages of effort on the part of the English people after that to keep the ground they had set out in the Charter, and to fix it in the hearts and minds of the English kings that they had to respect the rights of the English people. The American colonies bore for years the burdens that came from the rule of the mother country, and finally there was enough sentiment created so that the Declaration of Independence was adopted in 1776. That did not mean we had our independence. No; it took eight years of severe strife, bloodshed, suffering, before we got our liberty from the English people. It's the same way with Prohibition. The people of this country had been contending for Prohibition for three-quarters of a century, and finally the sentiment became strong enough that they were able to have written into the Constitution the Eighteenth Amendment, and placed upon the statute-books the National Prohibition Act. But don't you ever forget that that did not mean that the sale and manufacture and purchase and importation and exportation of liquor had ceased. It means that we have some years ahead of us in order to make that thing effective. We must remember that great reforms move slowly. Two thousand years ago Jesus Christ himself said, "Go into all the world and preach the gospel unto every creature," and if we had heeded that injunction we would not have these great questions facing us to-day. But after two thousand years there are yet a billion people in the earth who have never heard of the religion of Jesus Christ, and sixty million people in our own country who never darken

the doors of a church. Great reforms move slowly. If I did not keep that thought in mind, I'd be back in Mansfield, Ohio, in a minute.

There's another thing to which I want to call your attention. There never was a new law enacted, or a Constitutional provision adopted, that so radically changed political affairs, economic affairs, and social conditions, and personal habits—never. We have had some laws, some Constitutional provisions, that brought about great changes. The one on the slavery proposition was a great change, but it didn't compare to the change that took place in the life of this nation when we wrote Prohibition into the Constitution. When I say that I am not offering any excuse for Prohibition, I have been working for this thing as long as some of the rest of you have been working for it, namely, thirty years, I am not one of those who think that when it was written into the Constitution that ended it. No; I have had some experience back in Ohio on this thing. So has our friend Wheeler over here.

Another thing I want to tell you before I get to my speech—and that is, that Prohibition is not a state or a condition. You can not say about Prohibition that yesterday the thing was not, and to-day the thing is; or last week the thing did not exist, and this week it does exist. You will never be able to say that. Keep that in mind too. Prohibition is a growth. It's the elimination of those things which tend to make it easy to create appetites, and the substitution of those things which tend to make it difficult to create appetites upon the part of the youth of the nation. That's the thing; that's what Prohibition is. It's the passing off the stage of action of one generation, and the entering upon the stage of action of another generation.

Some of these fellows that have been patronizing the saloon that you and I have maintained in our midst for, lo, these many years, have an appetite that must be satisfied; and I have no fault to find with them either. You and I are responsible for it. They are a part of our doctrine. They were a part of the government of a democracy; and in a democracy the people rule, and the people have never gotten above or beyond the idea of saloons up to a few weeks or a few months ago. As long as we had them you and I knew that there would be appetites created and appetites acquired that would have to be satisfied. If they had to drink wood alcohol, if they had to drink denatured alcohol, if they had to drink all kinds of concoctions, they would have to satisfy the cravings of the appetite. Now, then, these are three things that I keep in my mind daily. If it weren't for those three things, you can rest assured that I wouldn't be working at this thing to-day.

Now, for the benefit of you people who came over here from foreign countries, we have had Prohibition, so far as the law is concerned, for over a year, but don't you go back and tell your countries that we have the problem solved. We have had war-time Prohibition

half of the time, and national Prohibition the other half. It's been somewhat experimental, somewhat new, somewhat uncertain, during this last year. Courts were saying this, and courts were saying that. The lawyers are advocating one doctrine; some lawyers were advocating another. Nobody knew exactly where he was at. We are getting things on a pretty substantial basis now. But along comes politics! A great political campaign on! You people who live in foreign countries—you don't know what politics is. You want to come over here in America and spend a year or two if you want to find out how politics stirs up things. You can't move unless you are running up against this or that.

I don't mean present politics. I don't mean that politics is bothering the enforcement of the law; but it is bothering everything. It interferes with everything. I have always advocated, for that reason, that we elect our President once every seven years. That would reduce these times that we have to pass through.

But what have we done in the space of a year anyhow? Oh, we have done a great many things, friends. Let me tell you, that in the first place we have established the proposition that the revenue from the saloons is not necessary to run our Government or the Government of any State in the Union. We have done another thing; we have established the proposition that the elimination of the saloon does not interfere with business in the least. There are no empty rooms.

Yes, there are no vacant rooms. Rents have reached a height we have never heard of in this country. Nobody comes around any more and says the hotel business will be destroyed if you eliminate the saloon. They don't know how to take care of it all. But above all, friends, we have done this; we people in this country are great admirers of good King Solomon. He issued the injunction to his son, and his son stood for the young people of his age, and the young people of the coming ages. He says, "My son, look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth itself color in the cup, when it goeth down smoothly." It took the American people several hundred years to realize that that injunction of Solomon's was really along the same line of wisdom manifested in all his sayings. Well, we did not permit the young people not to look upon the wine when it was red; we compelled them to look upon it, and upon every street corner we had flaming advertisements of wine. Everywhere the boys went they looked upon the wine when it was red, when it gave its color in the cup. To-day the boys can go from coast to coast; they can go from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, and they can not look upon the wine when it is red. If that doesn't mean something, then I don't know anything. How do they sell liquor to-day? Why, the most of them keep it in a pitcher down under the counter, selling it as a criminal; and if the right man comes along he can get it. No boy can go into the American saloon to-day that still is in existence and get whisky

to drink. I can't do it myself, and while I look somewhat green they wouldn't all take me to be a man from the backwoods. Oh, no, it's different. It's entirely different.

Another thing we have done is to remove the social aspect of drinking from the people. I will tell you, friends, I have always maintained that the drinking evil is due to social conditions. It's a social evil. No boy will invite another boy to go into the saloon and take a drink with him. How did I start to drink? How did you start to drink? Why, you started to drink because some of your companions said, "Let's go in and have a good time!" And when we got in, why, somebody said, "Let's have a drink of beer!" That isn't being done any more. There is no social aspect of a saloon any more. Why, a man will go in, an old drinker will go in—mostly they are old drinkers—and he can get his drink; but the boys do not, not altogether. I don't mean that none of them do, but as a rule the boys do not go in. I have a boy who is twenty years of age. I send him anywhere, to New York City, to Mansfield, to Philadelphia, to Springfield, to college, and I have no more uneasiness about that boy starting to drink intoxicating liquors than I have that he will drink poison—not a bit. Where he has had up to this time one chance in five of going the downward road, I figure to-day he has not one chance in a hundred. Oh, yes, we have made great progress.

Another thing, we have removed the recruiting stations to the great army that always marches from the cradle to the grave. You know you always have to recruit an army if you want to keep it up in strength. Heretofore there were recruiting stations everywhere, and as some poor drinker passed out into a drunkard's grave, another boy took his post in the ranks; and the great army marched on. But that is not done any more. There are no recruiting stations; and when this generation passes out and the other generation comes on, the thing will be done with for good, and the old army of drinkers will have been disbanded.

Don't you think for a minute that it's going to take a generation to make moral progress. Oh, no! You won't know this country in ten years. Let me tell you men from foreign countries, lest I forget it, the American people are a great people. They never undertook a thing under the sun that they didn't accomplish. And we are going to accomplish this. But we need patience.

Now, I want to suggest this: The very fact that Mr. Coler stood before you and said that he was going to do something, by the Eternal, in New York City, before very long, that would jar the nation, is a healthy sign. That's what we have been needing, lo, these many weeks. The one thing we have needed most, the one thing we are beginning to get, is a healthy public outspoken sentiment in every community that will compel obedience to the law. We have lacked that, but we are getting it. I could give you many instances where the people are arousing themselves, and saying that these things must

not continue. I am offering no excuse for our affairs either; I will tell you, when I say that we need that—let me suggest to you, how much do you suppose a thousand men (that's our organization)—to what extent can a thousand men police a hundred and ten million people? Why, God bless you, we couldn't do it if we had angels on our force. Now, don't you think that I am offering excuses for our affairs, or any apology, I mean. We need a better force right from the top to the bottom, I expect. I think that's true. But I will tell you we need the healthy public sentiment of every community, outspoken, but potent, and we are getting it.

Another thing we need, and I would like to suggest that to you very briefly, is that the law be left just as it is. We have one of the biggest jobs to do now that was ever undertaken by a nation; but if you ever adopt the proposition of light wines and beer the whole thing will go by the boards.

Our great trouble now is with the soft-drink establishments; and you open up all the saloons again to sell light wine and beer, and all the force that we have in the Federal Government couldn't enforce the law in one city in the country. It is soft drinks to-day, and it will be hard drinks to-morrow.

I guess I am through. I just want to tell you people, so you may know my experience, some of the troubles, some of the things that are causing us our trouble—and you call me down, Doctor, any time. The one thing that has bothered us is that when we entered upon this work, when we decided to have no longer the traffic in intoxicating liquors, we still had on hand about sixty billion gallons of whisky. It was scattered around in four hundred warehouses, some of them in deep ravines, up gulleys, up on the mountain-sides, everywhere; and that liquor is the slipperiest stuff I ever saw. We used to talk, back in Ohio, about eels. Why, eels aren't in it with whisky for slipperiness! That stuff slips out and slips out, and it seems as if we can't get track of it as we would like to. Oh, we are getting there. We'll have it solved one of these times.

Another thing that's causing us bother is our permits; and Mr. Coler referred to that. That is causing us trouble, it is causing us grief; it is causing us anxiety; it's going to be solved; and I will say to Brother Coler that if he will furnish me the information about those houses up in New York City which are selling this stuff, and are of the type he says they are, they won't be selling it any longer after this permit expires, which is the last of this year. But they are causing us bother.

Then we have bothers with medicinal preparations, and with hair tonics, and with extracts and the like of that. The law provides—we can't help that particularly—the law provides that all these things may exist, so long as they are unfit for beverage purposes. There are enough medicines being manufactured these days to heal the ills of the world! There are enough hair tonics being manufactured that there won't be a bald head in the world. But that's going to be eliminated. We thought

that there was some limit to which the drinker could not go. We put our medicine preparations upon a pretty high standard. Why, I could not drink them. A wineglassful of it would make me crazy. A man came down from New York City—I will never forget him—he says, “Why, this thing will pass, it cannot be drunk as a beverage,” and he says, “Taste it!” I tasted that, but it was the last taste I took of anything that’s brought here to Washington, because I soon found out that I wasn’t a very good guide, a good standard to follow, that there are fellows who can drink anything and everything. Hence, we have to raise our medicine standards. We are going to raise them, going to curtail these permits as soon as we can. And we are asking the help of the people of this country, that we may be able to do it well.

We have a great work, but as I said a little bit ago, we American people aren’t afraid of work; and I want to close with a little poem, if I can quote it. It has been a great help to me not only since I got this job, but in months past, it has been a great help to me.

Be strong! We are not here to play, to dream, to dritt;
We have hard work to do and loads to lift,
Shun not the task, but face it; ’tis God’s gift!

Be strong! Say not the times are evil; who’s to blame?
Then fold your hands and acquiesce? Oh shame!
Stand up! Speak out! And bravely in God’s name!

Be strong! It matters not how deep entrenched the wrong,
How hard the battle goes, the day how long;
Faint not, fight on; tomorrow comes the dawn!

I thank you.

[As only a few minutes remained before the ordinary closing hour of the Congress, some discussion followed on the subject of adjournment. Mr. Coler having stated that he would be unable to attend the Congress on the morrow it was decided to give the remaining time of the meeting to him.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Coler will be recognized for a short statement in conclusion.

MR. COLER: Mr. Chairman, and Friends: I am not going to take up your time except but for a moment, or get into a debate; but I never heard a better sermon in my life, and, if we could take time, I would like to take up a collection right at this moment. I did not promise to set the world on fire. I thank Mr. Kramer very much for his offer to convict anybody concerning whom I will bring complete evidence to him. It’s a good thing we are perfectly willing to do all his work, and do all that we can, and I believe in his personal honesty, and in his personal integrity; but I want to tell you that all strangers can not be good

executives. He is too much of a refined business man. There is required more of a thug to do this business. But I want to help him every way I can. I didn't want to indict his end of it alone. I put the whole Government up to it. I don't believe the Attorney-General of the United States is backing him up properly. I don't believe we need hundreds of thousands of dollars to create new bureaus and new office-holders. The public won't stand for it. We have a complete secret service in the navy and in the army, and all the way through. Now, if the Government's on the level, every one of those associations will be coördinated back of him; and so, when we give him a name that we know is doing certain things, they can cover them and get them. You know just as well as I do when crimes are committed. You can not always follow a man into the back rooms where they exchange money. We know them and can get them, but when evidence is gotten, we have to give it to him in a way he can get it. But there can be no excuse, if you look over the books,—you don't have to ask me to give you reasons why these men gave permits. Is the man who gave those permits still in office?

MR. KRAMER: Certainly.

MR. COLER [continuing]: Why did they give them? What is the character of them? Just go over their own books and point out the list of the firms, and that's an indictment of the whole thing. You don't have to get that from me; get it from their own books.

[After further discussion a motion to adjourn, duly seconded, was put and lost. It was then decided to hear briefly Dr. Watson, of New York, and Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, of Washington, D. C.]

DR. WATSON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Three minutes is a very brief time after you have had these two finest addresses that have been delivered on the subject of Prohibition during this Congress. I would not have asked for these three minutes at this time but for the fact that I have to leave the city tomorrow morning early. I merely wanted to take up the statements of the two speakers who have preceded in the light of my experiences this summer.

The International Reform Bureau of this city recognized that this was the most critical time in America's history, that the passing of the law did not mean the enforcement of the law, and that the law could only be enforced when the people understood how it came to pass, what it is intended to do, and that we may be able intelligently to coöperate in its enforcement. Therefore, this organization has sent twice this summer throughout the East automobile parties that have been speaking in many cities. I spent my vacation at the request of that organization, and have spoken on the streets and in the factories this summer one hundred and seventy-three times, to 43,000 people; and the people on the street corner are asking very intelligent questions, and when these questions are answered they are coöperating splendidly pledging themselves.

to coöperate actively in the carrying out of the Prohibition law and the Volstead Act. Some of the things that we have learned this morning I wanted you to get, just in a sentence or two.

Nothing has been said in either of these addresses to-day as to the attitude of the police in any of our cities on this matter. I want you to get the policemen's attitude on this subject. No man anywhere knows more of a city than the policemen. The policemen of New York City, where my home is, made the statement that ninety-nine per cent of the policemen of that city, including the men who had been drinkers themselves, believed that the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement as interpreted by the Volstead Act, are the greatest things that had ever come to New York City. The chief of police in the city of Waterbury stated to us, when we went there at the close of a three-months' strike of every industry of that city, that, in spite of the strike and the failure of the workers to get what they struck for, that city up here of 110,000 people, was in such a splendid condition that the whole county had closed its jail, and they were sending the few prisoners they had down to New Haven to be taken care of.

MR. WAYNE B. WHEELER (General Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America): Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I am sure, after you heard Commissioner Coler, you were convinced of this fact,—were you not?—after he told about the difficulties of enforcement, and only partial enforcement in some respects, in New York, that if they could get all of those good results that he indicated under that kind of enforcement, Prohibition is a great success in the United States.

Second, one word as to the method of adoption to which slight attention was paid. The people of the United States amended their Constitution in the only way they could amend it, and the only way that we have emended the Constitution from the beginning of the Government; and the people were back of that thing, or we never would have gotten it.

Now, as to this 60,000,000 gallons of liquor; we are going to face it. They have gotten out more than they should on these fake permits, etc., but I think one of the ways we could stop it would be for Congress to take over that remaining liquor, and then dispose of it legally, and turn back that money to the owners, and not let it stay in the bonded warehouses under the certificates.

Then as to these permits. One of the reasons they have forged some permits is there has been laxity in issuing those permits. Every wholesale permit in the United States to-day ought to be revoked. There is no real good authority for a single one of them. I wrote the registration part of the law and know what it means. The only ones who should get the permits are the manufacturers and the wholesale druggists, who were to have the wholesale permits to issue liquor to those who had permits to purchase. The wholesale dealer was never contemplated, and I believe that before very long those wholesale permits will not be troubling the United States and the people about law enforcement.

And then the other point I want to emphasize is that if we are going to enforce this law, we have got to kill any wine and beer amendment or weakening modification of it.

I was not here when some statements were made as to the so-called standard of intoxication with relation to alcoholic content under the Volstead Act, but it's not a question of whether one half of one per cent actually and visibly intoxicates; it's a question whether that standard in the Volstead Act is essential for law enforcement. When we approved that law we took into account the experience of over thirty Prohibition States, the Supreme Court decisions of those States and of the United States Supreme Court, and they all concluded that it was essential to capable and effective enforcement to have a standard like that; and we will fight it out on that line, like General Grant, if it takes all summer, or a dozen summers to come, to maintain the standard of law and order.

After some discussion a motion to the effect that the proceedings of the morning session on the morrow begin a half hour earlier than usual, to admit of discussion of the addresses of Mr. Coler and Commissioner Kramer, was put and lost.

The afternoon session was thereupon concluded.

EVENING SESSION

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1920

The evening session was held at the Central High School, Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie, presiding.

Community singing was conducted by Mr. Percy S. Foster, of Washington, D. C., and Miss Edith B. Athey gave an organ recital.

At the request of the Chairman the audience sang the Doxology.

THE REV. HENRY ALLEN TUPPER, D.D., of Washington, D. C., offered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first number of our program to-night is on the subject of "The Campaign Against Alcoholism in South Africa," by Dr. A. J. Cook, of the South African Republic, and he has been asked to come here and tell us what they are doing. I am very glad to introduce him after his long journey to reach the Congress.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By DR. A. J. COOK

OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Chairman: You are a little bit previous. You are, perhaps I may say, something of a prophet, for there are indeed some very disloyal people in Africa, who want to make it a South African Republic; and I represent the Union of South Africa, who wish to make of the country a perfectly free country, perhaps, such as Australia, or Canada but still to be linked up with the Great British Empire. The part that I particularly represent is of course the Union of South Africa. Now the Union consisted of the four original colonies. You will remember that after the South-African War, lasting from 1899 to 1902, there was that most extraordinary settlement of it all, which showed very specially the magnanimity with which England treated her former enemies, by the granting to them of an absolutely free constitution, so free, in fact, as you know, that the great General Smuts, who had been one of the most strenuous leaders in the fight against the English, became the united leader of the Dutch and English Nationals in Africa. We have represented there in Africa both nations, though the Dutch are now in actual majority. They are in actual majority in our country with regard to government and parliamentary matters; but, nevertheless, there is complete equality in regard to language, education, and every other particular.

The total area of the country is possibly ten or twelve hundred square miles, or it might be twelve hundred miles each way; and, as regards white population, we are very sparsely populated, as you people count things in this country. We have an average white population of one white man to every square mile. I shouldn't think that it would average more than that. We have a population of about five million blacks. We imagine, though, that we are on the way to become as important as some of the great nations of the earth and that we may take our place among the nations, as we should. It may take us some little time to catch up; but we have rather a high opinion of our destiny, especially in this program of a united South Africa.

We were together and fighting with all the rest of you in this last great World War. In view of our difficulties, and our national troubles, and the divided counsels of our people, I think that probably we did as well as most of the other nations of the world. In Belleau Wood, which has now become historic, we gave of the very flower of our human life, and we lost a very large proportion of the boyhood and manhood of the country in that great war, and we were proud to have our chance to stand side by side with you and the other nations of the earth in helping to free the world.

Now in connection with the temperance problem, which is the subject which I am assigned to speak upon,—the temperance problem and liquor reform. Out of the whole population there of white people, about one and one half millions in all, we have possibly three or four hundred thousand Dutch, about six hundred thousand English, and of all the other white races, about one hundred and fifty or two hundred and fifty thousand. Then, too, we have a large number of the old slave people. These people form a large percentage of our population. Then we used to have a large number of the Hottentots and Bushmen, but these peoples have been largely wiped out and stamped out by drink and vice, and to-day you can find no pure Hottentots. In their place we have these half-breed people, a cross between a European and a Hottentot and a Bushman, and they are demoralized and debauched and besotted with drink. Then there are the real natives, one of the most progressive races on earth, and an offshoot of the great Bantu tribe, which attained prominence in the days when Chaka, the "Napoleon of South Africa" came through that region and conquered or subdued the other tribes and so swept onward with the advance of the black races that populated the Eastern portion of Africa. They are a most interesting people. And these people constitute a majority of the population. It is one of the great problems of the country what we are going to do about those Bantus. The white population is outnumbered three to one by these natives. Think of it—three of these Bantus to one white person. They are not a decaying people; they are not a dying race. They are a race which is increasing in much larger proportion than the white races.

You can imagine, then, the difficulty which we have in dealing with any social problem or other problem, either, for the reason that there are

two languages both on an equal footing, English and Dutch, and then there are all these colored people who speak all sorts of different dialects. For instance, let me name them for you. First there are these Bantus, of whom I told you. And they have a language all their own. And then there are the Kafirs, and the Zulus, and the Sulus, and half a dozen other different main tribes, speaking half a dozen different dialects of the African. And so you see that, whatever language your propaganda which you start to carry out is printed in originally, it has to be translated into all of these native dialects. You have to carry it out in all of these various languages, and you have to do it in widely separated areas. Then, of course, the liquor laws, also, give us some difficulty.

We have in South Africa a form of license which is used somewhat in a measure, as I understand it, like your local option, and in fact, that is just what it is. But this is just more or less of a dead letter. It is one of those laws which is given to satisfy a temperance reformer, but which is so murdered and mutilated by its passage in the committee that it is practically unworkable and not very valuable, although we are able to do a little with it, because of this fact, that any man who wants a new license has to apply to the burghers for it, and if there are any protests against the burgher's granting this license, he is not given another license, and that is just what we often do. But, of course, it does not avail us as much as it ordinarily should, with a real good law operating in this connection, because a fortnight's notice—they have to post a notice—is all that is needed, just a fortnight, and often we do not get this information on time. Then, too, there is another drawback, and that is their persistence. By this I mean that while you may defeat them to-day, within six months or a year they will just as likely as not come on again and try for a license again, and we have to fight it all over again. However, in spite of that, there are two or three dry places in the South-African Union where the fight has been fought by the temperance associations, and I can assure you we are making the most of those.

We have great aims along the line of temperance reform in South Africa. For instance, we are working for local veto and for a direct vote on the liquor question. And right here, let me say the further difficulty is the fact that the particular section of the country in which we live is a wine-producing country. In the old days when the Huguenot refugees came to Africa, to this beautiful little country beside the sea, they brought with them many beautiful and helpful articles and ideas, but they also brought with them wine, which has been making Africa, in this particular section, more than ever a beautiful country, but which has also besotted the natives with strong drink. These are all of them very good people here, and honest people, lovable people, but they do make wines—and the wines which they produce, some of them, are most excellent, and are world-famous.

But, according to the statement of some of their own experts, 75 per cent of that wine, which is produced in that country, is destined for the

canteens of the country to be sold cheaply, and for a very low class trade. One of their wines, a brand which is distilled from South-African wine, is so outrageous in the proportion of alcohol that it has been worked down to half and half; and the expert says that they have been using certain essences to give it a flavor, and certain coloring matter which is utterly foreign to the juice of the grape to give it the appearance of wine. And this expert further states that by the time the wine reaches the consumer, it is a very much adulterated specimen of the legitimate product which was sold to the natives for their demoralization, and it is so outrageously adulterated that it goes by the name of *patsinoukha*, which is about as deadly a poison as you can possibly imagine.

The natives are theoretically under Prohibition, to a certain limited extent. In 1896 the Ennes Liquor Act was brought into the Parliament, which would have brought Prohibition to us in Africa; but once again, as I said before, the Act was so destroyed and mutilated in committee that it was not of any real effect or force. A native, under the meaning of the Act is able to obtain a license, and what is to prevent that native doling out this liquor among perhaps half a dozen, or maybe half a hundred, native friends of his, and these, in turn, doing the same for their friends. So the illicit traffic, you see, becomes a problem of great magnitude, and, further than that, it is not actual Prohibition.

The licensing court has a right to limit, and the right to pass restrictions is discretionary with the court, with the result that this doesn't do very much for the promotion of Prohibition. There is practical Prohibition in the native preserves, but even then, right there, in those native preserves we have this problem of kafir beer. The natives produce their own beer, supposed by them to be quite a food, but it is about as strong as you can get, and the Government permits them to make it. The magistrates have sent in statistics from die different regions stating that this beer is responsible for the demoralizing and degradation of these people. In the Transvaal, where the gold-mines are, they have "absolute" Prohibition, on a theory that they allow a certain amount of this kafir beer to every workman every day, as part of his rations, the same as your tea or coffee. The same government which prohibits the sale of liquor transports this same awful brandy, of which I have just spoken to you, at a very low rate. It is carried in there probably for the consumption of the white races, and; as I just mentioned, there is a special reduced rate of tariff to encourage the wine farmers. Liquor is in the free class; and the whites and natives both are consuming this in such great quantities that the whole population of the country, at last, has been aroused to do something to meet this evil of liquor traffic.

Possibly some of you experts on this question have heard of the famous Roth proposals. They were proposals to cure the natives of this drinking habit by providing them absolutely free with supplies of light beer and wine, of possibly 10 or 12 per cent and the natives were to be exploited under the auspices of the Government, and these supplies were to be controlled by these nationalized canteens for beer and wine.

Europeans as well as natives liked the proposal; and I will say that those proposals have done much for the temperance cause, from one end of the country to the other, because temperance sentiment has been aroused, and Prohibition has practically got a foothold in a great many towns. Prohibition as a practical issue has come definitely for the people to decide upon, and there are many encouraging things brought to our attention to-day.

Our liquor men are rejecting the statements of the temperance people on these questions, but recently some figures have been issued from practically every circuit court in the Union to the effect that most of the crime that they had had to deal with in those courts had been directly applicable to drink. We have had reports, showing the conditions, printed during the past few years; and now the licensing courts, instead of treating us as a gang of lunatics and fanatics, or worse, are listening to the arguments of those who are familiar with the conditions, and are interested in obtaining Prohibition throughout the nation. In Cape Town, whenever the Australian troops were there (and I suppose they picked out Cape Town because that was where the Australian troops landed), all the bars and saloons were closed during their stay, with the natural result, of course, that there was a very bitter howl from the liquor people. The latter tried to get us to allow them to stay open, but, needless to say, the burghers did not grant this request of the saloon-keepers; and the result of the experiment was simply marvelous in its effect upon the condition of affairs in town and with the soldiers. Week after week there wouldn't be any trouble on the streets at all.

Then the effect of the experiment of Prohibition in the native reservation in and about Cape Town, where there is a native preserve district, is beginning to be realized by simple statistics. For instance, in many districts where this liquor is freely sold by the natives, the death-rate is one for every nineteen, and in some districts even worse, possibly one for every fifteen, or one for every fourteen. Then in a total Prohibition area, where no liquor is allowed to be sold to the natives, the death-rate is only one in every 3,500. Of course, conditions are different in different places, but the experiment is being attended with wonderful success.

The Dutch Reform Church, which has been backing up the liquor traffic, as it is largely supported by the wine district, has at last decided to come on over and fight for reform, because recently, in their great synod, they not only absolutely turned down the proposition of the canteens, but also had a strong debate on the Prohibition question, and after considerable discussion a vote was taken. Prohibition lost because there were 100 votes in the synod for Prohibition, and 154 against. We hope that the next time there will be 154 in favor of it, or, if possible, better still, 254, which is the number of their delegates.

The Anglican and all other Evangelical churches are declaring for this great reform, but it is impracticable at present, because of the oppo-

sition which we are receiving from the fact that a great many influential grape-growers are interested in the grape industry.

We have in draft, to bring before the legislature, a bill which will bring us direct vote on the question to put before the people, and we ourselves, smiled at our efforts in committee as being very impracticable; nevertheless, while we were smiling at our own weaknesses, the liquor people became frightened, and are preparing to launch a great campaign to fight against that measure, which we don't even intend to bring forward. They are afraid of us, they are afraid of America, they are afraid of every one. When Harry Lauder came over to our African territory he was accused of being a secret agent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, because he made some kind of a little remark, in one of his songs or jokes, against alcoholism. So we put the reporter on an assignment to go over to his hotel and interview him, and as a matter of fact he did find Harry Lauder in favor of Prohibition; but the next day, about, these liquor-dealers took him for a little dinner, to find out his views on the question, and he was practically compelled to eat his words, although he did not entirely retract them, and positively refused to do so. He had, however, to make it a little smooth, for fear they would boycott all his shows. He allowed that what he said was true, but that they did not understand it the way he meant it. All the same they are really afraid. They are talking about your sending over secret agents for your people, and they say there are a lot of secret advance agents coming over from America, from the Anti-Saloon League, to South Africa to get things started up; and they are warning the people to organize and stand together, as otherwise they may be caught in the same kind of a trap as they were in America, by the mistake of underestimating the strength of their foe. They say: "We must fight and fight together or we will go under, as our brother bartenders have in America."

We have not won the fight yet. They are already organizing, and they are powerful rivals, and there is grave danger of their becoming so consolidated that we will be unable to meet them on equal terms; and that is why we should look out and choose our course carefully. All temperance people in Africa are looking upon your great nation as an inspiration to success in this fight which we have before us. The South-African fight is aiming to coördinate all temperance societies, including the Good Templars and other organizations, and we are going to have a powerful organization, if we carry out our program with the executive talent which we have now in our organization.

We are going to make our work felt, but we are also going to need a lot of help. For instance, my friends, funds are very greatly lacking, and we haven't people out there in the field who are ready and suitable for this work, and we have got to train them. We intend to do something this next year which will be a beginning in this work. We want you to send over experts to look into the matters there, and to give us true information so that we can spread it through Africa. We are tired of

hearing these tales, whining about the evils of Prohibition. Why, we can even give you points about Kansas right here in your own country. According to them, right over here in your own country the death-rate and sickness and poverty are worse than they were under the liquor monarchy. Finally they commenced to spread this stuff around so energetically that we looked into this matter, and we found out very shortly that someone had got some figures about 35 or 40 years old and brought them over to Africa and offered them as evidence against Prohibition. The idea of taking a State that had Prohibition for all these years and years and then saying that Prohibition was responsible for this! They think that by this means they can show just how it works. Then they tell us that there is a great exodus of tramps and out-of-works, down-and-outs, out of the country. I don't know where they got the money for their fares, considering the rates the shipping companies are charging at the present time. We will be more and more able to fight these lies when we are able to show that we are giving them true facts and when you let us know the true facts, to guide us in giving the effect that we are so anxious to obtain, and which we anticipate to obtain.

But, above all, we want you to make good yourselves, because we are supporting what you have done with great hopes and can see a great outlook ahead; and, therefore, we want you to justify our boasts, and help us put to flight all these evil enemies who are parading up and down the line. And we shall take great pride in the messages that you send over to the world on the other side, that no one may dispute or discredit them. Anything that you have done in this Prohibition movement is interesting to us, because your getting actual Prohibition, in our opinion, is most wonderful—the most wonderful thing that has ever happened to any nation—and therefore, as I say, we look to you to make good and carry out your message into all the world. We look to you to come and help us with the same result. I read the other day about a chaplain, encouraging his men, who were digging the trenches, or fighting, or something of that kind, and as they came out of the trenches, he said to them: "That is all right, my men; cheer up, you are helping us build the new world." One of the men said to him, in reply: "No, padre, you are wrong this time. That isn't our job. We are scrapping the old world. We have torn it up, blasted it out, and now it is yours to build it up again." And that is what we are doing. It is going to take some Herculean efforts.

I have heard a little story recently of an old-fashioned revival and Methodist prayer-meeting in Cornwall, and you know how a Methodist is in a prayer-meeting. When they get nicely aroused, a Methodist prayer-meeting isn't a Quaker affair by any means. This affair was progressing very nicely at Cornwall, and just as the roof was about to come off, and everybody was right at the height of joy, a very thoughtful, solemn, conscientious, Presbyterian deacon came along, and he heard the racket and decided he would go in and see what was the matter. He said to

them, "Brethren, this is unseemly; you ought to have more reverence." Everybody looked round at him, to see what was the matter. "You know that even in the building of the sacred temple at Jerusalem, there was not so much as the sound of a hammer heard in all the building of that mighty temple." Then one of those old Cornishmen said to him, "Mr., we bean't a-building no temple, we'm a-blasting o' th' rocks for religion to be built on." And that is the way with us. We haven't got to the stage, yet, of building the temple, but we will be there soon enough. But we have got some rocks to fire loose, and we need some of the dynamite that you use, or, better than that, you might bring or send us over some of your staple brand of TNT that has won your fight over here, and especially some like the Kramer brand we heard about this afternoon. We haven't done much, and our fight is still unfought, but we are going into the battle very soon and we think we will win. But we do believe that you people are going to help us, and tonight I carry the message to you from South Africa that we are going to have Prohibition, that we are depending upon you, and that you are eventually going to carry Prohibition to all the great countries of the world.

There is nothing that has impressed me more than that pageant the other night. And the most impressive part of that was the good-will that you showed towards all the nations of the world, and that was right after we had seen, that afternoon, all those posters about the hatred of England. That night is a memorable one in my life. The nations came and came and came, and you welcomed them all, and you received them all, and then you became involved in war and you were seen fighting with the nations, side by side, hand in hand, in a just cause, with all those nations. It is your destiny, sometime, to stand shoulder to shoulder with the great leaders of the world and solve the problems for the whole world, and you are to march shoulder to shoulder in the van of the fight with the leaders in that fight. You may be the greatest nation on earth, but nevertheless, all will be useless unless you are the leader of all nations. You should join in the fight.

Clouds are still hovering around,
The night has been dreary and chill,
But we soon will see the sunlight
Above the distant hill.

And we want you to help us bring in the sunlight.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have a great treat in store for you, for everybody is interested in what Dr. Stephen S. Wise has to say about Prohibition. I am sure he has a great many things to say to you, and I know that he has a message of encouragement and hope in the great fight against alcoholism. I now take great pleasure in introducing to you Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

JUDAISM IN AMERICA IN THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOL

By RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE
OF NEW YORK CITY

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I am another of the secret agents of the Anti-Saloon League, although I am afraid I don't measure up to some of the requirements, because I think I will find it rather difficult to remain secret very long, as it is very hard to be unobserved and unnoticed—partly due to what Americans might call the "amplitude" of my physical bulk. Now the rocks have been blasted, as Dr. Cook says, I suppose it is not fitting that a Jew should be called upon to build the temple. But I will tell you one thing, friends, I wouldn't undertake to go to any country unless I had a free hand at hammering and pounding, at hammering and smashing the things that ought to be hammered and need to be smashed.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: After a few moments, just as soon as I have the grace to sit down, you will listen to a man who nearly ten years ago helped me to see that there were few causes before the world to which it was more worth while that a man should give his time and strength and devotion than was this cause of Prohibition, which he has so finely served for decades past. As I say, after a moment you are to hear a man who has come to America with a great message, a man who has prepared the way in his country and in other countries for extending over the whole world a knowledge of the significance of the problem of alcoholism.

You and I and Brother Dinwiddie are merely investigators from a scientific point of view; but Dr. Saleeby is a great scholar, one of the leaders in the great eugenic crusade of the world today. Saleeby is a man who, years ago, helped me to see that if there was no other reason on earth for fighting on behalf of the abolition of the liquor evil, it was to be found in that we had helped to discover, or in any event, confirm, certain facts, namely; that alcohol was one of the few race poisons, exterminating completely whole races from the globe, and was not only poisoning the race, but through the young women of the world learning to drink it, it was engaged in a devilish, diabolical work, that of blasting the lives of a generation yet to be born. And then I had to stand out for it, and I did stand out for it right up until the day the law became a part of the Constitution of the United States of America. I had to stand out. I had to stand out because I am a Jew, and because I am a Jew I hold all life to be precious. Because I am a Jew I hold the life of a child to be sacred, and the life of a child is too good and too sweet and holy to be blasted before the child is born, and for all its life, for the sake of alcohol.

Now I want to make clear to you one or two points of the attitude of my people—of the Jews of America and of other lands—toward the liquor problem, and I say liquor *problem*, which I should not have done,

because, thank God! there is no liquor problem, and there will be no liquor problem in America ever again. I had occasion to say a few months ago that the facts that interested me and struck me as surprising were the statements of a few gentlemen, reputedly respectable, but just the same utterly lawless, whenever it suits their physical appetites to be lawless, who have decided that there are going to be half a dozen or so places, now that liquor is gone, where they can still gratify their appetites. Liquor is gone though, and it is gone forever; and I will venture to prophesy tonight that liquor is gone forever from America. Now we have the law and we have the prophets. And I will again venture to say and to prophesy tonight that the liquor question will never be opened in America again. O, yes, there will be a voice raised on behalf of reproducing this curse of America, alcohol; but I don't believe that any group in America is going to get anywhere in this sort of endeavor, although they may try hard enough to get a modification of the regulation in the American Republic. I used the term "liquor problem" and I apologize, I am sorry for them. I am willing to send you a few specimens of these people from the clubs of Washington and New York and some of their other questionable societies, and they can bear mute witness, these wrecks from New York, as to the poisonous effect of liquor upon men. I am going to let you take some specimens and take them right along with you to Africa out of some of the questionable clubs that they frequent, and you are perfectly welcome to them from this city and from my city. Take them and be sure that they are with you, but don't let them come back. These gentlemen, as I said, raise their own unholy hands in unholy horror of anything that punishes the violation of the law by these society men. As I view it, there is but little difference between a poor devil gone mad over what he believes to be the injustice of the social order, or an educated fool, or a well-bred fool, or a rich fool, who is prepared to annul and violate the laws of the United States in order that he may have liquor. I say to you one of the ways to free America of anarchy of every kind is to serve notice upon the gentlemen who are unwilling to free themselves of the unhappy habits of a lifetime, that liquor has got to go, and they can't have it back.

Personally I would like to see every gallon of liquor in America destroyed tonight, if it could be done.

Now, to come back to the question of what is the attitude of the Jew toward the problems (what were the problems up to some years ago) and what is now the problem down in South Africa, and in the other benighted parts of the English-speaking world. This is true of alcoholism, which, as I say, can never again assume the dimensions of a national problem among the civilized people of the world, although it may assume the proportions in other parts of the world. It never did affect us as Jews as much as it did the other people in the world anyway, for the reason that the Jews have always been, and when I say always, of course there are exceptions, but nothing like numerous exceptions—Jews have been

temperate, or rather moderate, hardly temperate, in the use of strong drink.

I think that Dr. Saleeby, if he could dwell upon it for a moment, would be able to bear out the fact that there are few Jewish drunkards. A Jewish drunkard is a rare spectacle, let me say to you. You know I have been in the ministry for twenty-five years, and I have served three congregations during that time, and two of them very large and important ones. In the twenty-five years of my ministry, in Oregon and in New York, I have never known of a drunkard in any family in those three congregations. I don't say that there were none. There may have been some people who overindulged in drink, but I can not say that I have ever known, or remember, a drunkard among the Jewish congregations to which I ministered; and so you can see why the Jews weren't very much affected by this problem of Prohibition. I didn't mention that in order to solicit your approval, but just to let you know why it was a little bit hard to set the Jews thinking in the matter of the fight against liquor. And then there is another thing: as a people, it has not been one of our national vices; for intemperance, in the use of the term in which we naturally accept it, as far as I know it, has not been a failing of the Jewish nation.

We have our share of human failings and weaknesses, wherein we are just like Christians, and Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. Drunkenness has never been, so far as I know, a vice among Jews, therefore it wasn't an easy thing to stir Jews up about the whole problem; and I suppose Jews were just as free to choose sides as all other people were to choose sides up to a few years ago. It seems to me that about ten years ago there came over America and the American people whose minds were unbesotted an understanding of what the problem in its range and its breadth means. The investigators—such men as the chief speaker of the night here—have helped many of us in coming to our decision. Just such scientists as Dr. Saleeby, for instance.

Within a few years ago I began to speak to my people, as other men in the Jewish faith did, about the evil effect of alcohol or alcoholism. We got an immediate reply. You know this much about Jews. You know how we care about life. We hold life to be sacred; we consider life precious and sacred, because it is the gift of God to man; and when we came to understand that alcoholism was undermining the life of the future and maiming the life of the present, we had no choice. No choice was left us. We went into the cause of Prohibition, and I want to say to you that I believe I represent the conscience of the Jewish people. I am satisfied to-day in saying to you, positively, that I don't believe that any decent Jew in America wants liquor brought back to our land. And if you happen to know any Jews who do want it back—refer them to me and let me tell them what I think of them, and I promise to do it in the frankest and most unblushing terms.

We have to stand in America against alcoholism; we have to stand against alcoholism for another reason; and I do not go as far as some

of you have gone in other days, namely, that alcoholism is the chief begetter of poverty. I don't believe that. I think that it is just as true that poverty breeds alcoholism, as that alcoholism breeds poverty. I think poverty and alcoholism are inexplicably bound up in each other. They move in a vicious circle. They go together, and they will stay together, and I don't believe I know of any instance in which liquor has helped perpetuate poverty in the world. I can not say whether it causes poverty or not. I can not say even, whether poverty begets alcoholism. I know that the human race will never make a wise determination toward getting rid of the crime of poverty until the human race has given up the opiate of liquor, so as to make poverty impossible. I want men's minds to be free. I want men to be able to think clearly, and to think strongly; and then they can address themselves to the problem with wisdom, sanity, and good judgment. There will be no wise or sane or just solution of any of our social problems which confront the human race to-day until liquor goes out of all lands.

Now before I close I must say this to you. While the religion of Israel permitted the use of alcohol, please remember that injunction after injunction was spoken against the overmuch use of strong drink. A rabbi said nearly two thousand years ago that the word "wine" and the word "grief" were rooted in the same Hebrew word, and are based on this same Hebrew root. The Jews will also know, many of them, and in fact anybody who has studied the German language, a fact which I had stated to me, not so very long ago, by a learned scholar, a German, that the German words "Wein" and "Weinende," that is, wine and wailing, were based on the same word in German and go back to the same root. And again, again, and again, the Rabbis inveigh against the use of strong drink. They said, for example, that the use of strong drink leads to every sin and every act of uncleanness.

Of course, associating wine with religion, I will admit that we do use wine in the church at our Passover festivals; but I think that it is the most important thing that I can say to you to-night that it won't be many years, I think it will be less than ten, before the Jews of America will ask for no privileges in regard to wine, even for sacramental purposes, because some of the Jewish people are beginning to realize that we are going to show all the Jews that the unfermented juice of the grape answers just as well for the Passover as the fermented juice of the grape; when the Jews of America will say, "We want no more special privileges in regard to this than in regard to any other law of the land; we are citizens of America; we are Americans; and we are servants of America as well as citizens; and we are lovers of America." If this thing is good for the people, we want it for every one in the population. So much for the Jews' attitude.

As a teacher of religion, ladies and gentlemen, don't be disturbed about all this outcry about the difficulty in enforcing Prohibition. Remember first, that this is a period of transition. After those people who all their lives have used liquor manage to get themselves accommodated

to the new order of living, things will run smoothly again. And let us not be disturbed by this exaggeration of reports to the effect that it is impossible now to bring about the enforcement of Prohibition. There may be some men who somehow are going to get liquor. Of course the Eighteenth Amendment can't be enforced to this extent that there won't be any liquor in the country. I believe that even the Ten Commandments are not enforced, even in the Christian world to-day; but we have not decided that therefore we are going to weaken or modify those laws. We do not say, for instance, "Thou shalt not steal, unless what thou stealest is no more than 5 per cent of the value of what thy neighbor has," or, "Thou shalt not kill; but if it is enormously important that thou shouldst kill, and if there are enormous profits to be gotten out of the killing, that is another matter." We do not say that. And that is the way with the Prohibition law. If you respect this law it will not be repealed. It will be repealed, however, if you will suffer yourself to be frightened and bullied into yielding. Because they are going to make a loud noise and a lot of it. They always do make a loud noise. And they are going to say this thing can not be enforced. I think that I have had the privilege of addressing as many audiences, as many men as any man in America; but, of course, they haven't been so big as this one, very often limited to two or three. I rarely address a meeting as large as this one, but, nevertheless, I have been through America from east to west, and from north to south, in the last year; and I must state to you, now, that I haven't met with a single sober person in America who would repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. I have had talks with hundreds and hundreds of men and they say, "Oh, yes, we used to take liquor; we used it in the past; but we never want liquor to come back to America."

Don't be afraid of the hue and cry raised by the gentlemen with whose precious habits we have interfered. Personally I want to say that I consider it the worst kind of Americanism for any man to talk about modifications or reservations in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Eighteenth Amendment must be obeyed and it must be enforced, and it will be enforced. And it must be enforced, and it will be enforced, and it ought to be enforced. It ought to be enforced in New York. It was enforced, I supposed. I don't know so much about it as some of your experts. I haven't investigated the difference between Scotch and Irish as some of them seem to know; but if the Eighteenth Amendment is being violated in New York, the thing to do is to have the law enforced. There is only one thing to do: let it be said in New York, and let it be said plainly, so that they will understand it, that this law must be obeyed, and will be obeyed; this law must be enforced, and will be enforced; and we are going to enforce this law the same as any other. We are not going to neglect any laws, no; but we are going to enforce all the laws alike.

Ladies and gentlemen, as American citizens, I stated to you that you

enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment has cleared the moral and spiritual conditions of the world, and we are never, never, never, going back to the old régime in the American Republic. And it is going to continue; for I feel sure that there isn't a man or woman in this audience who isn't prepared to stand and fight, and fight, and fight, in order that this great moral victory to America may be retained for the honor and security and glory of our Republic.

THE CHAIRMAN: Rabbi Wise has already introduced the next speaker of the evening, and I can not add anything to what he said. We all know and love and revere Dr. Saleeby for his great services in behalf of this question, and I take pleasure in introducing to you as an American audience, once again, Dr. Saleeby.

THE VERDICT OF CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE ON ALCOHOL IN ITS PERSONAL, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY CALEB W. SALEEBY, M. D., F. R. S. E.

CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL BIRTH-RATE COMMISSION, LONDON

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I think that it would be very presumptuous for any of us, from any part of the world, to come here and try to teach you. I did not come here for that. I did not come as a teacher. I came here to learn, and I am learning fast. Now, in reference to learning these things, I want to make one or two points plain, if you please, with reference to making it easier for us to learn how to stir men, and, incidentally, to thank you for kindnesses already shown.

In the first place, your characteristic American hospitality has shown, beyond any reasonable doubt or assumption, to us foreigners, that you Americans have—deliberately oblivious to the fact that your country is really the great laboratory in which this stupendous achievement was prepared and reached its fruition—given to us, as foreigners, as much, if not more, credit than yourselves. You are the ones who are showing us how it works, and I hope if possible that before this Congress closes you will have the opportunity, and that we will also have the opportunity, of having a little more detailed and full account of the results of the experiment in America. You know you don't want to carry your politeness too far, to such an extent that you will overshadow your own good work. I make the suggestion, if you will permit me a suggestion, that certain papers which have been presented to the Congress would be valuable as appendages to the official record of the Congress. Of course we are all of us very loyal to the countries from which we come, and I wouldn't give much for a delegate who doesn't think a great deal of his own country. He wouldn't be much of a delegate if he didn't. We are all telling about the glorious things in our respective countries, all about how big they are, and how ancient they are, and what beautiful

scenery they have, and so on, and, as I say, we are, as we should be, very loyal and patriotic to the countries we come from; but there has been one point which you haven't brought out in this Congress, as yet: it hasn't been sufficiently brought forward and adequately covered. Lord D'Abernon, of the Liquor Control Board, a former member of it, had a great jibe at me about being unable to produce anything showing definite results. He said to me something in this fashion one time: "We are producing in England at this time by means of control, results. And these results can be gotten ready at any time in absolute statistical form, showing certain facts." He said, "We are going to produce statistics and statements of facts that will give you delirium tremens. We ask these folks over in America how they are coming, and what do they say? They say, 'Look at the increased value of real estate; look at the increased enrollment in the churches; look at the decrease in jails,' and all such things as that, but never do they have a tangible answer with statistics, to show definitely how things are progressing over there." They have been slinging it in our teeth that you didn't have any tangible results, no direct record of the actual results of Prohibition. Shortly before I left England there was an article published in *The Times* in which the hope was expressed that these statistics would be on the line of an analysis in the actual conditions of drinking alcohol as concerns the general public. They add that "It will be of great interest as establishing a comparison between the results of Prohibition and the results of control." I think that is a good suggestion, myself, and I leave these papers in your hands for what they may be worth, and I hope that America will give us the demonstration, but especially I want it for my own country.

May I just briefly endeavor to give you the main heads of the indictment against liquor? I will try to do so very briefly.

In the first place, the manufacture of alcohol is the destruction of food; and this is reason enough, even if there were no other reason, why it should be stopped at this time, when the great problem of the world is food. The world problem is going to be more and more a food problem until, my friends, something is done to make up for the tremendous shortage. And where we are now, on account of this food problem, is scarcely a beginning. It is looming bigger and bigger on the horizon of the nations every day. It is becoming more and more acute, on account of the lack of rural population and the increase of city dwellers. Therefore bear this in mind, that wherever alcohol is being made, food is being wasted. In war time the wasting of food supplies was bad enough, but in peace time it is inexcusable.

Food is being destroyed by being given to yeast, a parasite, to multiply and increase, and cause fermentation, which is rotteness, when that food was meant by God to feed *man*. The food value is destroyed, and there remains only a poison. They say that certain elements which are not capable of being used by man are destroyed or utilized by the liquor, but also the value which keeps men from starving is gone. For

instance they put in glucose. I know what they say about glucose, that it is unfit for human consumption; and so they put it into beer (for human consumption through another medium!). But the scientific answer to that is that we now know that *glucose* is the actual material and food substance by which every single heart in this hall, and every heart on the great round globe is beating tonight. Every heart beats and every muscle in our bodies contracts by the energy of glucose in the body, and so it is really the essential fuel food of the body, and therefore it is too useful to be turned, by means of beer, into the two positive poisons, carbon dioxid and alcohol.

Secondly, it is important that you should know, that it contains certain invaluable elements which are food values, in that they are capable of destroying disease, and these are called vitamins; and they have just been established, that is, their presence has just been established, and they are found to be in greatest abundance in the very foods which are destroyed by the process of manufacturing alcohol. Scientists have recently decided that these bodies called vitamins are essential to life itself. The great scientists of both nations, England and America, have been working on this problem, and also the scientific men of other nations, and we have found out quite a lot about them, although there still is a lot to learn about them; and your American work is second only to that of the English scientists on this problem of vitamins. On demonstration we find that they come under the class of what are known as protective foods, because, as I said, they protect us against disease. It has been found that these vitamins are most common in the grain which is destroyed by these brewers, and, therefore, the brewers say that beer must be very good for us because it contains so many of these vitamins. Our scientific answer to that lie is that tests by scientific men show that these vitamins are completely destroyed in the process of fermentation.

Besides that we have the tests conducted upon animals by the great scientific men of both countries. We tried the use of beer in feeding animals, in the Royal Zoological Gardens, London. The Zoological Society, of which I had the honor of being a fellow, conducted these experiments with beer, not only ordinary bottled beer, such as may have been kept in storage some time and aged, but, in this case, the very best, the fresh beer, beer which had had no chance to deteriorate; and, contrary to the lies which the brewers had spread everywhere, not only in England, but throughout the world, we found that there isn't a trace of vitamins and that the brewers totally destroy all the vitamins that may have been in the beer in fermenting it. Beer is a typical devitalized, doctored, spoiled, drugged, devitaminized, decayed, decomposed, impoverished "food." I believe that it is in southern France that they say that beer is a liquid bread, but I will tell you just what it is. It is nothing under the sun but poisoned water.

The next point is that we are always wrong when we say that alcohol is a stimulant, for it is not. Let us thoroughly understand what a stimulant is, first. A stimulant is a good thing, one of the greatest things

in the world, and you Americans have true stimulant qualities in yourselves. Professor William James of Harvard used to say that, compared with what we ought to be, none of us is more than half-awake, and that is really true; but there is a difference in the different kinds of stimulants. For instance, there is the excited maniac who can not sleep a wink, and what he needs is a soporific to put him to sleep. But when you are asleep and sane, if you sleep more than you ought to, you need a stimulant to keep you awake. Light is a stimulant, air is a stimulant, many kinds of food are stimulants. A good speaker who makes you sit up and take notice is a stimulant. That glorious news that we will take back to the people on our side of the sea is going to be a great stimulant. That grand pageant out on the front steps of the Capitol yonder, was a great stimulant. Stimulants, I tell you, are a good thing.

But now, let us see, does alcohol come in that class? No, it does not. Alcohol is none of these things. It is a narcotic. It is the direct opposite of any of these things. The brewers think that it stimulates, and that is the reason it gets men so excited. We are built from level to level in a sort of hierarchy, and the upper level controls those beneath it, and, as you progress higher, finally, we come to the cerebrum, second door to the Supreme Power. William Jackson tells us that the top level, that is the cerebrum, controls the next lowest level; the lowest is the animal motions, the unintelligent motions. That as we go up the steps, we come to that masterpiece, the cerebrum, the most valuable, the most important part of the brain; and it is this part of the brain that alcohol damages. It is the base of knowledge. Alcohol goes right straight to the uppermost level and it manages to injure the brain, and it overmasters, overpowers, and drags down judgment, and dethrones our higher ideals; and when that happens, there is for a moment, of course, an apparent stimulation. I remember, for instance, that while I was a medical student, we used to have once in a while a big burly Scotelman who would come in to the hospital to be operated upon, and he would be very frantic, and in order to quiet him down so that we could operate, we would give him a mixture of alcohol and chloroform or ether as an anesthetic, and in the first stage of its action upon that man, it might take five or six of us to hold him, but in a few minutes he would be as quiet as could be, and absolutely limp, and would be so quiet, and would suffer no pain at all. Now, was that a stimulant? No, it was not a stimulant. But his control of his muscles was being lost gradually, and in a few minutes, as I say, he would be practically paralyzed. Then he would naturally lie perfectly quiet. And those of you who know anything about these horrible effects will wonder how it is that man will take this substance into his system. It is because he needs a stimulant. Of course, as I say, some stimulants are splendid, such as this Congress and some of the excellent functions connected with it, such as the pageant the other night.

I don't know whether it has been clearly defined, so that the members of this Congress will understand it, or whether some of you members

know already why men drink whisky. It isn't to quench thirst; you all know that, because the only thing which can quench thirst is water. But there is a perfectly definite reason why we seek this stimulant. The reason is one of the basic conditions of happiness, and is one of the things that makes life well worth living. We depend upon a regular stimulant; and it has been known to science for a long time just what that is, because it is one of the organic functions of the brain, and there is a scientific name for it. It is called "euphoria," and it literally means bearing up well. That is the difference between success and failure. No one without euphoria is happy, under any circumstances, and any one with euphoria can be always happy. It is the beginning of happiness. It is the condition that makes life worth living, and I have found in my medical practice that there are certain poisons which have the strange power of superinducing a sham euphoria. For instance, alcohol is taken to superinduce euphoria; and it is very remarkable that this sham euphoria is so closely similar to that found in the last stages of syphilis of the brain, or paresis, as we sometimes call it, that is, the general paralysis of the insane. And happiness of the kind based upon intoxicants or upon this hideous, filthy disease leads to death, and, whether we seek it by means of poison or by means of legitimate stimulants, the quest is still the same.

The search for happiness is legitimate, and I have no quarrel with it. Certainly it ought to be legitimate in this country, as it is set forth, I believe, in your Declaration of Independence, which asserts that man's rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And now these brewers say that we mustn't even attempt to interfere with man's euphoria, even if he gets it by poison. I agree with them on that point. We shouldn't try to deprive a man of anything which gives him euphoria without having something better which we can give him; and you don't realize how far in the United States your success has been due to the fact that you have so many substitutes which can take the place of alcohol and furnish true euphoria. That is one way you were able to do away with the saloons. It is due to the fact that you can provide true euphoria. You have good food, for instance, good water, pure air. You don't have so many smoky cities as I have in my country, which is itself the very root of euphoria for mind and body. We must learn that these things must be and can be provided without the same agent that produces a transient euphoria.

The next thing I want to say is something that may surprise you, and that is that when I was studying the problems of eugenics, when I was reading and studying about the subject of racial poisons and the damage they did, I found many astonishing things. For instance, we will take the example of the soldier who goes to war and possibly has an arm shot away. Just the same his shoulder will be healthy, because he is a good germinal stock, producing healthy germs, spermatozoa, and when he comes back his children will be

just as fine as he ever was. But, if he is diseased, it will be impossible for him to produce normal children, because of the fact that there is a poison which acts upon this germ. Therefore another man, we will say, who may have come from the same place, and fought in the same battles as this man, and still comes back with all his limbs, will produce only monstrosities, on account, as I say, of the defect in the germ.

Up until lately, a few years ago, in England, it was possible for any woman to go to a chemist, and, without any prescription at all, and for two pence, to purchase an ounce of diachylon, commonly known as lead plaster, or *emplastrum plumbi*, originally meant to spread on sores, or as a disinfectant; but it was cut up into pills and used for this devilish purpose, that a woman, by taking this compound, could destroy all the unborn generations within her, including the unborn child within her. This was done so very widely, and over such a wide area, that the danger became so shocking of this method becoming so popular, that it was stopped. Now I am of the opinion that, notwithstanding the deadly destruction which this diachylon did, this fatal lead plaster, I am confident in saying that alcohol has destroyed more than this lead ever could have destroyed.

On Saturday you will hear a speech by a man whose investigations have been along the line of alcohol as a race poison, and Dr. Stockard of Cornell University is that man. He will tell you about some of his investigations on the parental germs. Speaking of that reminds me of the experiments conducted by Sir Victor Horsley, who died in Mesopotamia the other day; and the reason he was there in Mesopotamia was because of the stand that he had taken against alcoholism, which displeased certain types of the officials in England. And the greatest surgeon of his age, simply because of the fact that his remarks about alcoholism had made him *persona non grata*, was sent to Mesopotamia to look after the soldiers there who had eaten perhaps a little too much, or drank a little too much of the native beer that Brother Cook has told us about, and thus he was unable to be of the fullest service to the Government, of which he was capable. They sent him out there, the greatest surgeon of his day, having made some of the grandest discoveries known to man, to a job that you or I, or anybody with no surgical experience could have done. And one day he went out in the desert to look after a man who had got a tummy-ache, or something like that, and the sun was very hot and he received a sunstroke, which, in Mesopotamia, was a very serious matter, and thus died, one of the greatest surgeons of his age; and that all happened because he was an enemy of alcohol. It was a labor of love on his part, for he had found out, as all the rest of us have, that alcohol is one of the greatest race poisons that exist; and we ought to join to have this menace to society branded as a racial poison.

In regard to Professor Stockard's experiments, I mention the

fact that none of the animals upon which he experimented was subjected to the alcoholic poisoning for all day. But they were exposed to it for one hour out of the twenty-four, six days in the week, and their posterity—their progeny—were degenerated, and considering the amount of time that some men spend drunk, I think this is a very important factor in considering what happens to some nations, causing their decadence and overthrow. When I am told by some people that the Italians and the Spaniards, and some of the other races of Europe have had their wine and their beer for a very long time, I can not help wondering whether, as a matter of fact, they really do become immune from it, or whether the present existence of those nations is simply due to some extraordinary racial endurance.

I forecast for you, America, a boundless future of illimitable glory, if you will face to the fight in leading the world in the fight against alcohol, because you have made a very good stand in eliminating some of the very worst things that can menace the nation, because in getting rid of alcohol, you not only got rid of your general foes that much quicker, but you also got rid of venereal disease—the immoral disease as it is sometimes called. Now, in striking at the one you struck at the other, because one depends upon the other; they are interlocked. There are five distinct ways which I can cite to you as ways in which alcohol plays its unfortunate victims into the hands of the venereal diseases. First, of course, there is the temptation, as all the world knows; and alcohol lessens the power to resist that temptation, as it lowers physical resistance to the infection, it renders the body less able to withstand the ravages of disease, and it hinders treatment. There are five good solid reasons why we can't afford to let alcohol get a hold on our nation again, for if you keep alcohol out you are going to clear up the national problems confronting the nation for time that will endure as long as there is enough power in the blazing sun to keep our planet warm.

In January of this year, in England, I ventured to say even more than that, not only that you are going to achieve this result, but I even ventured to publish an article in which I said that Prohibition would eventually prove to be one of the greatest health measures in the history of the world. Surgeon-General Gorgas, for whom we held a great funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral, was the greatest public health officer I have ever heard of, because he not only made possible the Panama Canal, but he also made the zone a fit place to live in. You Americans had to deal with disease when you were making the Panama Canal. You remember that the French had the job before that, and had splendid engineering instruments, and wide experience; but these did not avail, all because of the fact that the workmen whom they brought there died of diseases. They died of malaria and yellow fever. Then you got the job, and you gave Gorgas the job of cleaning up the Panama Canal Zone, and power enough to do whatever was necessary. He did it; for throughout a wide zone on either

side of the canal he purchased the land and established Prohibition, and under those conditions it was possible for him to deal with these problems. It was an intelligent population he had to deal with, and they were not indifferent to the obliteration of yellow fever. And the result was that he was able to obliterate all these diseases, even malaria. And more than that, in just a few years he converted a pest place into a health resort, and joined two oceans, and that all stands for the credit of Prohibition; but more than that, it is the best evidence in the world that Prohibition is a success.

And furthermore, the use of Prohibition not only enables you to fight venereal diseases successfully, but also aids very successfully in fighting tuberculosis. Now, Sir Arthur Holmes, who was lucky enough to have been born in England, and who was one of the greatest hygienists in the world, has told us, among other things, that Prohibition, as it is practiced in the United States, is going to greatly expedite the departure of tuberculosis from your country. The Ministry of Health in England has given instructions which may aid in this work, because they prohibit the selling of alcohol to certain classes, and in view of what we have seen in about two months last year and one month this year, we have decided that half our fight was against venereal diseases or tuberculosis, both of which are on the increase since the Armistice was signed, and we must follow your example in this respect.

Do you Americans know that the finest vital statistics in your history are those of six months of this last year, after Prohibition came into effect? That record was written in the first six months of the past year, and we find in that public health report a true record of the results of Prohibition in America. That is the official record of Prohibition, and it is the record that will stand before the English people. Those records show that there was an astonishing reduction in the restriction of venereal disease and of tuberculosis.

One of the lies that we have in England to contend with is that your doctors are saying they aren't able to get the whisky which they need to give to their patients for influenza, and that they are dying of influenza by the thousands every month since Prohibition has been started in America. An infamous and ungodly howl of delight went up from the swinish liquor interests when they heard that you in America were suffering from a great attack of influenza; but I want to remind you in this connection of the certain parallel which I think is useful to consider, and which I shall communicate to you. When I was a medical student in Scotland my teacher introduced to me what I consider was the first case of appendicitis ever noticed by scientific men, and when he saw the patient he asked whether this man had been taking opium or not. Then he said to me, "I want to put on my tombstone when I die, words to this effect, 'He never gave opium in appendicitis.'" Appendicitis, as you know, is always accompanied with great pain, great anxiety, great alarm, and agony; and

opium is to suppress agony, of course. Well, then, what is a doctor for. Why, a doctor is to bring relief, of course. Well, we will say that he does come and give opium. He comes in and he can give relief, by means of his little pellets, by means of dulling the symptoms, which are really only a warning, so he gives opium and it gives relief, and the patient does not suffer so much pain, and there is peace. There is no apprehension; the friends are gratified; and the doctor goes away with a consciousness that he has performed a service in that sick-room. But the surgeon knows differently, because he knows from his own experience that a soporific drug having been given has made his task almost impossible. The death-rate is rising on the operating table all because of this apparently innocent drug, and this doctor of my acquaintance wanted it put on his tombstone (for which he has no use yet, I am glad to say), that he never gave any opium for appendicitis. And many a physician may be glad to have it inscribed on his tombstone that he never gave whisky in pneumonia, because it is exactly the same thing in harmful effects.

I want to make another suggestion. I said that I came here to learn. But one thing I thoroughly learned before I ever came over here, which a few years ago would have surprised me, is the attitude of our labor party over in England. They are a little difficult now on this Prohibition question. But while they will not take any opinions from me or anybody else, still they will take the opinions, formed by themselves on this subject; and they have been lied to and deceived and bulldozed about the medical effect of Prohibition until the standard thing that they believe about America is that in America Prohibition is something that was put over by a bunch of blood-sucking millionaires and factory-owners in order to get more out of their men, and as a result of that condemnable invention called "scientific management." Now that is the last thing that they want, that they shall be made to do better in any particular line in order to make anybody rich. They do not want to get caught in what they believe is a trap in which they believe their American brothers have found themselves.

Now seeing is believing. I haven't any idea or any prospects that the labor people of my country will learn the truth on the subject until they come here for that purpose, and then they will receive the good news that has been kept from them by the saloon-keepers in England. They will find that here they have a free and open forum which is the only way that we learn anything anyway. They had heard a great deal, however, about Socialism in Russia, and they have commenced to believe it, but before it was decided to adopt it, they made up their minds to send a deputation over there to find out just what the truth was and how it worked out in that country. That deputation, formerly immensely prejudiced in favor of Socialism, came back to England terribly disappointed, and now they don't believe in Bolshevism any more. Prohibition is just the same to them. Prohibition to them means that some people who want some-

thing—namely, practically everybody—are being forcibly deprived of it against their will by the Anti-Saloon League, who, by some means unexplained, have won the power of preventing the American people from getting what they want—restraining the will of the people by imposing harsh measures upon them. Well, that is reasonable; it sounds like Prohibition. For instance, I want to do a thing, and somebody prohibits me from doing it. Naturally I will get excited about it.

I went to a labor conference in Scarborough a few weeks ago, and I was asked at that conference whether I had found Prohibition in America was a benefit to the working class. I told them yes, I had found that it was, but that I didn't want them to take my word for it. I wanted them to see for themselves; and I suggested that they send over a delegation, because that is what I want them to do. I want them to send a deputation of labor men to America, perhaps deliberately composed of so-called moderate drinkers, and see what is to be seen. It would be worth more to Prohibition in Great Britain than all the rest of the statistics you could send over. And I now make this suggestion that an invitation to this effect be extended to these deceived working men in Great Britain to come over and see what Prohibition has done, the great increase in all the good things of life which it has brought for labor; and let them see just how it works; and then they can go back and tell the working men of my country just what they think of it. And if they should suggest a change in favor of Prohibition, it would influence the feelings of the country in our favor so greatly that we would then get Prohibition in a very few months. And that would make this glorious Congress worth while.

I hope this suggestion will be acted upon; and I believe that when they do come over here and see what is going on, not through the saloon-keepers' spectacles, and go back home, they will find themselves quite well able to adopt for the liquor trade the words which Abraham Lincoln used in regard to American slavery. It was to the effect that for a few generations we had the rise of this traffic spreading over the continent, then it grew dim, and was finally extinct, landed in the mud, stank in the dark for a brief time, then was remembered only by its smell, and after a time was remembered not even by its smell. And that is what is going to happen to them when they realize what the liquor interests have been doing to them.

“Where the City of the Faithful is firmly standing, where the city of the cleanliest, where the city of healthiest fathers and mothers stands, there the great city stands.”

THE CHAIRMAN: I notice in the audience a gentleman who is well known to us all, and loved by us all, and I am now very glad to have the distinguished honor of introducing to you the man who has done so much during the recent years in the cause of the National

Prohibition Act, and toward the passing of the resolutions necessary in the House of Representatives, the Hon. Richmond Pearson Hobson.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Convention of the Congress: I respond to the invitation of the Chairman in order to make an announcement which I had planned to make this afternoon or on Sunday. I may possibly be out of the city on that date, so I will make it for you now. It is an announcement of a donation to the anti-alcohol movement of a little book that I have just completed and of a pamphlet which I have also just completed. They are an abridgment of my book on "Alcohol and the Human Race," published by Fleming H. Revell Company, of New York, Chicago, Toronto, London and Edinburgh. They are publishing my book, and with their consent I have abridged the standard volume till it is now in the form of a booklet of about 96 pages, or three parts of 32 pages each, which amounts to about 22,000 words. They have felt it necessary to reserve for the time being the American copyright and translation rights in my book in the standard edition; but I have obtained their consent to present this book to the American Congress Against Alcoholism, free of copyright and of any other restrictions. They have waived entirely all rights in the pamphlet edition, making about 7,000 words in a volume of about thirty-two pages, and we estimate that these can be published for perhaps one cent and the book for about three cents, or not more than four. I never have given any rights in the book at all in any of the editions in the foreign languages, even for the standard edition. Those rights I wish now to donate along with all rights in the abbreviated edition and the pamphlet edition in all other languages free for publication and free for translation in all lands wheresoever it can do good.

I am doing this not to try to make any contribution to the literature of this great subject, because I could not hope to stand as high in the list of investigators of this subject as some of these great investigators on the subject of racial poison, such as Dr. Saleeby or Dr. Stockard, who will be here Sunday and talk to you, and will undertake to outline to you the results of his investigation. I do this more in a spirit of gratitude for the movement.

I served eighteen years as an officer of the United States Navy. I went into Congress and I served eight years there. And all through those years my name, motto, and watchword was preparedness. With some degree of success I pursued that motto, and with more or less success I think I can say I investigated the question of fact in regard to the results of scientific work against alcoholism throughout the world and the result of governmental control. I was able to call it to the attention of my colleagues in Congress and was

able to get the work of Dr. Saleeby, and when I found out such terrible things were taking place on account of alcoholism I felt constrained to introduce in Congress an amendment to our Constitution, and, as many of my friends said, I very gladly committed political suicide. Many persons from my college where I had attended called me a political lunatic, and also many of my colleagues. I have pursued this reform ever since. I think that we started a real experiment in government when we started this movement in pointing out such truths as the Doctor has found, which finally led to the modification of our Constitution. The deepest motives I have ever known were stirred in my heart and changed my life and I started in to ascertain the real truth and to promulgate it. I thought this way: That if it were possible to have it reach the large number of men that I had succeeded in reaching with my speech and had made such a great impression upon them, anywhere and everywhere, that it might have the same effect upon my friends in Congress.

When I introduced that resolution in Congress suggesting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States I was laughed at and mocked, and no attention was paid to the proposition, so I tried out some of these truths in a little speech to my colleagues in Congress, which I called "The Great Destroyer." I was honestly surprised at the effect that it had, so I commenced to see that this "Great Destroyer" was a winner. I made up my mind I would try it further, and so I sent out copies of this "Great Destroyer" at my own expense, had it published widely throughout the United States, and thus deliberately inoculated the thought of America. Now up to that time, as most of you will probably agree with me, there was not only no organization then existing in America, but also there was no individual in America, who had ever conceived of a proposition of having Prohibition in the Constitution of the United States. I never even dreamed of such a thing myself. It was tried, I believe, away back in the seventies; but the candidate who suggested it was advised at that time, by his own party, that it would be futile even to try to get a two-thirds majority of both Houses as well as three fourths of all the States in order to get a law through that you might get by simply passing an act of Congress. They simply didn't want to change the Constitution, if they could help it; but let's see what happened. Inside of eighteen months after this inoculation into the thought of America there was not an organization in America that was not demanding organic treatment of this organic question by an alteration of the Constitution. They didn't want a statute then; they wanted nothing less than an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Now, mark you, I am citing this not as any part of my own record of service or anything of that kind. It was purely an accident that I ever suggested it. But I cite it as a demonstration of the value of this terrible truth as a serum with which to inoculate public senti-

ment against alcoholism. It is an antidote serum, an antidote for this great problem of poison, and if you can use it to such an extent as to inoculate the whole thought of the world, then it will have the same effect as the use of any powerful serum—exactly equivalent; for I tell you it is a powerful truth, a toxin or serum to be used in this parasite disease which is sapping the life of our nation.

These years that I have spent in preparing these books have not been spent merely with the idea of adding to the literature of Prohibition, but it has been an effort, an earnest, conscientious effort on my part to produce a vehicle for the inoculation of the whole world, a serum available to cure the diseases of the organism of the human race. I have seized upon this Congress as the occasion to lay my little tribute of service on the altar and present this wonderful serum to this movement of the world. I think, if I may be permitted to venture a suggestion, it would be this: The International Congress Against Alcoholism seems to me, biologically speaking, to be the development of a gland in the human race. I will explain my attitude. It is this, simply stated, that the human race is a functioning organism, and I believe that this Congress is a sort of gland as yet not fully developed. I believe that the Congress will eventually develop into a gland that will cause the generation of the antitoxins and the phagocytes and bring about the marshaling of the vitality of the whole human race in fighting this awful parasite disease, mortal in its nature; and in its last stages the organization has gone so far that you and I have alike been spectators of this swinish species killing itself. There is no analogue in nature to answer this description.

I will venture two practical suggestions: First, that this Congress in its American session start the basis of this inoculation throughout the entire world; and we must go about it systematically, the same as though we were organizing a hospital for the world to come to. I would recommend that this Congress have a committee on serums, taking something like Osler's great books, and all the books on this subject, in fact. Take also Dr. Saleeby's researches, and have men put to work, vitally concerned in gathering facts and to keep everything up to date. Then we also would have a committee of organizers who should make a study of the human mind from a psychological standpoint, so as to have available the data which would enable us to determine a proper means of approach, and then, as another committee, we should have a committee on inoculation—a committee that will organize the distribution of this serum over all the world which I have.

Now I make you these as a donation. The cost will be very small for such inoculation again and again and again. You will be amply repaid even with the rough, imperfect serum with which I am presenting you on this occasion. It can be improved, and I am sure that this great committee will prepare a greater and more per-

fectured serum. The cost will be negligible for the inoculation of the world. You can possibly put some of it on America, which is just now bearing the brunt of the financing of the whole world; but, if I may be permitted, I would suggest each land for itself. Let the churches undertake to inoculate themselves and in so doing they will inoculate also those whom they are reaching, and in turn these people they are trying to reach will cooperate also in reaching others; and I am convinced that if we go about this right, according to all law and principles of psychology, we will win out.

As a doctor has told us to-night, the base of the brain is the low level of thought; and the higher psychology goes, then the higher we get into consciousness of time and brotherhood. I think it would be the foundation for the best kind of cooperation and the basis for the integration of the nation and the elimination of evil social conditions and the war. This Amendment being, as it is now, an integral part of the Constitution of the United States shows that we are now at liberty to carry it to other nations, and if it is the society's wish we can have the Congress of the United States, through the State Department and other departments of the Government, through the Appropriations Committee, make further provisions for the participation of the United States in this non-political, non-partisan fight, and with adequate resources at our command, and thus we can secure the remarkable cooperation of all the world. In conclusion I am going to ask the privilege of extending my remarks in the record and revising them, and I also want to make at this point a brief statement for the record. I believe I can take all of what Dr. Saleeby has said and agree with it exactly, because the moment whisky gets inside you it is a toxic poison. It is a fermented fungus in beer. There is no chlorophyl in it. It is simply a toxic poison, and if you start spreading that kind of a propaganda, why just think how powerful it would be. Can't you see, first the look of surprise that would come over a normal man upon finding out what he had been pouring into his stomach under the mistaken idea that it was a "stimulant?"

Then imagine, again, the anger that would come over this man's mind when it was pointed out to him how these breweries and their interests had been lying to him about beer being a healthful food. Then his pride would begin to be aroused, when he found that by drinking this whisky or beer, instead of increasing his weight he was really benumbing that vital top part of the brain, thus making him incapable of using any judgment; can't you see the wrath beginning to rise? Again he reads, further along in this propaganda of ours, things which arouse the self-preservation which it has been said is the first law of Nature, for soon he finds that Dr. Saleeby has pointed out facts which doubtless he has never known about alcohol, to wit: its affinity for the top of the brain and the reproductive organs; thus, at one blow, as it were, destroying the temple of the

spirit of God, turning the man into a brute and blighting his offspring in mind and in body. That brings to his mind his duty of safeguarding the young and not letting the protoplasm of the species be obliterated. Those are the deepest motives, the most underlying motives in our whole life. It is up to us with all the forces of our nature to come up against this so-called appeal of alcoholism that has been the fear of many generations, blighting our physical and mental well-being. Otherwise we would be into oblivion. But if we use, as I say, this serum, we will not be forgotten and we will win what we are after, because, by means of this, you appeal to the mightiest of the elemental instincts and powers latent in man and in all of us, from the highest to the lowest.

Now, just a few words further. What is the object behind this drugging of the whole human race? Is it money? Is it dissipation? Is it the desire for this cheap drug? As the Doctor told us, the object is euphoria. That is why they used to go for this drug that sold for a few cents a gallon. But is there any euphoria in a man's going out and taking a deadly drug and getting drunk on it, and first letting it strike him and strike him hard, and then going along the street striking individuals of his family and perhaps affecting generations yet unborn? Why, when a man reads a thing like that, can't you see the venom of wrath arise? A man would fairly see red. It will take hold of the unregenerate of the world, so called, and, as these motives are aroused, a most wonderful and surprising result will follow, because that result will rebuild itself high upon those terrible motives which are latent in us all, of life, of self-preservation, of consecration, of service, of hope, of prayer, of faith, of God, and the highest things in the universe. I do not have to mention the fact that the integration of these motives in the minds of a mass of men will swing them around until the force of the movement will move the very earth itself out of its orbit and head it straight for the Kingdom of God.

It was just as easy as the flow of the tide of water down the hill for America to get Prohibition. I have made my little contribution to it, I believe, but it was but little indeed. But I give you in this little pamphlet the gist and essence of all contributions made in fifty years by those consecrated men and women who worked for Prohibition. We had a hard time to be sure, but when the truth began to envelop America it was easy for us to get it, and at last, after all those years, Prohibition did go into the Constitution and just as surely as the sun has set to-night and just as surely as it will rise again to-morrow, I can say to you that world Prohibition is just as sure. I was the first individual who started this movement, but I hope that its influence will spread into all the world, and that all the forces of the world can be marshaled together to meet these other deadly, lying forces of the world; and the outcome cannot be questioned. The attainment of Prohibition is just a matter of time,

and if we do not wait until it is too late the world can be saved from another cataclysm of disintegration; and a whole lot of useless friction, combustion, and killing may be avoided if this is done promptly and swiftly. Otherwise there will be another cataclysm.

The facts are all before the world in this great liquor problem, and the word is ringing throughout the great continents, and the word is on thousands of tongues, and Prohibition is galloping quickly down to victory. We can win this fight, and we can win any other fight, and if we do not take advantage of this opportunity God only knows what may be the consequence. My prayer is that each one of us who has been hearing the inspiration of this great Congress may go forth reconsecrated to the great task, and that we all may coöperate in this movement for making Prohibition universal throughout the world. And, my friends, the only possible way, absolutely the only way to do this, is by this inoculation. It isn't by compromise. We can't have light wines and light beer. Otherwise there will be no effect in our Prohibition law. All men should know the truth about alcohol, but if they don't know the truth and will persist in drinking this poisonous whisky, let us go forth and take our part in this big job and coöperate in marshaling the motives and the man behind the motives in favor of Prohibition, and we shall in that way bring in the happy day when the whole world will be dry.

THE CHAIRMAN: To-morrow night in this hall the Honorable William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, Miss Agnes Slack of England, and the Solicitor-General of the United States, the Honorable W. L. Frierson, will speak to the Congress. The time assigned for this meeting has now expired and also the time of the speakers has expired, and I now announce that the audience is dismissed.

[Thereupon the meeting adjourned.]

MORNING SESSION

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1920.

At the Friday morning session, the Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie presided.

THE REV. ANDREW BIRD, of Washington, D. C., delivered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I feel called upon to make a statement to the Congress this morning, and I trust the propriety of it will appeal to you. We are under obligation, in my judgment, to go through with the program, because people have been called here together from various sections of the world to read papers and open subjects for discussion, as far as discussion is possible, and it would be rank discourtesy if they should not be permitted to read their papers in proper form. On the other hand, it was absolutely impossible for the Program Committee, or the American Committee and the International Committee to anticipate just how far afield anybody might go in the discussion of subjects properly before the Congress, and in connection with papers to be presented. The Chair might have called many participants to order with great propriety, and might have been disposed so to do, had he not thought that by doing so much more time would be consumed than by letting them go on; but if too much discussion is to be had, the Chair will feel that he must go forward with the program, if you indulge in purely partizan discussion and the bringing in of personal candidacies and personality, and I think every one here will sustain the Chair in saying that these are out of place in a Congress of this character.

There may be differences of opinion expressed, and I can really say that there ought to be. Otherwise a Congress of this kind wouldn't be necessary; and free and fair discussion of them ought to be tolerated on both sides without acrimony and without bitterness or harshness. The Chair, so far as in him lies, under the suggestions that he has made, will go to the limit in sustaining the right of any man or woman to be heard along that line; but hereafter please avoid personality, recrimination, and improper reflection.

And then may I suggest just one thing more? Stick to the subject under discussion. That is all I care to say on the subject, except that as Chairman of the American Committee—and I speak in that capacity now, and not as Chairman of the Congress—I want to say that the suggestion that this Congress has in any way been directed, or influenced, or that its program was in any way directed by the representatives of any temperance organization in America or Europe whatsoever, is a purely gratuitous suggestion on the part of anybody who has made it, either in the press or otherwise, and is absolutely without foundation in

fact. The Anti-Saloon League hasn't any more to do with this Congress than any one of twenty-five or forty other organizations in America; and there hasn't been any suggestion by any of these organizations in the framing of this program, or in the arrangements for the Congress, that one organization was to have preferment over another. This is purely a Governmental Congress, and the American Committee conducted its work purely along lines of organizing a free and open forum for the discussion of the question of alcoholism from every standpoint that we could think of, and could get within compass of six days; and whether we have failed or not you and the public can judge. I simply want to deny the suggestion that there has been the taking of any advantage of this Congress being organized by any organization; and I can go further than that and say that neither in the inner councils of the organization nor by anybody connected with our committee at all, was there anything of that sort even mentioned or suggested.

I felt as Chairman of the American Committee, and as Chairman of the Congress, by the appointment of the State Department, and as being responsible for the arrangements of that Congress, that this explanation was due to the members of the Congress. Now, in the hope of catching up with our program, I am very happy to introduce as the first speaker of the morning, Miss Henriette Crommelin, of Holland.

EUROPEAN WORKING MEN AND THE FIGHT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM—THE CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS

By MISS HENRIETTE W. CROMMELIN
OF THE NETHERLANDS

When I accepted the invitation to speak to the Congress on the subject of the Christian organizations of working men in Europe against alcoholism it was understood that Dr. Holitscher should speak on the so-called neutral organizations, so that our two papers together might cover the field of the subject: European Working Men and the Fight against Alcoholism.

Now, I am sorry to say that Dr. Holitscher is unable to come, on account of the death of his daughter, therefore, you will only have one part of the subject treated; if, however, I sometimes step over my limits and make an excursion into Dr. Holitscher's ground, I hope you will forgive me.

Perhaps some of you are not aware of the rapid growth of Christian trade-unions and working men's organizations on the Continent of Europe. In England special Christian organizations are as yet unknown, although some are beginning to advocate them. But on the Continent the members of these organizations have risen to nearly three and one half millions. At the International Congress for Christian Trade Unions, held in June last at the Hague, 3,367,400 men were represented by delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Czecho-Slovakia. The movement is

strongest in Germany and Italy, where they number more than a million in each country. Three and one-half millions of European working men are no *quantité négligéable*. If these progressive Christian men would enlist themselves on the cause of temperance it might mean a very decided step forward.

What is the attitude of these men toward the temperance cause? I have tried to get information on this subject by writing to the bureaus of the Christian Working Men's organizations in most of the countries just mentioned by me, but from the majority of them I obtained no answers. I fear that it was sometimes owing to the reason that they had nothing to say; however, this makes my paper less complete than I would like it to be, and I make you my humble apologies for it. I received a brief but comprehensive answer from Switzerland, where Dr. Schmeiwiler writes that the Christian Working Men's organizations were from the beginning of their existence on the side of temperance. The leaders of the movement were often total abstainers and active workers in temperance propaganda. At the meetings of the Associations, total abstinence or moderation was often preached and in many cases members were won for total-abstinence societies. There is a friendly intercourse between the associations of working men and the temperance societies. "We look upon total abstinence as a necessary feature of the Christian social program for Switzerland, and we further it by word and writing, especially also through the means of the press." I think the attitude varies greatly according to the different countries. From my impressions gained at the International Congress for Christian Trade Unions, I gathered that in most of the European continental lands—Germany, Belgium, Austria and Hungary—there is little sympathy in these circles with direct total-abstinence work, although they might feel sympathy for the fight against strong liquors.

Several of the German delegates said to me: "I wish we could obtain our good German beer again." The same negative impression has been gained by the secretary of our Dutch Christian trade union organizations in his visits abroad. But this does not make me blind to the fact that indirectly these organizations have furthered the cause of temperance by their mental and moral education of the working classes, by their work for housing-reform, etc.

The matter is somewhat different in my country—in Holland. Not that we have reached in this matter the ideal of the temperance worker, but steps have been made towards the reaching of this ideal. Our Christian trade unions are federated into two groups: a Protestant and a Roman Catholic group. Besides these, there are two general associations for Protestant working men, which resemble in some ways the American labor unions. One of these associations, called "Patrimonium," mentioned in its program issued in 1894 the desirability of measures against the "sin of drink." Mr. Talma, whom many of you may remember as the eminent Chairman of the 13th Congress against Alcoholism at The Hague in 1911, was for many years editor of *Patri-*

monium's Weekly. You can understand that the drink problem was not forgotten there. His successor is again a well-known temperance man, a member of the Executive Council of the National League for Local Option and an M. P. Articles pleading the cause of total abstinence, as well as advocating Government measures against alcoholism, are more than once found in this paper. Later it contained a series of articles on "Alcohol Monopolies."

The other association of Protestant working men is called *Christerle Nationale Werk Man's Bond* (Christian National Working Men's Union.) Prof. Slotemaker de Bruine, the Government delegate from Holland, and the President of the National Temperance Council in Holland, is a regular contributor to the pages of its weekly paper. There is no need to say that the temperance problem finds its place there from time to time.

The local branches of both associations have worked directly in the temperance line by petitions to the Municipal Government for the restriction of public houses, for prohibiting the sale of strong drink from Saturday till Monday. These petitions were sent in together with those of other corporations and were very often crowned with success. In a few places they have erected halls for meetings, partly with the aim to prevent gatherings of working men in public houses. Indirectly they have worked for the temperance cause by educational work and by the building of artizans' dwellings in many places, a work of considerable merit in the present time, because the housing problem is urgent with us, as with all other nations.

The group of Protestant trade unions has as such not worked directly for temperance except that its secretary, Mr. Amelink, read a paper at the second Congress of Enkrateia (our Protestant group of temperance societies) on "Shorter hours for work and the use of drink," and that their monthly organ deals very often with temperance problems. For the rest, the Christian trade unions have left the work of temperance to the temperance societies. With one remarkable exception: The propaganda for local option has awakened the interest of trade-unions and working men's organizations, both neutral and Christian. This began in the first months of 1914. As the united temperance forces in Holland had ascertained through trial votes in fifteen places that there was considerable sympathy in the country for the principle of local option, they agreed in 1913 to organize a universal petition to the Queen throughout the whole country. As local option was something separate from the ordinary total-abstinence propaganda, they decided to mobilize not only the whole of the temperance army, but also the trade-unions and Working Men's organizations; and they have responded to the call, and their interest in the cause has been growing ever since. The petition in itself was a huge success. Notwithstanding the fact that the Roman Catholic organization of societies abstained from joining in this action, so that hardly any Roman Catholics signed, no

less than 670,000 signatures were obtained, a greater number than any petition has ever gained in our country.

It had no immediate effect, partly because the mobilization and the effects of our neighbor's war filled everybody's mind, and also needed the whole attention of our Government party. Our ministry in those days was not in favor of the measure. Now all is changed. Jhr. Ruijs de Beerenbrouck, the chairman of the International Congress Committee, is Prime Minister; while in Parliament we have a majority. But in 1917 the National League for Local Option was founded, which now numbers 200 branches all over the country. In the local executives of these branches, members of working men's associations also occupy a place. Various associations can become honorary members. Their number has now grown to 2100 and of these 931 are working men's organizations.

In December of last year, a group of advocates of local option, belonging to various political parties, introduced a very moderate local-option bill in Parliament. Seventy-five per cent of the votes is needed to suppress the public houses, and it only applies to the drink. We have all hoped that this bill will be passed, although we have been disappointed time after time as to the moment when it would come before the House.

More than 5300 associations have given adhesion to this bill, among this number being 1,027 trade-unions (367 of these are Christian), 365 branches of the Social Democratic Labor Party, 324 elective associations (312 belonging to Christian political parties), 315 Christian Working Men's Associations, Patrimonium, Christian National Working Men's Union, and other local associations. I fancy that these figures are eloquent in showing that Working Men's organizations in Holland are by no means indifferent to the local-option cause. Very often the adhesion is preceded by a discussion of the subject in a members' meeting.

The federation of Roman Catholic trade-unions has not joined in this action in favor of local option, but it has served the temperance cause in other ways. The greater part of their salaried workers are at the same time members of Sobrietas, the Roman Catholic temperance society. The result of this is that in the meetings of the trade-unions, the subject of temperance is often treated, while it is also frequently discussed in their papers. These same trade-union leaders take their places in Parliament, county councils, and in many town councils, and use their influence for temperance reforms of which they have seen the necessity as leaders of working men's associations.

On August 2, 1920, Dr. Ariens, a Roman Catholic priest and one of the pioneers of their temperance movement, spoke at the Roman Catholic Trade-Unions Congress at Utrecht on the subject: "Trade-Unions and Temperance." His conclusions were:

A strong organization of trade-unions is impossible without temperance work.

The true aim of trades-unions—a real uplift of the working classes—can not be reached without temperance work.

In his speech he used these words, which have since become memorable:

The drink question is so urgent that a trade-unionist who has no eye and no heart for it can not be taken seriously.

This paper has been published and spread by Sobrietas as well as two other pamphlets on the same subject, the one written by a schoolmaster, now M. P., the other by a professor.

At the second National Roman Catholic Congress, H. Hermans, trade-union leader, now M. P., read a paper on "Temperance and Working Men's Associations." If it may seem that apart from their action for local option, Roman Catholic working men in Holland have done more for the temperance cause than their Protestant colleagues, I must point to the fact that it is easier to become a member of Sobrietas than of a Protestant temperance organization. The former have two sections: one for old-fashioned temperance, allowing beer and wine, and a stricter one based on total abstinence. Members of the latter are gaining ground steadily, but are still far in the minority. The Protestant associations all require total abstinence. Finally, let me point out to you an action where all our different groups of trade-unions will work together against Alcoholism.

In Holland we have seen a great decrease in drinking during the war. The scarcity of grain—you Americans helped us in that way by taking our ships—brought on a great scarcity of gin. The consumption of this drink, which was 5.22 liters of 50 per cent in 1913, went down to 2.8 liters in 1918. But as soon as the war was well over and gin became more plentiful again, the consumption rose to 3.8 liters, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics. I fear the latter calculation is the correct one. Now the duties on strong drinks again show an increase in 1919, so that we are afraid the consumption of them may be as much as in pre-war days.

In many places convictions for drunkenness have greatly increased. This is not always a bad sign, as it sometimes simply means greater vigilance from the police. Yet on the whole we fear drunkenness is increasing and that the higher wages and the shorter hours introduced of late have some influence in this increase of drink consumption.

The Secretary of Labor has also this suspicion, and he has asked our National Temperance Council to invite the five trade-union organizations (Protestant, Roman Catholic, Neutral, Social Democratic and Anarchist) to work together to find out: (1) whether there is an actual increase in the consumption of drinks; and (2) What causes have led to it.

The National Temperance Council and the representatives from the trade-unions met for the first time at Utrecht, August 30th, under the presidency of Prof. Slotemaker de Bruine, Chairman of the National Temperance Council. The result of this first meeting has been that the entire investigation has been put into the hands of the trade-unions.

Allow me now to go over to England, and in doing so, to make a small excursion into "neutral" territory, as there is no Christian trade-unionism there. England is the classical country for trade-unionism, so it is greatly worth while to see what its attitude is toward the drink problem. When trade-unionism began, abuse of strong drink was rampant everywhere among the working classes, and the unions at first, to a great extent, conformed to the ruling habits and in some instances intensified them.

In 1809 the Union of Iron-Workers prescribed that beer in the meetings was to be divided impartially. As late as 1837 the Union of Engineers decided that one third of the weekly income was to be used for refreshment of the members. In 1846 this rule was abolished. In the same year the delegates of the iron-workers forbade drinking and smoking during the meetings, saying that the work would go on better without alcohol; and indeed, up to that time violent scenes had often interrupted the meetings.

About the year 1860 most of the large unions had abolished drinking during the meetings. Toward that time they tried to get their own meeting-places, which was a necessary thing because already in 1850 the iron-workers were turned out of several licensed localities, as, through the increasing numbers of teetotalers, they did not bring enough profit to the owner.

In 1903, 35 per cent of the British trade-unions met in non-licensed premises. Perhaps the percentage is even better now. On the other hand, some of the unions show a remarkable amount of patience and long-suffering toward drunkards, sustaining them when they are out of work through drink. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, to whom I am indebted for several particulars about earlier trade-unionism, made the remark that hopeless drunkards are often selected as members of the committee year after year. I hope it is no more the case now.

The remarkable change which has come over trade-unionism with regard to the drink problem of late years is due in a very great part to the action of the total abstainers. "The worst habits of drinking and cases of drunkenness have diminished by the pure action of trade-unions, but the battle against the drinking habit as such has been carried into trade-unionism by the total abstainers" (F. W. Schmidt). The total-abstinence society "The Order of Rechabites," declares that the great majority of its 350,000 members consists of organized working men. Among the miners of Northumberland, from 20 per cent in some places to 40 per cent in others are total abstainers.

The labor members in different Parliaments are nearly always teetotalers. In 1904 was formed the Trade-Union and Labor Officials Temperance Fellowship. The objects of the society are the personal practise and promotion of total abstinence and the removal of trade-society meetings from licensed premises. In 1908 the society counted 300 members. I do not know if it has survived the war. Mr. John Turner Rae, secretary of The National Temperance League and member of the Com-

mittee of these International Congresses, was one of the founders of this Fellowship. The strongest supporters of Temperance legislation are to be found in the Independent Labor Party. This is clearly shown in the resolution adopted by the National British Conference of the Independent Labor Party, held at Glasgow April 6 of this year. A resolution expressing approval of total Prohibition and calling on the workers of Scotland to vote "No license" was adopted by a large majority; 269 voting for Prohibition, 187 against. Similarly the national gathering of the Scottish Trade-Union Congress resolved to support the prohibition of the liquor traffic instead of State Control by a vote of 110 for and 74 against Prohibition.

At the Conference of the much larger Labor Party at Scarborough on June 28 of this year, Mr. Philip Snowden spoke strongly in favor of Prohibition as against State Purchase and Control. Prohibition, however, was defeated by 2,603,000 to 472,000 votes. Public ownership was defeated by a narrow majority, 1,352,000 being in favor of it and 1,672,000 against it. Finally the resolution of the Independent Labor Party was carried. This was concerned with local option and accepted as a possible alternative to municipal ownership. This shows us that though the opinions in labor circles in England are divided, the brewers and their friends have little to hope from them as a whole.

If Dr. Saleeby's suggestion could be followed and representatives of the Labor Party could be invited to the United States to come and see Prohibition for themselves, I think a great step forward might be made. Yesterday we heard from Dr. Helenius-Seppälä how the trade-unions of Finland were a great factor in obtaining Prohibition and a great power in enforcing it. They put out of their organization any member who disobeys the Prohibition law.

What we see in Finland and, to some extent, in Holland and England, must be possible everywhere, provided there be a labor and a temperance movement. They must join hands together wherever they find an opportunity to do so. Is this asking too much when we know that, according to a very modest reckoning, the temperance army in Europe and America numbers at least 25 millions of working men, where the temperance forces in all countries draw their greatest numbers from the so-called "working classes?" And, since I am dealing especially with the Christian organizations, I say with especial stress: If Christian trade-unions and working men's organizations could work together with the Christian temperance societies for personal and legislative temperance reform, a great step forward might be made. The gulf is not impassable; it is chiefly formed by ignorance of each other's work and sometimes by prejudice against it. A bridge might easily be found. In my country the action for local option proved to be the bridge. The initiative to come together ought to come from both sides, for both would profit by the alliance.

Mr. Charles Wakely, the well-known veteran leader of the Band of Hope movement in England, wrote to me: "Trade-unions and labor

leaders in and out of the House of Commons regard drink as a serious obstacle to labor and a menace to the working classes."

When trade-unions have unanimously come to this conclusion, they will be pleased to cooperate with temperance associations. On the other hand, the temperance societies need the help of the organized working man. If we come into closer touch with him, we shall come nearer to the best of the artisans, not in the first place to the drunkards, the old "topers," who are sometimes apt to flock first to our societies for help and protection and whom we are certainly glad to welcome, but who prevent others from joining when they form the bulk of our societies. Let labor and temperance, therefore, seek each other for their mutual good. We all know that we are living in an entirely new period in the world's history; but let us remember as Temperance people that this new period brings with it new dangers, new possibilities, and calls for new methods of work.

New dangers. Almost everywhere wages have risen tremendously, being twice or three times as much as before the war, and hours of work have been, in many countries, suddenly shortened. The higher wages are partly meant to cover the higher cost of living, partly to enable the artisan to live on a somewhat higher plane; but is there not a great danger that a considerable percentage of the increased wages, especially in the case of young unmarried men, will go to fill the pockets of the publican? The memorable words which we so often see advertised in America, "Work and Save," are too often ignored. Similarly, the shorter hours, the eight-hour working day can be a great blessing to the working man; can be used for family life, educational purposes, gardening, and every other healthy recreation. They can help to make a man of him; but there is also the great danger that the newly found liberty may lead him to the saloon, where everything that makes a man of him is taken out of him.

Now I think that when the labor and temperance forces work together, as they have begun to do in Holland under the auspices of our Secretary of Labor, a concerted action may be begun which will grapple with these new dangers. Both temperance and labor societies may feel that they must do more for the artisan than they have done so far, that they must give him more occasion for healthy recreation and instruction, that the higher wages and the shorter hours bring new responsibilities to all those agencies that seek his welfare.

Christian temperance and Christian labor will find that in this struggle their greatest motive power and strength is in religion, in the Gospel of Christ; and finally we shall need the support of labor to conquer the drink traffic radically. In most countries the temperance forces alone are not strong enough in numbers to obtain and carry out local option and, later on, Prohibition. The fight will be hard everywhere. The drink traffic will use in our countries, too, all its weapons to defeat us—its huge capital of money and its still larger capital of lawlessness, falsehoods, slander, and hypocritical love of freedom. Therefore, we

must work for allies. And to whom should we turn more naturally than to the working man who has suffered more than any other class from the tyranny of the trade, and who, in some countries at least, is turning to us already? And He who was once a working man in Nazareth, but is now clothed with power, shall bless us.

May I close with two quotations from two American poets? From Lowell, who says:

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth and Falsehood for the good or evil side.

and from your great Quaker poet Whittier:

Every age on him who strays
From its broad and beaten ways,
Pours its sevenfold vial.

Happy he whose inward ear
Angel comfortings can hear,
O'er the rabble's laughter;
And while Hatred's faggots burn,
Glimpses, through the smoke, discern,
Of the good hereafter.

Knowing this, that never yet,
Share of truth was vainly set,
In the world's wide fallow;
After hands shall sow the seed,
After hands from hill and mead
Reap the harvests yellow.

Thus with something of the Seer,
Must the moral pioneer,
From the future borrow,
Clothe the waste with dreams of grain,
And on midnight's sky of rain,
Paint the golden morrow.

You Americans have chosen rightly on slavery and on drink. May we other nations, when our moment comes, also choose rightly, with our working men behind us. Then we shall not only hear angel comfortings, but the voice of God Almighty shall urge us to go on in this world. God make us all moral pioneers!

The SECRETARY, Mr. ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, made some announcements.

THE CHAIRMAN: With the exception of the speech of Mr. Larsen-Ledet, which the Chair thinks provision can be made to fit in very nicely before adjournment, we are now within three or four minutes of our schedule again, with this exception, that a telegram has been received from the Hon. E. P. Keating, who is on the program to speak to us this morning, but who is unfortunately attending a labor conference in Rochester, N. Y., at this time. I will read the telegram and then indi-

cate what I think can be done. I want to say right here that Mr. Keating is one of the greatest labor group leaders in the United States. His telegram is as follows:

Impossible for me to leave here. Sincerely regret necessity for disappointing you. I wanted to tell delegates that prohibition has done more for labor than any legislation enacted in a quarter of a century.

Mr. Keating, formerly of Colorado, is now on the Reclassification Commission. I am hoping that he will get here before Sunday, so that we can fill him in at one of the meetings on Sunday next.

A session of the International Congress against Alcoholism would hardly be a success, and I know this one would not be, had it not been for the splendid self-sacrifice and efficient services of the General Secretary of the International Temperance Bureau, of Lausanne, Switzerland. I now take pleasure in introducing to you, Dr. R. Hercod, of Switzerland, who will tell us about "The Present State of Temperance and Prohibition Legislation in Europe."

**THE PRESENT STATE OF TEMPERANCE
AND
PROHIBITION LEGISLATION IN EUROPE**

By DR. R. HERCOD
LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I have to give you a survey of the actual state of temperance legislation in Europe. My task is not easy, for, as you know, there are between the European nations deep differences. Not only the language changes from one State to another, but social and political conditions change as well. We meet with the same fact in the temperance field. In some countries the fight against alcoholism is already one century old, and public opinion has been so well prepared that earnest legislative measures are possible, or have already been taken; in others public opinion hardly begins to think of the danger of alcoholism.

I shall distribute the European countries, as regards temperance legislation, into three great groups. First, the countries in which there is complete liberty of the liquor traffic. Second, the States which are endeavoring to restrict the liberty of saloons, imposing upon them heavy duties in order to diminish their number, or fixing a certain proportion of licensed places to the population. In this group belong also the States where the system known as the "Gothenburg System" has been introduced, that is, where the direct interest of the seller in the consumption of alcohol has been eliminated in the hope that the number of saloons or the quantity of alcohol sold would be less. We must also mention in this group the States which tried directly to diminish production, which is only possible through a State monopoly. Then we have the States which have taken prohibitive measures against alcoholic liquors, either local or

general Prohibition, either against every kind of alcoholic liquor or against some of them only, considered as more dangerous than the others.

To the group of States where the public house is enjoying full liberty belong also the countries in which some police restrictions are imposed on them. But the restrictions are so harmless that they can not bring about a diminution of the number of licensed places; for instance, the obligation to notify the authorities of the opening of a new house, the exclusion from the liquor trade of individuals who have a bad reputation, or the payment of a small tax. France belongs to this group, at least for fermented liquors, with this one exception. The municipalities have the right to prohibit the opening of public houses in the neighborhood of schools, churches, hospitals, and other public buildings. In Belgium, also, the law of August 9, 1919, gives almost full liberty to the sale of fermented liquors. In Germany it is not possible to deny the opening of a saloon unless State governments have issued special dispositions in the matter; but little by little all have interfered with the complete liberty of the saloon, so that it is hardly possible to put Germany into this group. In all States of South Europe, where there is no organized struggle against alcoholism, as Spain, Portugal, and Greece, we have, as a general rule, the full liberty of the public house.

The second group is much more complicated. We have at first the States in which the law may, in quite a general fashion, declare that it is not allowed to open a new public house, when the number of existing places answers to the wants of the locality. This term, "wants of the locality," is of course very extensible; and in countries where the authorities are very indulgent toward the drinking habits, it may be supposed that they will be very liberal in their interpretation of what is wanted or not. Such dispositions are in force generally in the Swiss States, and also in Germany; that is, in Germany the State governments may refuse to grant a new concession in cities with less than 15,000 inhabitants if the new license is considered as superfluous. The same thing happens in the greater cities, but there the local statute must contain special dispositions in that matter. It is interesting to note the special interpretation which the law of Bavaria gives of the wants of a city. The authorities have to take into account the population in general, the number of adult males, the classes of the population which may be interested in the new concession, the habits and material conditions of the inhabitants, the distance to the nearest public houses, the number of foreigners, etc.

In Great Britain, every year, the licensing justices have to pronounce on the renewing of the licenses or the granting of new ones. If they do not grant the renewal of a concession, with the exception of the cases in which the licensee has been found guilty of great infractions of the law, they must pay the man an indemnity. The

licensing justices have tried with some success to lessen the number of public houses in Great Britain. There were, in 1895, 33.94 public houses for 10,000 inhabitants; 29.71 in 1905, and 22.41 in 1919. The number of "off" licenses is also on the decrease, but that of clubs is slightly increasing. You know that the liquor traffic has been submitted in Great Britain during the war to the severe restrictions of the Board of Control, presided over by Lord d'Abernon. Other countries wishing to restrict the number of licensed houses determine the proportion of public houses to the population. In Italy for instance, the law of 1913 establishes a proportion of one saloon for every 500 inhabitants, at least for the sale of beer and wine, but the owners of vineyards have the right to sell their own products. As to the sale of distilled spirits, it depends on the authorization of a provincial committee. In Denmark the law of 1908, revised in 1912, gives a proportion of one saloon for 350 inhabitants, but the sale of beer of less than 2.25 per cent alcohol is free. The Dutch law of 1881, revised in 1904, gives for the places in which spirits are sold the following proportion: In cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, one saloon for 600; in cities of 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, one for 400; in cities and towns of 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, one for 150 inhabitants in the smaller places.

It is necessary also to ask for a concession for the sale of fermented liquors; but the law does not determine a maximum of licenses, and the keeper of the saloon has no tax to pay. In Switzerland several States have a fixed but very modest proportion, one for 250 inhabitants, or one for 200, or even one for 100.

We must note here a special system introduced into France by the law of 1915. It applies only to distilled spirits, stipulating that no new concessions may be granted. It is true that the law does not extend its effects to the places where meals are served. We have a similar disposition in the Swiss State of St. Gall, where the parish may introduce for a time of five years what is called the "Sperre," that is, no new concession can be granted in the parish.

And now we come to local option, not local Prohibition. We shall study that a little later on. Local option means local restrictions, according to which the inhabitants of a parish have the right to decide the reduction of the number of public house. We have such a disposition in the Swiss State of Freiburg. We can note also here a kind of local option existing in Denmark, where, in the country, the permission to open a new saloon depends in reality on the will of the voters: for if there is any difference of opinion between the authorities they have to consult the voters. From 1907 until 1920 they have been appealed to in 279 cases.

And now we have the Gothenburg System, which in former times occupied a great place in the discussions of temperance fighters, but the importance of which is much less in the last several years. Under this name one understands in general the kind of legislation accord-

ing to which the sale of alcoholic liquors is no more placed in the hands of private individuals, but is exerted by societies which have to pay the profits realized into the State Treasury or to benevolent institutions. The Gothenburg System is actually in force in Sweden, and has taken a form which widely differs from the institution as it was first known. According to the Swedish law of June, 1907, all intoxicating liquors, spirits, wine, and beer, with more than 3.6 per cent alcohol, can only be sold through benevolent societies; but the communal authorities have the right to refuse the concession, in other words, to introduce local Prohibition. Thus in 14 of the 109 cities of Sweden alcoholic liquors with more than 3.6 per cent alcohol can not be sold. In the country, of 2,409 parishes only 88 have saloons. One sees, therefore, that almost the entire territory of Sweden is wholly dry. As to the "off" sale of spirits, my friend, Mr. Björkman, will give you interesting information about it.

I may add here some words concerning the special restrictions which apply not to the sale but to the production of alcoholic liquors through the monopoly. Germany introduced in 1918, for fiscal reasons, the monopoly of spirits, but one may expect that it will restrict but little the consumption of spirits. Switzerland has a monopoly of spirits, existing since 1886; but it is only a half-monopoly, so it does not extend to the distillation of foods. In France our friends have been through long years fighting against free distillation. It has been suppressed during the war; that is, the peasants have to pay duties for their distilled products, but the Parliament left them the right to distill, free of duty, 10 liters for household consumption.

There was, before the war, an alcohol monopoly in Roumania, but it has been impossible for me to get information as to the actual application of this system.

And now we come to our third group: prohibitive legislation, which we must divide into several subdivisions. First, local Prohibition. You know that Scotland, through the law of 1913, which is enforced this year for the first time, has local option, and our comrades in this beautiful country are actually fighting earnestly for the suppression of the sale of alcoholic liquors in as great a number of parishes as possible.

In Norway the law, as it existed before the war, gave to the rural parishes the right of indirect option; that is, the communal authority could prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors. In the cities the voters had the direct right of local option for spirits, and could prohibit their sale. A law of April 23, 1920, has given Poland local option for all alcoholic liquors with more than 2.5 per cent alcohol. It is even more than local option, and rather something analogous to county option, as it was known in America before national Prohibition; that is, if in a county two thirds of the parishes with a population of more than half of the population of the whole county, have

introduced local option, the authorities can prohibit the sale of strong liquors in the whole county. As a consequence of the war with Russia, it has not been possible to enforce the law as yet. We have actually in Switzerland and in Holland campaigns for local option. In Switzerland we want to give the population the right to prohibit the sale of *all* intoxicating liquors, but as it is unlikely that we can obtain so much, we are trying to get at least local option for spirits. I organized in about one hundred Swiss parishes, among them important cities, a straw vote, which has revealed that the population, men as well as women, are in majority for the prohibition of spirits. We have a similar movement in Holland, where a petition with more than 600,000 names has requested local option from the Government.

And now we come to general Prohibition extending to the whole country. Similar measures have been taken in several countries against a liquor, the dangers of which are especially striking—abstinth, which has been prohibited in 1905 in Belgium; in 1908 in Switzerland, by a popular vote; in 1910 in Holland; in 1913 in Italy, and in 1915 in France.

European public opinion demands, with an increasing strength, the prohibition of all spirits. This prohibition has been partly realized in Belgium, as the law of August, 1919, prohibits the sale of spirits for consumption on the premises, and allows only the sale for consumption at home, and in quantities of two liters at least. This law is actually the object of a bitter fight. The violations are numerous, but the Government and the better part of public opinion are decided to resist.

Norway also has Prohibition of spirits, and of wines with more than 12 per cent alcohol. This Prohibition has been ratified by a popular vote taken in October, 1919; the Norwegian voters, men and women, pronounced themselves in a great majority for the continuation of Prohibition. A law is now prepared, and negotiations have begun with the countries which are exporting spirits or wines, and feel that their commercial interests are affected by Prohibition. In Slovakia, one of the great divisions of the new Czecho-Slovakian State, a law of December, 1918, prohibits the sale of spirits. It is hoped that this Prohibition will be maintained and extended to the whole country. People are trying to obtain a similar Prohibition in the new States of the Baltic, which were constituted from the ruins of the old Russian Empire, Esthonia, Lattvia, and Lithuania.

In Germany the temperance societies are preparing for a popular vote on the question. In Jugoslavia preliminary measures have been taken. In France Parliament had to deal with the question, but without results as yet.

Complete Prohibition has been introduced into only two European States. Iceland was, in 1915, the first to introduce Prohibition. As the law did not repress smuggling with sufficient rigor the adversaries of Prohibition proclaimed that it was a failure; but

the law has been revised, and it seems that the results of Prohibition in Iceland have been really good, and that this country will never return to the licensing system. In 1917, Finland, as soon as she had recovered her independence, adopted Prohibition. My friend, Dr. Helenius-Seppälä will give you interesting information on the results of Prohibition in his country.

I do not know if I can mention as an European Prohibition State, Russia. From 1914 to 1917 this great country introduced Prohibition of spirits everywhere, of wine and beer in the greater part of the Empire. Since the revolution we do not get direct news from Russia, and what the papers write is contradictory. Sometimes they tell us that there is a flood of alcohol in Russia; at other times they affirm that Russia is under strict Prohibition. As soon as relations are taken up with the Soviet Government, it will be possible to have precise information and to study the rôle of alcohol in the Russian revolution.

My report is incomplete, as it does not say anything concerning results of the measures which have been taken, in order to discuss them, but I should have been obliged to bring complicated statistics, which is impossible in the twenty minutes which are allotted me. I can only draw from my survey three general conclusions, which may be interesting.

First. Although the number of avowed Prohibitionists is quite small in Europe, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries, one may affirm that the whole temperance movement of Europe is slowly tending toward Prohibition. This general tendency is easily explained. The measures which have been taken in order to *lessen* intemperance, to *restrict* the use of alcohol, never could satisfy entirely the people who had advocated them, for they can not suppress the evil. The progress which has been realized can only be considered as a stage toward a greater progress.

From the complete liberty of the liquor traffic one passes to more and more vigorous restrictions; then, on the basis of the scientific facts concerning the dangers of alcoholism and the benefits of total abstinence, one begins to consider that the last stage of temperance legislation is national Prohibition, at first perhaps, of some, and after a while of all, intoxicating liquors. In the countries where the fight against alcoholism is older, and has taken a great extension, the masses are already following the Prohibition flag. In other countries, some isolated people are advocating it, but a real movement has hardly begun.

Second. For several years there has been a tendency to ask for special prohibitive measures against distilled liquors. This tendency is not the expression of the old mistake according to which only spirits are dangerous, and wine and beer are to be considered as hygienic drinks. It is only a matter of opportunity. Public opinion is ripe for measures against spirits. We use that fact in the interest

of our movement; but we remain fully persuaded that a solution of the liquor question which would deal only with spirits, would be a bad, or at least only a very partial, solution.

Third. This movement towards Prohibition will be very slow. In our conservative Europe it is difficult to get rid of old prejudices as to the value or the necessity of alcoholic drinks. Radical measures in our democratic age are only possible if they are requested by public opinion, and it will be the work of long years to form a Prohibition opinion. I read somewhere that American friends, interested in the fight against alcoholism in Europe, had taken as their slogan, "The world dry in 1930," as the United States went dry in 1920. I believe that this hope will be disappointed. Full world Prohibition will come, but our generation will not see it, at least not in most of the European countries. We must be patient, and must work, not only for ourselves, but for the generations which shall come after us, for the children of our children.

Did not the pioneers of the temperance movement in America who already in the first part of the last century advocated Prohibition, do the same? You Americans of 1920 are enjoying now the fruits of their and your labors. It does not matter so much if our hopes are realized to-day or to-morrow: we shall be patient, for we have the faith, and we are confident of a sure victory.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is now a very great pleasure for me to introduce to you Senator Björkman, of Sweden, who will tell us about conditions in Sweden.

THE BRATT SYSTEM IN SWEDEN

BY SENATOR ALEXIS BJÖRKMAN

OF STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

The ancients said that light comes from the *East*. But I say that in regard to temperance the light has come to Europe from the *West*, from the Anglo-Saxon nations.

In Sweden the fight against drink is of an old date. But for a long time it was only fought by some of the prominent men, as, for instance, *Carl von Linné*, who in the eighteenth century urged his countrymen to become temperate—at the time when the people in America fought their great battle for independence. Others followed in his steps, but it never came to organized fighting. We learned that from America.

During the reign of Gustavus the Third, Sweden was degraded by drink. The state had monopolized the making and selling of brandy, and it became a virtue in a citizen to drink it. But the state did not have any profit on brandy. It was made and it was consumed, but it did not give the state any real income. The people, especially the farmers, were dissatisfied; and distillation was made free, so that every one who owned

or rented land could make brandy. Thus was inaugurated the unfortunate period that has been called "*The distilling for Home Needs.*"

The consumption of brandy—according to calculation—had increased to 46 liters per head and year, or, more than 11 gallons, and the misery was awful.

It was at this time, when first the great temperance movement swept over the United States, when the American Temperance Society was organized, that a wave reached the coasts of Europe. Temperance friends of America then sent the first apostle of temperance, Mr. Robert Baird, to Europe. He also came to Sweden and taught us in regard to working methods and told us of the experience won throughout America in the fight against drink.

As a result of this impulse the Swedish Temperance Society was organized in the year 1837. Scattered temperance organizations throughout the country, previously established, united with the national society. Speakers were sent out, and foremost among them was the man who has rightly been called "The father of the Swedish temperance movement," Peter Wieselgren, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of the Cathedral. It was because of the educational work that he and his colleagues did, that not only were new members gathered into the temperance organizations, but as a good fruitage was also seen the decrease of the consumption of brandy to 23 liters per head and year at the beginning of the fifties.

The Swedish Parliament had several times considered measures for the promotion of temperance, but no thorough-going legislation had been effected. It was during 1853-1854 that the Parliament, influenced by the temperance endeavors, first passed new legislation relating to the making and selling of brandy. The new law went into effect in 1855.

THE TIME OF THE GOTHENBURG SYSTEM

By the new legislation home distilling was totally prohibited. The right was given to parishes generally to decide whether the sale of brandy should be tolerated—in other words, a kind of local-option right was conferred upon them; and rural parishes made such a use of this new right that practically all the country districts were made dry, so far as the sale of brandy was concerned. The towns, on the other hand, established the sale of distilled liquors, and secured considerable revenue from it, especially since the so-called Gothenburg System had been invented.

Through the Gothenburg System it was intended to do away with private interests in the liquor business (by disinterested management) and make the selling-places for brandy light, pleasant restaurants, where the worker could buy food and a drink with the food. In other words, the tendency was to make the business decent. The Bolag should have no other benefit than a low interest on the capital invested; the profits should go to the community and, to some extent, to the state.

It is true that the consumption of brandy decreased, through the abolition of home distilling, from 23 to 10 liters per capita, and by the

new temperance movement, that I am to discuss, it was further lowered to 7 or 8 liters per capita per year. But at the same time the consumption of beer and wine increased. If the alcoholic content of the drinks is taken as a measure for our research, the fact is borne out that consumption of intoxicants was practically unchanged during the whole period of the Gothenburg System, as will be seen by the following statistics:

CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS IN SWEDEN,
1856-1900

Years	Average	Population Consumption: hectoliters			Per head: liters			
		Spirits	Beer	Wine	Spirits			Pure alco- hol
					50% Beer	Wine	hol	
1856-60	3,726,587	354,000	390,000	15,860	9.50	10.5	0.43	5.21
1861-65	3,992,560	426,357	446,105	16,543	10.68	11.2	0.41	5.83
1866-70	4,165,906	370,057	446,933	17,740	8.83	10.7	0.43	4.91
1871-75	4,274,006	506,141	702,867	34,670	11.84	16.4	0.81	6.66
1876-80	4,499,900	455,065	767,108	32,608	10.11	17.0	0.72	5.80
1881-85	4,604,724	379,126	885,968	31,231	8.23	19.2	0.68	4.95
1886-90	4,741,726	338,308	1,151,538	25,824	7.13	24.3	0.54	4.59
1891-95	4,831,814	330,213	1,331,442	29,892	6.83	27.6	0.62	4.57
1896-00	5,032,074	404,349	1,544,310	34,000	8.03	30.7	0.68	5.30

1 hl. equals about 25 gallons; 1 liter equals about one-fourth gallon.

Drunkenness offenses, on the other hand, were constantly increasing in number. In 1890 they were about 25,000, but in 1912 more than double, or 56,000. The figures speak a very clear language.

CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN SWEDEN, 1890-1912

Years	Men	Women	Total
1890	24,444	712	25,156
1895	27,190	1,116	28,306
1900	41,343	1,300	42,643
1905	45,923	1,568	47,491
1910	52,996	1,849	54,845
1911	49,216	1,756	50,972
1912	54,744	1,878	56,622

THE MODERN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

After the effort of the dry forces that caused the enactment of the legislation of 1855 against home distilling, the movement lost its power. The Swedish Temperance Society, once so great, became a mere board of a society without members. (It was later on reorganized under the name of "The Swedish Society for Temperance and Popular Education," and is now mainly occupied with distribution of literature.) By and by the brewing of Bavarian beer was introduced. Breweries were established in the towns as well as in the rural districts. People learned to drink beer; and, as an allied power to brandy, that was only partly conquered, came beer as a new and equally dangerous intoxicant for the nation.

Light was needed in the dark, and it came—also this time from America. Some Christian people had got the vision that temperance

work had to be started anew. In the year 1873 a total-abstinence society was formed in Gothenburg; and in 1879 the Order of Good Templars came over from England to Sweden.

A new era in the Swedish temperance movement was ushered in. The order of Good Templars went as a whirlwind over the country, and other temperance organizations were formed, as, for instance, The Blue Ribbon, Templar Order, White Ribbon (Woman's Christian Temperance Union), Students' Total Abstinence Association, and several others. Temperance organizations were also formed among special classes, as, for instance, among teachers, physicians, railroad men, policemen and so forth. If church denominations who required total abstinence of their members (Methodists, Salvationists, and others) are counted, then the number of organized Swedish temperance friends at the beginning of the twentieth century amounted to one half million, or 10 per cent of the population.

During the summer of 1909 Sweden was involved in great disturbances in the labor market. All industrial activity ceased for a time. In order to make it easier to keep order, the Government during the month of August issued a temporary Prohibition act. In August of previous years the average of drunkenness offenses in Stockholm had numbered about 1,500, but during the Prohibition month in 1909 only 16 occurred; 99 per cent of drunkenness was done away with by one single stroke.

Encouraged by this, the temperance friends of Sweden started to take a vote among the mature population, which at that time numbered 3,387,924. Of these, 2,034,234 took part in the vote, which resulted as follows:

For Prohibition	1,884,298
Against Prohibition	16,175
Neutrals	133,761
	2,034,234

Proportionally 56.2 per cent of the qualified voters and 91.9 per cent of all who voted declared themselves in favor of Prohibition of the liquor traffic.

While this vote was under preparation, a young physician in Stockholm, Ivan Bratt, very strongly criticized the method used in selling intoxicants according to the Gothenburg System. Most of what he said had been said before by the temperance friends. The Gothenburg System, Dr. Bratt said, had to some extent reformed the traffic as far as the consumption on the premises was concerned, but neglected to reform the sale of liquors that the buyer took with him. And this last form, he said, causes most of the drunkenness, as it is in Sweden. The Gothenburg System sells alcoholic liquors to anybody, as often as desired and as much as desired. Furthermore, the Gothenburg System had, contrary to its object to eliminate private interests, given to some persons not only license to sell liquors for consumption on the premises, but, in

some of the large cities, also license for sale of liquors to be carried away from the premises. And these individuals had, of course, only one aim: to make as much profit as possible, by selling as much as possible. "No," said Dr. Bratt, "let us so arrange the selling of brandy for carrying away from the premises in such a way that knowledge can be obtained and preserved as to whom it is sold, also how often and how much is sold to each person." Through such an arrangement it is possible to keep persons from buying intoxicants who misuse them, and also to decide how much the "temperate" users should obtain, in such a way that the buyer should be inconvenienced as little as possible.

Dr. Bratt got concessions for his system from the first day of October, 1913, but it was not put into operation before the first of March, 1914. During 1914 the Stockholm System or principally the same management of the Gothenburg System was applied in a constantly growing number of Swedish towns. From the beginning of 1916 the principles of the Stockholm System have been applied and have been compulsory throughout the country, but the new law relating to sale of intoxicating liquors, especially adapted to the Stockholm System, went into effect the first of January, 1919. I will now give a short resumé of the most important provisions in the present legislation relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors.

The law deals only with "intoxicating liquors." This expression means only spirits, wines, and malt liquors containing more than 3.6 per cent of alcohol by volume. Malt liquors containing between 2.25 and 3.6 per cent of alcohol by volume are called "pilsener drinks," and a special law is set regarding them. Malt liquors containing less than 2.25 per cent of alcohol by volume are called "weak" or "light" drinks, and the making and selling of them are free.

All sales of intoxicating drinks have to be made through a special *bolag*, whose shareholders shall get not more than 5 per cent interest per annum on invested capital. In the board of the *bolag* the shareholders elect two members, the parish or community one, and the national control board one (its chairman).

As a rule a *bolag* for the sale of intoxicants can not be operated against the veto of the community. Because of this condition no sale of intoxicants is allowed in 14 out of the 109 cities in the country. It is only allowed in 88 out of the 2,409 smaller towns and parishes. But the inhabitants of a community, where there is no sale of intoxicating liquors, have the right to buy such liquors in the nearest community where sale is going on. A community can only prohibit the sale of intoxicants within its own borders, but has no right to prevent the sale to people living there.

Intoxicating liquors must not be sold to others than those who have permission to buy, and such permission is issued by the *bolag* in the form of a *mothok* (Pass-book).

A *mothok* shall not be issued to any one who is not fully 21 years of age:

Nor to anyone who has been under penalty for drunkenness more than once during the last two years:

Nor to any one who has in the last three years been convicted of any crime committed under the influence of liquor:

Nor to any one who has been placed by the authorities in a hospital on account of drunkenness during the last three years:

Nor to any one who has been under cure in a hospital for delirium tremens or for any other sickness caused by the use of intoxicants:

Nor to any one who has during the last three years been convicted of unlawful sale of alcoholic liquors or of having furnished others with the same:

Neither to any one whom the temperance committee of the community has declared unworthy to possess a *motbok*.

A *motbok* is *personal* property, and must not be lent, nor sold, nor used in order to furnish intoxicating liquors to others.

On a *motbok* 4 liters of spirituous liquors (brandy) can be bought per month, but no restriction is set in the law for wine and beer.

No *motbok* is required in restaurants, but prior to 3 p. m. no intoxicants are sold to others than those who eat meals.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESULT OF THE BRATT SYSTEM?

There are three things by which the sale of intoxicating liquors and the effects of it are generally measured. They are: The drunkenness offenses, the cases of alcoholism, and the volume of the trade.

Regarding the consumption of intoxicating liquors I will quote the following statistics:

CONSUMPTION OF BRANDY DURING 1913-1919

Years	Liters
1913	42,999,584
1914	38,206,247
1915	38,820,654
1916	32,682,869
1917	10,121,932
1918	7,421,150
1919	14,420,082

The increased consumption during the latter half year of 1919 is caused by larger apportionments, made possible by importations of cognac from France and whisky from America. Of this I will speak later.

Since Jan. 1, 1920, the entire ration that the Bratt system allows has been available. The result has been that the consumption this year has increased to 3,250,000 liters per month, and may for the entire year be estimated to be over 39,000,000 liters, or nearly the same amount as in 1913, before the Bratt System was introduced. In addition, might be

mentioned the illegal alcohol. No statistics can be obtained as to that, of course.

The statistician in our Control Board has declared that the consumption of brandy in Sweden has not been so large for decades as now.

Concerning drunkenness offenses it must be remembered that one can not always take them as reliable criteria. They have only a relative value, as different methods are followed in prosecuting the offender. In some places the police arrest every one who is seen to be intoxicated, if he is found in the street or any public highway. In other places the drunken man is not troubled at all by the police, provided he does not act violently. Swedish law decides that "Any one who is found intoxicated on highway or street may be arrested and, when his relatives can not take care of him, he may be kept under police guard until he has regained the full use of his senses;" and "If any one so indulges in drink, that it can be seen by his behavior, or by the condition of his mind, that he is intoxicated," then he may be fined to an amount of 30 crowns (about \$10), provided he is found in such condition on highway, street, or another public place.

However, it is likely that these provisions have been practised uniformly during the last years, so that drunkenness offenses in Stockholm for these years can be fairly compared.

CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN STOCKHOLM AND SWEDEN, 1913-1919

Years	Stockholm	Sweden
1913	17,696	56,000
1914	11,878	46,000
1915	11,323	45,000
1916	9,877	42,000
1917	3,749	18,377
1918	6,341	18,677
1919	11,108	34,858

(The figures for Sweden for 1913-1916 are approximate, but for the years 1917-1919 they are exact for both the whole country and for Stockholm.)

The year 1913 was the "blackest year," both for Stockholm and for the entire country, that the Swedish statistics have had to report. Drunkenness offenses in the whole country were more than 56,000 and in Stockholm 17,696.

As already stated, the Bratt system was introduced into Stockholm in March, 1914. The number of drunkenness offenses this year was 11,878, and the next year (1915) 11,323.

Because of war conditions the Government in February, 1916, ordered some minor restrictions on the sale of liquors, with the result that the number of drunkenness offenses this year in Stockholm went down to 9,877.

In order to save foodstuffs, the Government during the fall of 1916 was forced to decrease the making of brandy. And as a result of less production the maximum quantity of brandy that could be bought on a *motbok* was cut down to 2 liters (or about one half-gallon) per month.

Later on, when all making of brandy had to cease, the maximum quantity per *motbok* was decreased to 2 liters per three months. This maximum quantity was in force from May, 1917, until the middle of 1919.

But please note: There was no total Prohibition, as Dr. Bratt has said in an article in *American-Scandinavian Review* for September and October, 1919. And besides these 2 liters per quarter, wine and beer were for sale. However, this great decrease in the amount of alcoholic liquors that could be had on the *motbok* caused the number of drunkenness offenses for the whole country to decline from 56,000 in 1913 to 18,377 in 1917 and to 18,677 in 1918, and in Stockholm to 3,749 in 1917. But in 1918 the number of such offenses rose in Stockholm to 6,341. Why?

When the *motbok* was introduced (1914) and known misusers were cut off from the privilege to buy, and the quantity was limited, some started to make brandy in their homes, especially among the alcoholized of the upper classes. Among the lower classes temperance, no doubt, was increased, as may be seen from the just-quoted statistics concerning drunkenness offenses.

During 1918 industrial alcohol—"motor alcohol"—obtained quite a prominence as a drink in Stockholm. This explains the increased number of drunkenness offenses that year. Further increase was noticed during 1919, both in Stockholm as well as in the whole country. The consumption of motor alcohol decreased again, but instead of it came, through Dr. Bratt as an agent, imported wines from Norway (where strong wine was prohibited) as well as from France; also whisky from America. The amount of alcohol per *motbok* could therefore be increased over the previous 2 liters per quarter. For an extra tax (*accis*) one could even get as much as 6 liters per quarter. Drunkenness offenses in Stockholm increased correspondingly month by month from 635 in January to 1,021 in December, and for the entire year to 11,108 or approximately the same as in 1914 and 1915, the first years of the Bratt System.

It should not be overlooked that the higher number of drunkenness offenses in Stockholm during 1919 were to quite a large extent caused by home distilling. The larger part of the illegal alcohol was consumed by alcoholized people in the higher class, and drunkenness among people of the upper classes is not so clearly shown in the police reports. People of the lower classes also indulged in illegal brandy; but the results of this Dr. Bratt very conscientiously has recorded, in order to demonstrate that the increase in the regulated portion of intoxicants has not caused a corresponding increase in drunkenness.

The increased number of drunkenness offenses in Stockholm, that characterized the later half of 1919, has been growing during the present year, as will be seen from these figures: January, 1,066; February, 966; March, 907; April, 905; May, 984; June, 834; or an average of 944

per month. For Stockholm a total of 11,000, and for the whole country a total of about 40,000.

Even though it be admitted that some of these drunkenness offenses are caused by consumption of illegal alcohol, it remains as a fact that drunkenness under the Stockholm system has not been reduced more than 25 per cent. Nobody can define 40,000 drunkenness offenses per year as temperance for a nation of less than six million people.

In the above-mentioned article in the *American-Scandinavian Review* Dr. Bratt points out how the number of delirium-tremens cases at the Central Hospital in Stockholm has been considerably reduced. Yes; it is true that from 623 cases in 1913, it went down to 459 in 1914, and was 362 in 1915, 418 in 1916. But the reduction in 1917 to 127 and in 1918 to 130 is not to the credit of the Bratt System, but to war-time restrictions. The following year, 1919, when the legal alcohol apportionment was increased, the number rose again, to 314, and has increased still further in 1920.

The same tendency is shown in the reports of district physicians in Stockholm on the patients they have attended for chronic alcoholism. From 492 in 1913 the number dropped to 318 in 1914; 173 in 1915; 156 in 1916; 56 in 1917; and 29 in 1918; but it increased to 135 in 1919, and since the legal apportionment of 4 liters per month it has been increasing during 1920.

The conclusion is that the Bratt System has, to some extent, doubtless, reduced drunkenness, but it has absolutely not produced anything that deserves to be called temperance.

The result is not at all surprising to any one who has studied the alcoholic problem. It is self-evident that, as long as intoxicating liquors can legally be sold in the country, and are used by some, then those who are cut off from such privileges will find some way to satisfy their thirst for alcohol, especially when they have legal access to the restaurants, even though the quantity that they can get there is comparatively little.

But the foundation principle of the System was, that it would be possible *to know* to whom alcohol was sold and *when* and *how much* was sold. Well, one could know *how much* was sold, but to *whom* the alcohol went, could not be known; and, after all, that was the most important thing to know, when the aim was personal control, which the System claimed to provide for.

The *motbok*, as has already been mentioned, was to be personal property. But it is known that the *motbok* was in many thousands of cases lent, exchanged, and sold, without any possibility of controlling the lawful use. The owner of the *motbok* has the right to use an agent for the buying, and nothing hinders this agent from borrowing, or even from buying, the *motbok*. In this way it can be explained that youths of 16 or 17 years often are found in possession of intoxicating drinks and are themselves intoxicated.

But the system suffers from another misfortune, in my opinion the worst of them all.

Every young man of 21 years, provided that he is not excluded by the aforesaid, has a right to receive a *motbok*. If the young man is not of strong character and a member of a temperance society, or is not restrained by religious motives, the rule is, that he gets his *motbok*. And when he has got one, the self-evident thing is, that he goes to use it. Of course, he is to make use of his "right." Even though he does not right away start to consume the 4 liters per month that he gets, but hands them over to his father, or to his elder brother, or perhaps to a colaborer, or perhaps sells them, the likelihood is that he quite soon starts to taste the stuff himself. The country has one drinker more, one who oftentimes ends as a drunkard.

It is doubtful whether Sweden had so many consumers of alcohol between 1825 and 1835, when home distilling was at its highest, as there are just now. According to reports from the Control Board, about 1,100,000 *motboks* have been issued for less than 6,000,000 inhabitants. Every third adult man in Sweden has a *motbok*.

In the afore-mentioned article in the *American-Scandinavian Review* (also printed in *The Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Aug. 28, 1919), Dr. Bratt says:

Without wishing to draw too sweeping conclusions from the Swedish experience, I feel justified in looking with suspicion on total Prohibition as a cure-all for the evils of alcoholism. It behooves us to consider soberly not only the question of whether it is necessary and desirable to use alcohol at all, but also the technical and psychological side of the problem; for instance, the reaction of public opinion, the difficulty of dealing with crime when it appears *en masse*, and the ease with which Prohibition can be exploited for private gain.

Leaving out of consideration those who are prohibitionists on principle, we in Sweden look on the legitimate trade in alcoholic liquors as an effective instrument, when correctly used, to curb the illegitimate traffic, to diminish the evil effects of alcohol, and to educate individuals as well as the whole people to a greater sense of responsibility. The experiment we have made and are still making has a claim to the interest of sociologists. Undoubtedly it will in the future yield still more information, and the conclusions from it should be drawn without prejudice.

To this I venture the remark, that when Dr. Bratt says that he feels "justified in looking with suspicion on total Prohibition as a cure-all for the evils of alcoholism," I am fully justified in saying, that I am not only "looking with suspicion" on his control and rationing system, but I am *fully convinced*, that it is far less adapted to cure this social evil. It is so far from being the case that the Bratt System, even when it is managed correctly (as it presumably is in Dr. Bratt's home town and under his own management), is able to reduce the illegal traffic, that this illegal traffic was *caused* by the System in 1914 and 1915. On the other hand, it should be admitted, that it has so far, to some extent, reduced drunk-

eness, although it seems quite evident that a continuation of the System would lead to as much drunkenness as Sweden had under the previous, the Gothenburg, system. The Bratt System, however, has totally failed to educate individuals as well as the whole nation to a realization of a responsibility. During the war, when little alcohol could be procured, the system succeeded in keeping up the use of intoxicants and in creating hundreds of thousands of new consumers of alcohol.

Personally I have not, by the experience gained from the six years that the System has been operated in Sweden, had the least reason to revise my opinion, that total Prohibition, founded on educated public opinion and decided by the people, is the only known way to go to reach general temperance for any nation. The facts and data that I have related here concerning the Bratt System and its effects will, I hope, sustain me in taking such a view.

All thinking men, it seems to me, must admit that the liquor traffic is an evil.

The remedy for an evil is not to regulate it or ration it. The only way is to abolish it. Temperance friends in Sweden will do away with the liquor traffic just as you are doing it here in America.

Nothing less than a world freed from the liquor traffic will be a sober world.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper will be on the Dispensary System and the results of its operations in the State of South Carolina. I think I ought to say, for the benefit of those of you who are from abroad, that the speaker was a member of the South Carolina Legislature many years ago, and introduced at that time a measure for State-wide Prohibition for South Carolina, for which the Dispensary System was substituted by Governor (later Senator) Tillman of South Carolina. This man has become one of the most distinguished bureau chiefs in the United States, and it was under his régime that Prohibition became effective in the United States. He appointed Mr. Kramer, the man who appeared before you yesterday, as national enforcement commissioner of the United States because he wanted a man that he knew was in sympathy with the movement, and I now have the honor to introduce to you the Honorable Daniel C. Roper, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

THE DISPENSARY SYSTEM—RESULTS OF ITS OPERATION IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

By THE HON. DANIEL C. ROPER
OF NEW YORK CITY.

One of the most interesting of the many experiments outstanding in the history of the long struggle for nation-wide Prohibition in the United States was that made through the South Carolina Dispensary Law. In the numerous and varied discussions which arose over the

liquor question, it was frequently suggested that in view of the thought that the liquor traffic was a necessary evil, impracticable of abolition, the best method of control lay in Government monopoly. One of the most corrupting phases of the existing traffic lay in the large profits afforded the dealers; and if these profits could be eliminated, it was urged that the most responsible factor in increasing the volume of whisky dealt in and consumed would be removed. It was also urged that State monopoly would afford superior policing of the liquor business. It was thought that if the State were the sole barkeeper, the problem of regulating barkeepers and making them obey the law would be largely reduced to the problem of the State regulating itself and preventing itself from violating the law.

While this method of solving the liquor problem was frequently suggested, it was actually tried out in only a few instances in this country. Prior to the South Carolina experiment, the neighboring State of Georgia enacted a law which provided for local dispensaries in those communities where the people, by popular vote, chose this method of handling the traffic. The South Carolina experiment was, however, the first and only instance where the plan was tried out on a State-wide basis.

When the South Carolina Dispensary Law was enacted, all territory outside of municipalities in the State was already under statutory Prohibition, while local option prevailed in the chartered towns, villages, and cities. Popular sentiment against the traffic had been growing rapidly for several years under an aggressive Prohibition campaign, and at a State-wide primary in 1892, at which the question was submitted to the people, there was a decided vote in favor of State-wide Prohibition. In the Legislature following the election, a State-wide Prohibition bill was introduced in the lower house of the Legislature and was passed in that body by a decisive majority. However, this bill encountered difficulties in the upper house, and at that juncture the idea of a Dispensary law along the lines of the Georgia local dispensaries, extended so as to embrace the entire State of South Carolina, was suggested as a substitute for the then existing system of privately owned saloons, as well as for the proposed bill for State-wide Prohibition.

This substitute bill was urged alike upon those who believed it impracticable to discontinue the sale and use of liquors entirely and upon those who wished to destroy the open saloon and minimize the injurious effects of liquor upon the community. Thus the proposed Dispensary law received the support of many "wets" who desired to avoid absolute State-wide Prohibition, as well as the support of many "drys" who chose it as the lesser evil presented in the circumstances. It became law, therefore, as a compromise measure. Many sincere Prohibitionists supported it upon the theory that it would prove a stepping-stone to State-wide Prohibition, and many others on the ground that, in any event, "half a loaf was better than no bread."

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF DISPENSARY LAW.

The South Carolina Dispensary Law was enacted December 24, 1892, and took effect July 1, 1893. It made the sale of all beverages containing alcohol, at either wholesale or retail, a State monopoly. All liquors were to be put up in packages of not less than one pint and not more than five gallons. The law provided for a State Board of Directors, consisting of five members, one retiring annually. The members of the Board were elected by the General Assembly. This Board, subject to the approval of the Senate, appointed a State Prohibition Commissioner who, under the direction of the State Board, had immediate control of the Dispensary business. The Board established a Central State Dispensary for the wholesale distribution of liquor and created retail dispensaries located in those counties where a majority of the voters desired such dispensaries. The men in charge of the retail dispensaries were chosen by the State Board. The profits of the State Central Dispensary went to the school fund of the State, and the profits of the local dispensaries were divided between municipalities where located and the county.

Noteworthy restrictions provided by the law and by regulations of the Board were that purchasers should make written application for what they desired to purchase; that the liquor should be sold in bottles and could not be drunk on the premises; that liquor could not be sold to minors; that no liquor could be sold between sunset and sunrise; that liquor should undergo chemical tests for purity, and that the quantity should be guaranteed. The Law was enacted in 1894, and in 1897 its operation was disturbed by adverse court decisions as to certain features; but by a Supreme Court decision in 1898 its legal status was established. The main features of the law were embodied in the Constitution of the State in 1895. This action made the establishment of a saloon in the State impossible without an amendment to the Constitution. A provision of the Constitutional amendment was to the effect that no license should be granted to sell alcoholic liquors in less quantities than one half-pint or to sell them to be drunk on the premises; and the General Assembly could not delegate to any municipal corporation the power to issue such a license.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW

The Dispensary Law was placed on the statute-books of South Carolina and put into operation under the administration and by the able assistance of Governor Benjamin R. Tillman, the stalwart leader of the State political reform movement. No cause ever had a more forceful or more conscientious proponent and defender as long as he thought the system was defensible. It was hoped that the new law would receive the support of public opinion from the people generally throughout the State and thus eliminate the liquor question from politics by united effort on the part of the people in the enforcement of the Dispensary

Law. This hope, however, was soon blasted, for factional political lines tightened around the enforcement of this law as an issue.

The situation which confronted the Governor and his officers in the first year of the enforcement of the law is best told by Governor Tillman in the following excerpts from his Message to the Legislature in 1894:

The liquor dealers have resisted its enforcement and tried to evade it by every device that cunning and greed can suggest; and they have had as active sympathizers a large proportion of the people and police of nearly all the cities and towns in the State. . . .

If it had not been for the animosities engendered by politics, and the determination of political partisans to sustain the liquor dealers in every possible way, it is not likely that the tragedy which followed would have ever occurred.

The tragedy referred to was a conflict between the State constables and the citizens of the town of Darlington, in which two citizens were killed and two wounded, and one constable killed and two wounded.

"The whisky rebellion," says the Governor in his Message of 1894, "had broken out in full fury; and for twenty-four hours men held their breaths, not only in this State, but throughout the whole United States; for it appeared that we were on the verge of civil war."

The Governor ordered out the State militia to assist the State constabulary. Many of the officers and men refused to respond to the call. General T. A. Hugenin, in command of the 4th Brigade, telegraphed the Governor as follows:

No company in this command will sustain the Constabulary in their methods of enforcing the Dispensary Law. This brigade will uphold and defend the honor of the State, but will not lend itself to foment civil war among our own brethren.

Many of the officers of the State militia, with some of their men, did respond to the call of the Governor. These were well reinforced by volunteers. In a few days, however, under the able guidance of the Governor and leading citizens in the affected territory, conditions became normal, and, upon being assured by these citizens that the community would be law-abiding, the militia was withdrawn; and thus ended what threatened to be a State-wide revolt against the administration of the Dispensary Law.

While such outward demonstrations were not repeated, the illicit sales of whisky sprang up very rapidly. Illicit sale-places were called "blind tigers." The supplies for these were at first secured from "moonshine stills" located in the mountainous districts or from territory across the State borders. The Dispensary opposed its rival by opening beer dispensaries, which were conducted with much latitude, and by putting on the market a whisky known as "80 proof" which sold at a lower price than the "moonshine" product. This "80 proof" whisky was merely a mixture of whisky and water in the proportions of 80 to 20.

The Dispensary was now fighting its rival by conducting establishments competing with "blind tigers" and by selling adulterated whisky. In a short time, under these conditions, the illicit sellers discovered that

it would be to their interest to buy their supplies from the dispensaries, and the dispensary keepers found that they could enlarge their trade by cultivating closer relations with the illicit sellers. An understanding was alleged to have been reached that the "blind tigers" would supply themselves exclusively from the dispensaries and that the dispensaries should, in turn, protect the "blind tigers," as far as possible, from the clutches of the law; and the dispensaries thus degenerated largely into supply stations for "blind tigers."

In February, 1902, or nine years after the Dispensary Law went into effect, the records of the United States Collector of Internal Revenue of South Carolina show that there were in the State 444 retail liquor-dealers, whereas there were but 104 local dispensaries. As a matter of fact, these figures did not indicate the real situation, for there must have been more than 500 illicit sale-places in the city of Charleston alone.

Local dispensaries closed in accordance with the law at nightfall and remained closed during the night and on Sundays, while the "blind tigers" remained open all night and Sundays. The hope that reputable men, who would retain public confidence, could be secured to conduct the dispensaries proved disappointing, and it was soon commonly charged that they were falling into the hands of professional politicians of low standards. Scandals developed in the purchasing departments, and frequent defalcations were reported from the offices of the dispensaries. Robberies and fires, removing or consuming all records, became frequent. In 1897, only four years after the law went into effect, the State Board reported three fires, with a total loss of \$6,478.98, with worthless accounts amounting to \$1,769.65, and placed \$16,006.33 in ex-dispensers' shortages in their profit and loss account.

The belief grew that the management of the Dispensary had degenerated into a political and graft machine, using every effort to increase sales and make profits. The result was a greater consumption of liquor, especially among the negroes and lower class of whites, than ever before. Prominent citizens of the State alleged that, because drinking on the premises was not allowed under the law, and as the minimum quantity sold was a half-pint, drunkenness and rowdyism on the public highways had increased until the System had become intolerable.

Furthermore, constant reports of graft in the administration of the Dispensary System were made the subject of investigation by a legislative committee. This investigation revealed the fact that a member of the State Board made a purchase of \$125,000 worth of whisky without regard to the provision of the Law which required that bids be called for, and it was shown the State was defrauded out of large amounts by purchases in which commissions in the form of rebates to individuals were included in the price paid by the State. As a result of this legislative investigation, the Governor instructed the Attorney-General of the State to prosecute the offenders,—but sufficient evidence was

not found to support suits for convictions. The system followed by these liquor grafters seemed to be to overcharge for liquor and take the difference in the form of "rebates."

In Dispensary politics the tendency soon became pronounced to measure its success by the profits turned into the State Treasury. Each administration laid stress on the growing profits from its conduct of the liquor business. The effect, therefore, was an endeavor to sell not as little as possible, but as much as possible, from year to year. The total sales reported for the nine months immediately following the date when the Dispensary Law became effective, or from July 1, 1893 to April 1, 1894, are given in the records as \$573,539.91, compared with \$4,376,439.05 for the fiscal year 1901, on which a profit of more than \$1,000,000 was realized.

An interesting episode in the South Carolina Dispensary story illustrates the unwillingness of the people to modify their viewpoint toward liquor and the liquor traffic, even though the State itself was the sole liquor-dealer. When the Dispensary first began to operate, the management, thinking to popularize its whisky wares, used the palmetto tree—the sacred and time-honored emblem of the State—on the labels used on whisky packages, and had this emblem blown into the bottles. This so offended the pride and aroused the resentment of the people that even while they still authorized the continuance of the Dispensary System, their representatives at the first opportunity enacted legislation amending the law, prohibiting the use of this emblem either in bottles or on labels. Thus they evidenced their firm belief that through the Dispensary Law they were endeavoring to curb an evil and to record their conviction that the liquor traffic was inherently degrading.

THE END OF THE DISPENSARY

While the Dispensary System, revised and amended in 1895, 1896, and 1897, lasted twelve years, very early in its administration the public conscience began to revolt against it. In the warfare for its repeal Governor Tillman, by this time a United States Senator, was heartily enlisted; and he was largely instrumental in securing the passage of an Act, in 1907, which abolished the State Dispensary and left at the mercy of the people seventy-five county dispensaries then in existence. Under the local-option privileges granted in this law, twenty-two counties immediately voted to close their dispensaries. In 1909 the legislature took another advanced step by passing a State-wide Prohibition Act except as to counties that had voted for the Dispensary under the law of 1907. The State-wide dry proposal submitted to the voters by the legislature was carried by a large majority in 1915, and the State-wide Prohibition law enacted as the result of this election went into effect January 1, 1916.

The evils brought by the liquor traffic to the community were numerous and diverse. It is substantially accurate to say that the dilatory influence which it exercised could be measured principally by the amount of alcoholic liquor consumed, the extent of immorality and lawlessness

which it promoted, and by the baneful and demoralizing influence upon politics and government which it produced. Measured by these three tests, it seemed certain that the South Carolina Dispensary Law did not improve conditions, but made them worse, for undoubtedly, under the Dispensary régime, the amount of liquor introduced and consumed in the State was increased, and there was certainly no improvement in the way of moral betterment or law enforcement or in the effect of the liquor traffic upon State or local politics.

Nevertheless, there is sound philosophy in the statement that the South Carolina Dispensary Law rendered a service to the people of that State as well as to the nation by demonstrating, as probably could not have been done in any other way, the fallacy of the State monopoly method of handling the liquor question. In this the Dispensary try-out cleared the way for the onward march of Prohibition. If South Carolina had not tried out the experiment, and furnished its practical demonstration, the advocates of State monopoly would have continued to urge that their plan be given a trial. This naturally would have delayed the final settlement of the issue.

THE CHAIRMAN made some announcements with regard to the publication of the Proceedings of the Congress.

DR. SALEEBY: What about the discussion on these papers?

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion will necessarily begin the first thing this afternoon, but will be continued only for such a time as that mentioned on the program, and then the next paper will follow.

Some further announcements were made, and the Congress adjourned till the afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1920

At the afternoon session of Friday, September 24, Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: Discussion of the various papers will now be in order, more specifically of the paper of the Hon. D. C. Roper.

DISCUSSION

MISS AGNES SLACK: I have outlined so many things here which I want to say, that I don't know just where to begin in order to say them all, or what to skip. Manifestly alcoholic beverages are definitely injurious to children, and there is great need of education in the schools of England on that subject. Alcohol is dangerous for children and most persons of unstable minds. This class, it has been estimated, constitutes about 40 per cent of the community, and if it is injurious for 40 per cent of the community certainly it is not for the Government to buy it up and run it as a State concern, for that adds prestige to it. Recently in England, in a little Midland town, a man was arrested and fined for drunkenness. Turning around to look at the jury which sentenced him, he observed one familiar face, that of a brewer, and addressing it, said: "It was on account of you and your brewery that I was fined." Are we going to allow them to have the opportunity to leer at the Government like this every time and say, "It was your drink—your Government drink, which made me drunk." The present proposition in Great Britain is that we tax the liquor-dealers and tax them heavily. A man can not sell liquor in England unless he pays a tax. It is one thing for the Government to tax this traffic, and license it, and thus in a measure subdue it, and another thing entirely for us to say that the Government owns this thing.

By all means, indeed, let us tax the liquor traffic, but let us not make the Government any partner or part in this liquor traffic. Do not let the profits be considered Government profits.

There is another great problem which we face in Great Britain, which this line of talk brings me to, and that is that in the case of Carlisle. Carlisle is the only town in Great Britain which has been bought up by the Government, as it were. Everything there is under Government supervision—the schools and everything; and

yet the great majority of our one hundred and fifty or two hundred and odd boroughs have a smaller percentage of drunkenness in their population than does Carlisle, which proves that the Government management alone can not cure the evil. We have proof, in that instance at least, that State ownership will not lessen drinking. On the other hand, I am afraid that Carlisle's reputation does not bear investigation on that subject. I will end this up by saying that it is a dangerous trade. Let us tax it, by all means, but do not let us encourage it by sharing its profits.

MR. SPENCE: Just one or two observations, Mr. Chairman, which I wish to make on this liquor question. The first consideration is that the evil of the liquor traffic does not rest in the way it is handled, but rather in the stuff itself. It is on account of appetite and on account of avarice that men drink liquor. You have got to remove appetite and you have got to remove avarice. The appetite calls for alcohol, with these men whom we are talking about, and it matters not how you sell it—it is just the same; the same old liquor. Liquor sold in a Government dispensary, under responsible management and respectable conditions, will make a man just as drunk as it would any other way.

Then there is the question of avarice. In regard to avarice you can't remove avarice by replacing private ownership with public ownership. You simply take away one kind of avarice in that case, and replace it with a worse kind of avarice. I think that there is far less hostility toward the liquor traffic to-day, in your country and mine, as it is now run, by private individuals, than there would be if the Government itself were to start in and take the business away from these private owners and then conduct the business itself at a huge profit. Nations are like individuals. They won't take anybody else's word for anything—something like the dapper individual we all know, who, going along the street and seeing the sign "Fresh Paint," isn't satisfied until he [stepping over to an imaginary fence or bench and touching it with his finger, says, "Yes, yes, so it is; my word!"] The record which they have made in Saskatchewan in regard to Prohibition is astonishing, and everybody ought to read the account of their progress.

But nations profit by those experiments. They tried the dispensary movement in Saskatchewan, just the same as they did in far-away South Carolina, and perhaps they gave it even a little more thorough try-out, and went a little further in the reform. We bought out all the existing stocks of liquor to sell in our dispensary there. We bought out all the existing stocks of liquor, thus buying them right out of the trade. We were only able to take over about 20 per cent of the existing stocks, because the remainder were so adulterated that we had just simply to destroy them. We closed the bars and did all our selling

in sealed packages, and appointed a Sunday-school superintendent of the Methodist Church as General Dispenser for the Province, with 22 branches under his control. And we made it as hard for a "boozer" to get it as we possibly could, and within a year the people of the province were so disgusted that they voted the whole thing out with a vote of 95,249 to 25,366. The trouble there in Canada was that they were always putting up this proposition of a substitute but did not want to give us what we wanted when we first asked for it, but as a substitute they gave us what was considered was the next best thing. That is always the way in all kinds of reform, somebody is always trying to suggest something better; and this was offered as a substitute for Prohibition, and it delayed Prohibition with us for about a year, and we had to get rid of it before we were able to get Prohibition, but that wasn't a hard proposition either. It has failed here and it has failed in Canada, and it has failed everywhere else it has been tried out, and you in the States and we in Canada are just exactly the same kind of folk they are in Britain.

MR THEODORE NEILD: I regret that time forbids me to touch upon more than a few of the points raised. The South Carolina system has been spoken against; in its earlier form there was some ground for this, but the speaker has passed over the work it did later in its improved form, which has resulted in the State's going dry by a majority of two and one-half to one. This result, the Philadelphia Quaker organ said, had been expected, because the veto had been operative in the rural districts, whilst the State Dispensary system in the towns had eliminated those vested interests so disastrous elsewhere.

That this was recognized was shown by the fact that a Commission of Inquiry appointed to ascertain the best route to Prohibition for Saskatchewan reported in favor of an improved South Carolina system; and that State went dry by a considerable majority not long after. I was interested to note that a speaker had said that Saskatchewan had given up the system because it was "unsatisfactory." To take a parallel—If a ladder was the only, or the shortest, way from earth to Paradise, would it be fair to the ladder to say that the climber had entered Paradise because the ladder was "unsatisfactory?"

In reply to Mr. Spence, I at once admit that the liquor remains the same whoever sells it; but it is equally true that the liquor will not do the same harm if it is in hands which will be careful to sell less of it.

In reply to Miss Slack, I maintain that the English State is already a sleeping partner in the trade; her share (the State's) in its profits rises and falls with the trade's prosperity; but she has very slight control. If the State acquires the whole profits she will at once

have complete control either to restrict or to extinguish. It is the pioneer of veto and Prohibition, not a substitute.

The crux of the problem everywhere is the town. You in America can never forget that, although Maine had been sixty years under Prohibition when the Referendum was taken in 1911, the town vote so nearly swamped the rural vote that a turnover of 380 votes would have sent Maine wet; and that one town only with a population of over 5,000 had a dry majority. The only Labor vote in England that has been taken on National Prohibition has been six to one against it. We in England shall follow with deep interest America's success in the towns, as two thirds of our population are urban.

MISS SLACK: I do not quote the figures for myself alone; I voice the sentiments of the various British labor and temperance organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the assembly will realize now what is meant by British tenacity. The Chair finds himself in a very difficult position now, being in the chair and at the same time wishing to make some remarks, so I will not make the remark that I had intended to make. However, I will say this much, that it was my good fortune to be in Great Britain in 1918 and 1919, last spring and again this summer. I have nothing to say of the merits of these questions, which these British friends of ours have been discussing, but as an observer from the United States of America, making these visits from time to time in Great Britain, I was very much interested in one thing. In 1918, when I was there, the nation was alive to the evil of the drink traffic, and was so much alive to it that great restrictions had been placed upon the trade, which had greatly diminished drunkenness and crime in Great Britain. But now, at this time, drunkenness and crime are steadily increasing, just as quickly as they removed these restrictions.

And it seems to me one of the results of the war, notwithstanding this apparent slip on the part of England, has been that the Christian people and churches of Great Britain are more thoroughly united on this great problem than they ever were before. And that the leaders in the great denominations throughout England have united on these different points, nine points in all, and one of these points was the right of a local veto. The churches I believe, are more alive to the conditions in Great Britain, owing to the experience they have had during the war, than they have ever been before; and, of course, we know what that means. We know that in America it was Christian conscience which spelled the doom of the liquor trade in this country. England seems to have gone to sleep after its war experience, temporarily; but when it does awake to it, and when British conscience is awakened on the subject, and is concerted to destroy

this trade, then they will have the same results in England that we had in this country.

I now call for a paper from Mrs. Henry W. Peabody.

THE PROTECTION OF NATIVE RACES FROM ALCOHOLISM

BY MRS. HENRY W. PEABODY

To one who has been connected with the foreign missionary enterprise for many years there can be no possible argument against complete protection of native peoples against alcoholism. What shall it profit missionary societies to send men and women at great cost of money and life with the Gospel of Christ, if on the same steamship go millions of gallons of rum from the same nation to debauch and murder these child races?

Dr. Cornelius H. Patton, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, speaking at a meeting in Boston, told of standing on an African trail, listening to the carriers' rhythmical song as they marched with their burdens through the long grass. When he scanned the cases they carried on their heads, he found to his surprise and joy that they were Bibles sent out from his own Board at the Congregational House, Beacon Street, Boston. A little later another file of carriers came along the same trail also carrying cases from Boston, but the cases were filled with rum.

Not even the sacred places are protected. Dr. Arthur I. Brown said recently, "Missionary work is being seriously threatened by the liquor demon in mission fields, even as our Lord's work was opposed by evil spirits in His days on earth. Jerusalem now has a brewery, and there is a distillery on Mount Lebanon. American saloons have been opened in Damascus, but no new Christian missionary work is allowed to open in these lands at present."

We know of flourishing saloons within twelve miles of Mecca. In "The Lore of Africa," written before the Eighteenth Amendment, Dr. Patton states clearly the present situation there:

No race is so quickly and so utterly demoralized by strong drink as the African. Self-interest alone on the part of the colonial governments dictates that the traffic be suppressed. Yet a faltering course is followed. In the South African Union there is a law, not well enforced, prohibiting the sale of liquor to natives. In Nigeria the traffic is permitted under restrictions. Portugal rules out distilled beverages, but permits light liquors and wines. Colonial governors realize the destructive effects of alcohol upon native character and health, and would gladly be rid of the traffic, but financial considerations stand in the way. In Southern Nigeria the importation of spirits furnishes fifty per cent of the revenues; rum pays a duty of two hundred per cent; and gin a duty of three hundred per cent; and yet these deadly liquors are shipped into the country in almost unbelievable amounts.

The sinning nations are principally the United States, Holland, Germany, and Great Britain. The British Board of Trade reports that during the year ending April, 1916, there were imported into British

West Africa 3,815,000 gallons of spirits. During 1914-15 from the port of Boston there were shipped to the West Coast of Africa 1,571,353 gallons of rum. There is no pushing of this evil upon the shoulders of Europe. America is too deeply involved for that. The question is often asked, "Cannot something be done to stop the shipping of liquor from the United States to African ports?" Yes, Congress could pass a prohibitory law on the subject (and has done so); but without international action it would be ineffective, since American vessels can not be prevented from transshipping liquor to vessels of other nations. For instance, it would be easy and remunerative for American liquor merchants to ship to Lisbon or the Azores, and there transship in Portuguese bottoms to African ports. No American law could prevent this under present circumstances. What we need is an international agreement such as prevails in respect to certain Pacific islands and the Kongo State. The evil is one of colossal magnitude, threatening the very existence of the West Coast tribes.

It is a common fallacy that there is no drunkenness among the Moslems. It is a rule not enforced any better than the laws of Christ Dr. Zwemer corrects this in his statement in the *Missionary Review* for May, 1919:

Intemperance among Moslems is especially common in Persia and in Turkey, as well as in parts of India. The prohibition against wine and spirits in these countries has become much of a dead letter. No stone is left unturned by the liquor interests to stimulate their trade, and to extend the devastating influence of their traffic. Alcoholic sweetmeats are sold to women and children, who thus form the habit. Whisky advertisements are found at every railway station from Alexandria to Khartum, and strong drink is on sale at every railway restaurant. Even during the war, when tonnage was scarce and the British and Foreign Bible Society could not obtain shipment for cases of Bibles, the wharves in Alexandria and in Port Said were piled high with cases of whisky.

From the last report—1918—of the Egyptian Ministry of Finance, we learn how wide-spread and colossal is the consumption of liquor in a country where ninety-five per cent of the people are Mohammedan. The amount of brandy and whisky imported has doubled since 1914, and now amounts to over a million dollars' worth.

Continuing our survey of Africa, note the inconsistency revealed in this statement from Price's "Ancient Peoples at New Tasks":

According to Transvaal law it is a criminal offense to give or sell alcoholic liquor to a native. It is likewise illegal for a native to be in possession of liquor. That is, to-day the law declares that white men may drink, but black men may not. Naturally such a one-sided and illogical law can not well be enforced. The result is that a tremendous illicit trade in liquor has grown up. The method is simple. A "liquor king" sends young white men around to the bottle stores to purchase bottles of liquor. They bring the liquor to the "king's" house, where it is poured into a bathtub, adulterated with methylated spirits, tobacco juice, pepper, and similar ingredients, and diluted with water. Then it is put up in other bottles and new labels are stuck on. Thus one bottle of the original poison becomes two of the still more evil poison. Then the liquor is distributed secretly to the natives who pay high prices for it.

More than six hundred whites in a year are convicted for selling liquor

to the natives, and there are many others who are not caught, probably several times this number. In 1914 more than sixty per cent of the white convicts were in jail because of illicit liquor traffic.

Drunkenness is much more common among gold-miners than among diamond-miners. The reason is that the miners of gold are allowed to leave their compounds at certain times and wander abroad through the city on condition that they return when the curfew rings at nine o'clock. The diamond-miners, however, are kept in "closed compounds," and are virtually prisoners. This is necessary to keep diamonds from being taken out. It is also quite effective in preventing liquor from coming in. A high fence constantly stands between the employee and his "personal liberty." What the Rand needs is total Prohibition—for whites and for natives alike. This was enforced at Panama, and General Gorgas places himself on record as strongly favoring its enforcement on the Rand.

We quote again from an article in *The Missionary Review*:

The saddest side of the legalized traffic is to be found in the Western Province, the great grape-growing district of South Africa. On Saturday evenings on the roads going out of Montague one could find them drunk, lying all over the place, as many as a dozen lying drunk around a Standard Oil tin of wine purchased from wine farmers. Those who could be dragged within the plantation were left in drunken sleep; those somewhat less intoxicated would have to be lashed and driven to the carriages at the railway station like cattle amid indescribable scenes of disorder, fighting and obscenity.

Here wine, two quart bottles a day, is given as a labor ration and boys of ten are becoming drunkards. In spite of these things the Commission refused to condemn even this rationing system.

Enough has been said to show that South Africa deserves the characterization "one of the most liquor-ridden countries in the world;" that vested interests are so strong as to make abortive every honest attempt at amelioration; that the traffic is rapidly demoralizing the natives, the colored, and the poor-white classes of the community; and that the temperance forces, while by no means quiescent, are making but little headway against the evil. The world-wide Prohibition drive should establish one of its strongest branches in South Africa.

We all know the story of the Pacific Islands, and we have our own small experience in the Philippines. There are shameful chapters in history of liquor exploitations of the American Indian.

The great incentive to exploit these peoples lies in the possibility of increased revenue. If governments could be convinced that the traffic in alcohol does not pay commercially, they would be more ready to adopt righteous legislation. Sir Frederick Lugard states that, in spite of the loss of £1,140,000 in duties in 1916 under war Prohibition in Lagos, there was not a corresponding loss in the balance of 1918, as other valuable imports took the place of liquor. In spite of this the traffic is encouraged.

Twenty-seven per cent of the wealth of Southern Nigeria is found in imports of liquor. Gin is used as currency where formerly the trade was in cotton and iron. Barter is generally through gin. Fines paid to the Government in some localities have been in gin. This was dis-

puted by the Government; but Bishop Tugwell proved his case by the court case of John Ebe, Clerk at Brass, who in 1908 in Southern Nigeria embezzled fifty cases of gin paid as court fines, and is now serving a sentence in prison in Old Calabar. Other instances are cited by A. J. MacDonald, author of "Trade Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East." The liquor traffic should be condemned as an economic blunder, if on no higher ground.

A study of the question reveals in one case a revenue of one and three quarter millions from gin, but a cost of crime of two and three quarter millions, caused largely by the use of alcohol.

While three plans were proposed for stopping the traffic,—first, heavier duties; second, an alternative of mild drinks; third, Prohibition,—we find that neither of the first two have been at all effective. We also find that Mr. Kooth, Examiner in the Transvaal Commission, himself advocated the canteen and, as a *mild* drink, ten per cent alcohol. Against him, however, we find Sir Harry Johnston stating, "Any form of distilled alcohol is poison. I came back after my first term in Africa a confirmed abolitionist and teetotalier."

It is rather hard to find that a missionary like Bishop Johnson could not purchase food in Southern Nigeria except through gin currency. The evil is not likely to grow less, since we learn through one investigation, that, out of a school of seventy-five children in Warri, only fifteen did not drink gin.

Again we hear the voice of that great Christian statesman of Africa, King Khama, as he cries to the rulers of Europe and America:

It were better for me that I should lose my country than that it should be flooded with drink. Lobengula never gives me a sleepless night, but to fight against drink is to fight against demons, not against men. I dread the white man's drink more than all the assegais of the Matabele, which kill men's bodies, and it is quickly over; but drink puts devils into men and destroys both bodies and souls forever. Its wounds never heal. I pray your Honor never to ask me to open even a little door to drink.

Surely we shall not longer tolerate in the world a movement to inflict on sister nations that "traffic which has become a crime."

As we scan the history of the liquor traffic, as carried on by so-called Christian nations in Europe and America, it is difficult to speak temperately on this subject of temperance. Few nations are exempt from blame. We are all allies in this shameful trade. There has been some legislation, it is true; but how can nations which are themselves besotted by drink consistently legislate and enforce legislation for others? No thorough protection of native races can be effected until civilized and enlightened people show by example as well as by legislation their abhorrence of the liquor traffic. We may say our governments have not dealt in liquor and opium; but they have sanctioned exports, have increased revenues thereby, and have the matter of legislation under their own control. Even now we know there is a great secret traffic going on in opium and morphine for which there is no adequate legislation provided by Europe or America. We need new laws immediately.

The United States has not yet guaranteed China from exploitation from the liquor manufacturers of our own land. There is serious danger that even the good fight for Prohibition which has been won in this country may result in the transfer of the accursed thing to other nations which are not so strong, and where legislation is not so advanced.

Listen to this protest from the student body of China, January 1, 1919, as follows:

The news of the transfer of the American Brewers' Association to China has filled our hearts with the deepest concern. Allow us to express our strong hope that American breweries will stay out of China. We think that all western friends have fully appreciated what we have suffered from opium, which we have long fought to exclude. We believe that the introduction of the American brewing industry into China would result in filling the country with drunkards instead of opium smokers. Since England realized the great danger of opium injuring the manhood of the Chinese people, she has helped China to prohibit the opium trade. America is now regarded everywhere as the moral vindicator. We hope that she will prevent the transfer of the American Brewers' Association activities to China right at the beginning. America in this respect would beat England a mile, if she would do so.

We doubt if this last sentence could be put into classical Chinese. Dr. Bradley of India tells us that

Some of the native states have taken up the question in a vigorous fashion. The Begum of Bhopal, the enlightened Mohammedan lady who rules over the Moslem state, has issued a proclamation that any Mohammedan in her territories, found intoxicated, carrying liquor or sitting in a liquor-shop shall be sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. The residents of a village in the Punjab submitted a request to the Government, saying, "The drinkers are lazy and not good to any societies; their whole system of bodies is wrecked." They prayed the Government to save them "from the strong and cruel clutches of liquor," that they might "make their lives sublime and save their health, wealth, and morals," and begged that the "rum-shop might be closed once for all," pledging themselves to "see with their careful eyes that there was no illicit distillation in the town or neighboring villages."

"We desire only one thing," they said, "We want the liquor-shop removed from this village. It has done nothing but harm since it came. Our boys, alas, instead of working all day in the fields and resting at night in their homes, as they used to do, now haunt the liquor-shops, drink, smoke cigarettes, and listen to unclean talk."

One might think he had had experience of American saloons! They concluded by pleading that the "house of Satan" might be closed.

We are glad to know that with the greater body of missionaries and native Christians conditions are changing for the better. We are comprehending that preaching the Gospel does not mean merely urging men to save themselves from the wrath to come. They are putting large emphasis, as did the early missionaries, beginning with Carey, on bringing the Kingdom of God on earth through needed reforms. There are signs of progress.

In conjunction with the Native Races Anti-Liquor Traffic United Committee of London, England, the American Committee has been

able to prevent the opening of distilleries in Liberia and is also sending temperance literature to the Kongo Valley, to the colleges in Monrovia, and to Bishop Tugwell of Southern and Northern Nigeria.

Prohibition is in force in the British West-African possessions, such as Sierra Leone, Northern Nigeria, the Protectorates of Somaliland, British East Africa, Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, British Bechuanaland, and, to some extent, in Basutoland. Other European nations with colonies in Africa have prohibited the introduction of alcoholic liquors into their territories.

In Dennis' "Christian Missions and Social Progress" we learn that among the Zulus, through the length and breadth of the mission of the American Board, total abstinence is a fundamental rule of admission to church-membership.

"At all stations," wrote the Rev. Donald Fraser, of the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, "the Christians have of their own accord met and pronounced against the drinking of beer. They see that drunkenness has been followed by murder, uncleanness, and foolish talking, and that the whole country is being devastated in order to raise the beer crop, so they have agreed together and said, 'We will neither make beer nor drink it.'"

In the Island of Madagascar the Malagasy Christian Woman's Temperance Society has a record of courageous and devoted service on behalf of sobriety.

"On the east coast of Formosa," Dr. Mackey says, "I have planted a dozen churches amongst drunken aborigines. The change in the villages since has been amazing. The heathen Chinese around have a common saying that 'the aborigines are now men and women.'"

Baptists in Burma report, "Total abstinence from all that intoxicates forms a plank in the membership of every church connected with our Mission, among the Burmese as well as among the hill tribes, who were universally addicted in their heathen days to the use of drink. So resolute are the churches in enforcing their respective principles that there is not the call for the W. C. T. U. in this country that there is elsewhere." These encouraging sights can be multiplied a thousand-fold, but to stamp out this evil will require united action by enlightened men and women throughout the world. It is a worthy fight and must not cease until it is won.

Women have helped mightily to secure Prohibition here. They must help to win it for the world. There is still a wide room for both Deborah and Barak, and they may win glory first in an united effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States, which is the first step, since in this enforcement we automatically end the exportation of liquor from these shores, and can thus consistently urge Prohibition on the world. It is not enough to legislate for weak nations. We must prove our sincerity, as we have said, by example. The world is one to-day. What is whispered in London is repeated in Poland.

What is suggested in Paris is on record in Japan. We can not consistently profess to desire a world league unless we are at least willing to refrain from betraying a brother nation for a few pieces of silver in the form of revenue. We realize the inconsistency of the father who says to his son, "Do as I say, not as I do." No amount of preaching or legislation will deceive the native races. In Africa it is vain for the Government to prohibit the sale of liquor to the African when the white man is free to consume it at will.

We may sweep the liquor traffic out of this generation and yet with its hold on mankind from the earliest times another generation may revive it. Eternal principles must be steadily taught until mankind is brought to hate evil and love righteousness.

In order to bring about Prohibition through education and legislation it is imperative that we not only have the work of individual missionaries and philanthropic societies, but we must have a *moral league of nations* to protect the world. There can not be in that the same dangers that astute statesmen have seen in the political league, and it may well be that such a moral league must precede any successful political league. We hope we may sometime reach Article 22 of the Covenant which, as the Secretary of the Navy told us, provides in its mandates against the exploitation of weaker nations through imports of arms and liquors and protects them from slavery.

We believe we are now on the road to world Prohibition, which is essential for the complete protection of weak nations and weak individuals in strong nations. It is essential that a great program of propaganda and scientific education go on throughout the world, and that we prepare and present this unitedly.

Internationalism is the world's shibboleth to-day, interpreted in many ways; but the only true internationalism that will save itself and the world was not born in Washington, in the heart of our President, as some have claimed,—it was on a green hill far away, the Internationalism of Calvary, sealed with the Blood of the Founder of the first League of Nations, and delivered to us for enforcement. "Go ye and teach all nations whatsoever I have commanded you." But do you say this is the cry of a religious fanatic? Listen, then, to the words of that modern leader of armies, General Pershing:

Banish the entire liquor industry from the United States; close every saloon, every brewery; suppress drinking by severe punishment to the drinker, and, if necessary, death to the seller, or maker, or both, as traitors, and the Nation will suddenly find itself amazed at its efficiency, and startled at the increase in its labor supply. I shall not go slow on Prohibition; for I know what is the greatest foe to my men, greater even than the bullets of the enemy.

And if this is needed in this strong nation, it is needed in every nation in the world.

I have been thrilled during this Congress by the addresses of these eminent scientists to whom we owe so great a debt. I confess,

however, that late Wednesday afternoon, during the discussion, my unscientific, feminine mind took a recess. The theory that education will cure this sick world without enforced Prohibition is not the theory one expects from a doctor of medicine who prohibits as well as prescribes.

As an instance of the fallacy! Pennsylvania University has been giving scientific education for a century or more with most of the facts in hand regarding alcohol, and as a result we had Philadelphia.

I left the realms of science and came back to my own department where I have taken two degrees—mother and grandmother. I educated and I also prohibited, and my theory worked. A recent experiment with my grandson—aged seven—brought up on the educational theory, confirms my opinion as to the need of the combined plan to make him a safe and desirable citizen in his own home.

All this may seem irrelevant, but it bears on my topic, "The Protection of Native Races Against Alcoholism." We must educate the child races, but we must also prohibit alcohol and narcotics in every form and degree.

MISS SLACK: I would just like to call the attention of the Congress to the fact that the British Committee for the Preservation of Native Races has sent me a very interesting article indeed, on "Alcoholism and the Native Races as an International Problem." It is written by the International Secretary, Dr. Charles Harford. I am not going to force any British publication on this Congress, but I would like to ask that this courtesy be shown this international committee; and I would like to ask, furthermore, that this be acknowledged by this Congress and a message sent to Dr. Harford thanking him for his work. I think this report should be printed in full in the proceedings of the Congress, and I would ask, Mr Chairman, whether this could be done.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the motion which has been suggested, namely, that this paper was made for this meeting and was prepared for the Congress.

MISS SLACK: It was prepared for the Congress and I was asked to read it to the Congress, but I am not going to take the time to do so.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have heard this statement from Miss Slack, presenting this to the Congress. What will you do with it? Is it your pleasure to order that this paper be received and printed in the records?

[A motion to that effect, duly seconded, was put and carried.]

ALCOHOLISM AND THE NATIVE RACES AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

By CHARLES F. HARFORD, M. A., M. D.

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE OF THE NATIVE RACES AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC
UNITED COMMITTEE; AND JOINT SECRETARY, FEDERATION INTER-
NATIONALE POUR LA PROTECTION DES RACES INDIGENES
CONTRE L'ALCOOLISME

Alcoholism, as it affects those who are usually known as the Native Races, is a subject which *par excellence* is suitable for discussion at an International Conference. The term "Native Races" is usually applied to those vast populations, particularly in Africa and Asia, who are dependent for their government mainly upon European and American nations, besides very large populations in the East and West Indies, North and South America, Australasia and the Islands of the Pacific. It may be applied to all the peoples of the world who are dependent upon the Great Powers for their protection and for their treaty obligations and for whom the stronger nations have large responsibility.

The problem of alcoholism among these peoples is one which can only be dealt with, to any great extent, by international agreement; and this renders it imperative that the representatives of the stronger nations should unite to protect their weaker brethren, not with any sense of patronage, but as a strong moral obligation, and in the spirit of brotherhood.

Some account of the steps which have already been taken to fulfill this duty may be briefly summarized before proceeding to suggest further action.

The Brussels General Act of 1890, which dealt principally with the slave trade in Central Africa, included important clauses prohibiting the introduction of spirits into regions where it had not previously penetrated, and imposing a small minimum duty on spirits elsewhere. The revision of these liquor clauses by successive conferences of the Powers at Brussels in 1899 and 1906, a third conference being held in 1912, affords an instance which is unique in the history of legislation relating to alcohol, seeing that three official meetings of the Great Powers were held for the express purpose of promoting international agreement in relation to alcohol. On each occasion the initiative was taken by the British Government, and resulted directly from the formation of The Native Races and the Liquor Traffic United Committee, which was instituted in England in 1887.

From the first the British committee has recognized the importance of international coöperation in this matter, and the formation of an international committee was among its earliest acts. By this means workers in the different countries have united to support this

great effort, especially on the occasions of the sessions of the International Congress Against Alcoholism.

At first the organization of international action was carried on without any definite system of working, but with the development of national committees on the Continent of Europe, steps were taken for the constitution of an International Federation for the Protection of the Native Races from Alcoholism, which was inaugurated in September, 1911, at The Hague, at the time of the 13th International Congress Against Alcoholism. By this means properly constituted national committees formed for the express purpose of protecting the native races from alcoholism are linked together for practical co-operation and united action. One of those who was chiefly concerned in the promotion of the Federation was the late Baron Joseph du Teil, whose writing on this subject and whose energetic action have done much to direct attention on the Continent of Europe to this vital question. His death is deeply deplored by all who had the good fortune to be associated with him.

Having given some account of the methods by which international action, official and philanthropic, has been secured, we may now consider the results which have been attained. So far as Africa is concerned, these are incalculable. The time when the Brussels General Act was passed was the psychological moment in the development of Africa. The greater part of the continent had been divided between the Powers as spheres of influence; but very little had been done to develop the interior, only the coast districts being, as a rule, open to trade. At that period there were no railways in any part of Africa included within the sphere of the Brussels General Act, and practically no roads upon which wheeled traffic could circulate. Thus, apart from the great rivers, the only means of conveying alcohol to the interior was on the heads of human carriers. This was done extensively; but obviously the means of transport was expensive, and it made it impossible to transmit liquor in any great quantities into the interior.

The two great rivers by which trade products can be carried into Central Africa are the Niger and the Kongo, and in the case of both these rivers a sphere of Prohibition was created. In the case of the Niger the liquor could not be conveyed more than 300 miles, and on the Kongo about 150 miles, seeing that Northern Nigeria became a prohibited area by the action of the British Government, and the Kongo Free State, as it then was, became subject to a similar law as the result of the Brussels Act.

From the early days of the Brussels Act all the eastern part of Africa came under prohibitive legislation, and little difficulty seems to have arisen in these territories.

When we turn to the West Coast the story is a very different one. There the large trade carried on in palm-oil, ivory, rubber, gold, mahogany, and other valuable products, became bound up with the

spirit trade. So much was this the case that in many parts gin was the natural currency, and in most parts it was by far the chief article of barter. Not only have we had to contend with the vested interests of manufacturers and merchants, but the large amount of revenue derived from customs has been an important item in Colonial budgets; and the natives became so accustomed to trade with gin and rum that they preferred that to any other form of currency.

Gradually by the incessant efforts of the various national committees concerned, and the decisions of successive conferences at Brussels, duties were raised, and these, in certain measure, helped to restrict the traffic.

From the outbreak of the Great War there arose a natural hindrance to the development of this trade; for, although desperate efforts were made by merchants to ship spirits to Africa, the traffic in what were usually known as "trade spirits" practically ceased. Thus an object-lesson was given of the possibility of abandoning a trade which was mischievous to the welfare of the country and people and a great blot upon the administration of Africa by Europe.

The temporary stoppage of the trade demonstrated the fallacy of three important arguments which had been used to support the traffic:

(1) It was contended that revenue was essential to the governments concerned; but in the later years of war the revenue of all the colonies concerned has increased, in spite of the loss of that obtained from spirits.

(2) The natives were frightened by the expectation of direct taxation in a way which was distasteful to the people, and this accounted in the past for much opposition. This has not been the case, and thus the second difficulty has been removed.

(3) It was argued that, if foreign spirits could not be obtained, the natives would destroy the palm-trees, from which much of the wealth of the country is derived, in order to obtain palm-wine. As a matter of fact, the natives know far too well the source of their prosperity, and no such action has been recorded.

During the last few years strong representations had been made by the two most prominent West-African Administrators, M. Angoulvant, Governor-General of French West Africa, and Sir Frederick Lugard, until recently Governor-General of Nigeria. Their testimony to the evil character of the traffic, and its uselessness as a means of obtaining revenue or developing trade, should be conclusive, coming as it does from authorities with the greatest practical experience.

The British Government led the way in deciding, in March, 1919, to prohibit the introduction of "trade spirits" to West Africa, and this has been followed by the new "Convention Relating to the Liquor Trade in Africa," which was signed on September 10, 1919, by seven of the World Powers, as part of the League of Nations

Covenant: and this important document, which is printed both in French and in English, should be carefully studied by all interested in the question.

This convention followed upon urgent representations, made chiefly by the French and British representatives in the International Federation already referred to, asking for the complete prohibition of spirits in the area, dealt with by the Brussels Act.

The new provisions may be summarized as follows:

(1) The area includes the whole of Africa, with the exception of Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, Lybia, Egypt, and the Union of South Africa. It includes also the adjacent islands within 100 nautical miles of the coast.

(2) Throughout this area trade spirits, absinth, and other similar alcoholic products are to be totally prohibited, and a definition of these is to be adopted in each area of administration.

(3) All other spirits to be subject to a duty of 800 francs per hectoliter of pure alcohol.

(4) The areas under Prohibition to remain as at present.

(5) The Convention replaces the General Act of Brussels, and the responsibility for securing the carrying out of the Convention will rest with the League of Nations.

This legislation is doubtless a great step in advance, as it prohibits the introduction of "trade spirits" into any part of Africa included in the terms of the Convention. At the same time it is felt that the failure to define "trade spirits" may cause great difficulty, and this matter is engaging the closest attention of the British committee. It is satisfactory to note that the areas of Prohibition which existed under the Act are to remain, but here again the utmost vigilance will be needed to see that this condition is fully carried out. It is, however, very unfortunate that the Powers did not agree to the total prohibition of all spirits in these areas, and this is the least that should be done in order to deliver Central Africa from this grave evil.

Much more might be said upon this same subject, but enough has been said to indicate the greatness of the reforms which have been already introduced, and the urgency for further united action not only for Africa, but for other parts of the world.

So far as Asia is concerned, the problem of the liquor traffic in India is watched over by a special British committee, the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, which works in closest touch with the Native Races and the Liquor Traffic United Committee; and as this is purely a matter of British administration, it is best dealt with by a British committee.

China presents a problem of extreme urgency, especially as it has been rumored that American manufacturers of liquor would transfer

their sphere of operations to that country. The Native Races Anti-Liquor Traffic Committee of America, as well as the British committee, have been making strong representations in this matter, and the American committee already mentioned has taken steps to circulate appropriate literature throughout China. This, however, is a matter which demands increasing attention.

There are also questions concerning native races in other quarters of the globe, and all these need careful study and united action.

As Secretary of the International Federation, upon whom involves the duty of communicating with the various countries united in the Federation, I am now addressing myself to the representatives of the Federation in various countries, and shall be thankful for the support of all who are interested in the welfare of native races, whether as missionaries, temperance workers, or others who are concerned with colonial enterprise.

The field is the world, and every country is concerned with some portion of it; and the interest of all is requested in this great endeavor to save the Native Races from that which has been one of the chief causes of deterioration of those who are usually regarded as civilized nations.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have a paper by Professor Zmrhal, of Prague.

MISS SLACK: I want to say just one thing more on the liquor traffic in regard to the Native Races. There are many places where Prohibition is enforced by law, and the missionaries have much greater success there than elsewhere; and there is a great difference in the work which is being done in civilizing these people on islands where Prohibition is enforced and where it is not enforced. Most of our missionaries are total abstainers, and all the missionaries are asking for organized temperance work.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must say at this point that in future instances, unless a card is sent up to the chair first, so that we will have a record of it, speeches like this can not be made.

MISS SLACK: I did not mean to interrupt, Sir, but I would like to make a speech at some time on this subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are way behind the time, but if there is time later on we will be very glad to hear from you on this subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the paper on "Temperance Instruction in the Public Schools of Europe."

TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLS

By PROF. ZMRHAL

OF PRAGUE

The subject assigned to me is extremely broad and would require much more than the half-hour assigned me to do it justice. However, much that would have been my task to expound was presented to you yesterday by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Norway, Russia, and others. Hence I shall not treat of those countries again, in order to avoid repetition, and shall confine myself to a brief summary of them while enlarging upon those countries you have not heard from, particularly Czecho-Slovakia.

It is safe to say that Europe has fully awakened to the necessity of enlightening her masses as to the dangers of alcoholism, especially of the children of school age. It is fully appreciated in practically all the countries that the phenomenal success of America in bringing about the downfall of alcoholism is due to careful, efficient instruction in the schools. We have heard wonders of the "little red schoolhouse" and American Prohibition is one of the greatest. In many countries of Europe your text-books on hygiene have been scrutinized very carefully, and we were amazed at the convincing manner in which the advantages of total abstinence are presented. We realize that you made your converts in the schoolroom and have been making them for the last fifty years. It is education, then, which has accomplished the miracle of Prohibition in the United States, and it is education upon which the hope of the European temperance leaders is pinned.

You have heard of the excellent system used in the schools of Great Britain; you have heard of the great work done in the places of instruction in France, and Norway, Russia, Finland, and Denmark.

In Switzerland, in a great many of the cantons, as Basel, some instruction is given, and the energies of the temperance leaders are bent upon introducing systematic instruction as to the injuriousness of alcohol. One of the Swiss leaders, Dr. R. Hercod, says, that what is needed there is well-defined, thorough courses after the manner of those in the United States.

In Belgium antialcoholic instruction has been organized for a long time; since 1887 there has been a definite course of study requiring half an hour a week throughout the school year for its accomplishment.

Holland had up to 1913 no special course prescribed for pupils of common schools. Each teacher, however, has had a thorough training in the normal school. Thus occasional lessons are given in the primary schools, the efficacy and frequency of which depends upon the interest and enthusiasm of the teacher. A society of masters who are total abstainers was organized, which in 1912 numbered 1039 members and proved to be a tremendous force against alcoholism. This society does not favor instruction prescribed by law because, they say, only those

teachers who are fully converted themselves can present the case against alcohol properly; and so they are busy making new converts.

In Sweden measures of great importance to antialcoholic instruction were taken as early as 1885. In 1886 a royal antialcoholic commission was appointed, and in 1892 regular instruction as to the effect and dangers of alcoholic drinks was introduced into all the schools of the kingdom. Antialcoholic instruction is maintained in the elementary as well as in the secondary schools of the country.

In order to encourage public institutions to use good material for antialcoholic teaching, the church department pays for one third of the material whatever an application for such an allowance is made to the department.

Besides, the Government gives financial support to the abstinent societies, by whom a considerable educational work is done in Sweden. The central committee of the various organizations, the Central League for Antialcoholic Education (*Centraförbundet för Nykterhetsundervisning*) was founded in 1901, and is conducted by representatives of whom each is delegated by 25,000 members or fraction. They organize popular courses in which the various phases of alcoholism are expounded in a thoroughly scientific manner by the specialists. Expenses connected with such courses are defrayed by the local authorities of the Government, by the cities, by other communities of the region. Exhibits and rich supplies of antialcoholic literature are features of these courses. In 1913 the Government appropriated 197,870 crowns (or \$54,000.00) to assist the central and other associations in this work. The Riksdag (the Swedish Parliament) demanded a full report on the organization and maintenance of the antialcoholic education in and outside school.

And now it only remains for me to mention my own country. I, myself, come from the republic of Czecho-Slovakia. I have been there long enough, and having been in the university on special reform work, have seen enough to be able to give you a true picture of conditions there. In Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia antialcoholic education has been maintained for a long time. I still remember many of the lessons on alcohol I was given in school. The teachers of the countries have entered into the work with a tremendous zeal, and their enthusiasm resulted in wholesale conversions to the cause of total abstinence. The foremost apostle of clean living, the most formidable enemy of alcoholism, was a certain professor who has since become famous throughout the world as one of the world's greatest statesmen, one who has the proud title of "Father of His Country," one who is its President.—Do you know whom I am going to name?—Thomas G. Masaryk, the liberator of Czecho-Slovakia. He has had many disciples who are working vigorously and with splendid results. The foremost is Dr. Bretislav Foustka, university professor, who devotes annually a full course to discussion of the evils of alcoholism. With him works Dr. Gustav Kabrhel, professor of hygiene. Thus the university sends out annually

many convinced apostles of abstinence who teach future generations in the secondary and normal schools with most gratifying results.

For instance, Prof. Josef Krkoska, in the gymnasium of Pelhrimov, has taught total abstinence for eight years with the following results:

In the first-year class there are 60 per cent abstainers; in the second, 98 per cent; in the third, 92 per cent; in the fourth, 25 per cent; in the fifth, 64 per cent; in the sixth, 75 per cent, etc., showing that the great majority of the students have been won over to total abstinence.

There is a whole line of normal-school professors doing work equally effective, as, for example, Ferd. Pizerky, Principal of the Normal School in Modia, Slovakia.

One very effective method is the introduction of antialcoholic reading matter in the readers for the elementary schools. This secures anti-alcoholic instruction and makes it universal all over the country. This method will gradually be extended to all of the readers.

What are the results of all these activities? First, the university students have organized "The Junior Auxiliary of the Czecho-Slovak Abstinence Association," which is growing very fast. Many students in the secondary schools are joining the Junior Auxiliary.

Second, the teachers of the Republic have unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon all the members of their profession to give up the use of alcohol in every form. This was at their convention in Prague, July 3-7, 1920.

Third, drunkenness is almost unknown in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

Fourth, in Slovakia, the land taken over from the Magyars, who had kept the Slovaks in ignorance and rather encouraged the use of whisky, because it made the Slovaks less resistant, yielding more readily to their oppressive measures, the new Czecho-Slovak Government amidst loud approval of the best part of the Czecho-Slovak nation has stopped the whisky traffic altogether, and instead has organized 4,000 elementary schools, 35 high schools, and one university, in which alcoholism has new powerful enemies. Much of the so-called dissatisfaction of the Slovaks with the Czecho-Slovak Government is no doubt due to this measure; but I am sure all unprejudiced, fair-minded people will approve of it.

With the illustrious example of their President before them, with the army of scientists, teachers, and specialists teaching the truth about alcohol, the time is not far distant when alcoholism, where it does exist, will be a thing of the past in the beautiful, free Czecho-Slovak Republic.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Georges Staitch, of the Kingdom of the Serbs and Croats, is to be the next speaker on this subject. He is Chief of the Section for Charities, and of the Ministry of Food, Secretary-General of the Yugoslav Grand Lodge, International Order of Good

Templars, and was formerly professor in seminary schools. Mr. Staitch is from Belgrade.

TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLS

By SECRETARY GEORGES STAITCH

BELGRADE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Good Templars of Jugoslavia sending me here have charged me to transmit to you our most sincere salutations. The kind invitation given by the committee was accepted with great pleasure, for it emanated from the United States of America, which have given during and after the war numberless proofs of their great and disinterested friendship and love towards the nation with the three names of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in sending us, especially during the reconstruction era, their missions in order to help the suffering people and to organize child welfare in the stricken Serbia;—from the United States of America which have given birth to the temperance movement which resulted in our happy and prosperous country, the last year, in the victory of Prohibition, which should be imitated by all nations still living under the tyranny of the alcoholic demon;—from the United States of America which have not only taken the initiative, but have also laid down the general principles of a new and rational and uncolored *Internationale*, which is that of charity, by showing how to enforce those principles, and by encouraging mutual understanding and love, and by raising the spirit of social work, justice, and sympathy. For all these benefits, as also for the kind invitation to this Congress, I am happy to express our great thanks and to convey to you our sincere salutations.

The communications made by the professional educators and temperance workers in pedagogical papers on the increasing development of temperance instruction have clearly and decisively pointed out its efficacy. Thanks to the unanimous statements of all competent workers, temperance instruction, occasional or obligatory, has won by its good results an honorable and legitimate place among the scientific branches in schools of all types. Its *raison d'être* can not be denied, as it is completely justified because it comprises the elements of a true educational, scientific, and social character. Notwithstanding this statement, there is always arising, and will be for a long time, a question which requires wider discussion and deep and disinterested judgment. This question, old and known to all, is that of method.

Who, what and why to teach? These interrogations are of great importance to the minds of the school theorists, as also to those of practitioners. There is, I think, a chief reason for it.

In view of the actual state of general development of child studies, and especially in the field of child powers of reasoning and feeling, it is sure that the child in his school age does not want either theories or abstractions. He aims to know the immediate life realities and the feel-

ings inherent in child nature. The development of his moral and intellectual forces is for him more interesting in definite forms than in abstractions.

The essential thing to follow in all matters of instruction is truly the educational dogma of the American teachers—learn by doing. Educators in all countries have the high mission to remember it! This important question of method formed, as it was expected, the object of numberless discussions at the different congresses, conferences, and meetings, as also in pedagogical papers. All people interested in the question did not agree with one and the same school plan and asked more liberty of action. The differences in opinion are numerous. Agreement is necessary as far as concerns the general principles of teaching. The temperance instruction is no special national discipline like the mother language or history. Its object being common to all countries, the teaching method is to conform to the degree of moral and intellectual development of the children who are the same in all countries. The congresses, conferences, meetings, etc., notwithstanding the good will and the sacrifices of all kinds, can not be sufficient to render agreement possible on general principles.

I repeat, we are all not in need of effort, but of rational organized work and close collaboration which would render the organization more effective. And, in the time of general organization, should we hang back? This is, I think, the moment and the place to ask your definite votes on the proposition made some years ago by Mme. Trygg Helenius at the Congress in London. It was at that time a question of establishing an international central bureau for temperance instruction, which might be incorporated in the International Bureau against Alcoholism in Lausanne, or in that of the International Union of Abstaining Teachers.

I take the liberty to propose to you, if the idea is accepted in principle, the International Bureau in Lausanne. There are several reasons for it. We have already a central bureau which has given proofs of its great efficiency, its experiments, and a central library; and the patronage of Dr. Hercod's school would be valuable.

Switzerland, we all know, is the country of wide hospitality, the refuge of men looking for liberty, the seat of the League of Red Cross Societies and an excellent laboratory of all social work and charities. Also, as our friends, the Anti-saloon League of America, have started the propaganda in Europe, it would be useful to have Lausanne made a chief center for their activities.

Allow me to tell you, following the general idea of Mme. Helenius, what the task of the proposed bureau would be. It would form in the beginning a section of the actual International Bureau with an executive committee enjoying a certain autonomy; and a committee comprising representatives of Swiss and foreign national organizations would work especially at temperance instruction. A budget would be formed

with contributions offered by Governments, individuals, and organizations. It would be for all a central bureau of information.

The realization of such a social and educational enterprise would, of course, demand more financial resources, and would require the work of some competent persons.

I am anxious to give you a summary survey of the development of temperance instruction in some European countries, as falls to my duty as second speaker on this matter. I wish to tell you in the first place, about the conditions in my country, for the reason that the members of the Congress and other temperance workers have had no opportunity to hear in the past more details about our work and especially about the practise we make of giving temperance instruction.

JUGOSLAVIA: THE RÔLE OF THE STATE IN TEMPERANCE TEACHING

The abstinence movement in *Serbia* was started by private initiative. Dr. Danitch, Chief Templar of the Yugoslav Grand Lodge "Trezvenost," founded in 1901 at Belgrade the first temperance society with 15 members. It is for us a satisfaction to notice that Jugoslavia has no temperance society for the moderate use of alcoholic beverages.

The right hand of Dr. Danitch, who desired the support, before all, of the medical and pedagogical body, is Dr. Miloch Pojovitch, the most enthusiastic temperance and social worker, well known to all the American Missions working in Serbia, on account of his collaboration in child-welfare work.

It is only since the introduction (1907) into Serbia of the Good Templar Order by Professor Forel, that the temperance movement has begun to register more effective results. Our entry on the international scene of world campaign against alcoholism, the scientific and social character of the action of Good Templars, its highly appreciated aims to save, before all, the youth from the drink evil and to promote the reform of all social conditions, opened to us new ways to follow in fighting drink and attracted the attention also of the Government. It was certainly not easy to get the confidence of the influential circles. The great interest of the coming generation at last aroused intelligent men to the evident merits of a propaganda like that of the preventive work, benefiting the youth of a nation on which depends its national and social welfare.

It was also by organizing temperance instruction for our children that the Government took increasing interest in action, completing the official effort.

The enumeration of the following facts shows what was done by the Government in helping private initiative. The first telegram circular sent in 1906 by Ministry of Education to the directors of all elementary schools asked them to give one hour's instruction on the dangers of alcoholic beverages. A Circular was sent by the same Ministry in 1907, on request of the Union of Abstaining Youth, to all directors of elementary and high schools, prescribing the strict moderate use of alcoholic

beverages by hostesses on the feast-day of St. Sava, the patron of all Serbian schools.

On request of the same Union, the Ministry of Education sent in 1910 a questionnaire to all elementary schools in order to ascertain the extent of the use by school-children of alcoholic beverages. The results of these inquiries were of great interest and showed that in the main schools only 20 per cent of the pupils did not drink, owing to complete ignorance of the nature of drink.

A circular of the same Ministry, in recognition and approval of our work, recommended to the directors of all schools the foundation of the school temperance societies by the above-named Union.

The material help includes subsidies by the Ministry of Education to the Union and to the lodges, comprising as members, professors, teachers, and priests, besides an academic lodge at Belgrade University; the several subsidies and the patronage of the Royal family to the temperance societies; subsidies of the Government and the County Councils, to be used for purchasing antialcoholic literature; the Government's permission to school libraries to subscribe to five temperance reviews.

The physicians, appointed in all secondary schools, are charged to give during some hours in the year an occasional temperance lesson in connection with that in hygiene. The publication by the Health Ministry of an agreement with the Ministry of Education, on a school plan which comprises all the hints on medical temperance teaching.

This year the regional Government of Lyublgiona has formed an anti-alcoholic section of the Ministry for Social Politics; and the Ministry of Education has designated an antialcoholic school day, reserved exclusively to temperance propaganda in all schools. The circular of The Ministry of the Interior has reduced the hours for selling alcoholic beverages, and the interdiction of the entrée in public bars and saloons and the offering of alcoholic beverages, including wine and beer, to all persons under 16 years of age. The State contributions of many thousands of dollars a year for general hygienic and temperance propaganda; and last but not least the adoption for the first time by the Ministry of Agriculture of a school plan for agricultural schools comprising temperance instruction, as far as it concerns the technical and practical teaching, on the methods used for the fabrication of non-alcoholic beverages.

Temperance instruction is still in the hands of private initiative. In Serbia we started this work with the introduction of the Good Templars, and especially when (in 1908) the Juvenile Department of the Serbian Grand Lodge was created.

In order to make our work successful we had to study, before all, the organization of similar juvenile temperance societies in countries like America, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland. We wanted instruction for future work. We sought first the students of the University, teachers and priests in the seminaries.

The mother lodge and two other lodges, "Rosveta" and the academic

lodge "Istina," took the initiative in creating a special organ for promoting temperance work among school-children.

The Union of Abstaining Youth began to accomplish its mission. The first juvenile temperance society was founded in Belgrade High Seminary for Priests. The Archbishop of Serbia, Dr. Demetrius, a prominent temperance worker, encouraged the young members. Other juvenile societies sprang up. Sixty societies, with 3,000 members, were organized by the Union. We made the greatest efforts to get members by demanding of all of them, the practice of abstinence, self-denial and self-control being the most precious factors in self-education.

The aims of the Union are: the education of youth in the spirit of abstinence from alcoholic beverages, in purity and charity, together with moral, physical and social education.

The means used by the Union are: foundation of temperance societies, school coöperatives for saving, temperance instruction, distribution of temperance literature, prize competitions, Boy Scout, civic education, open-air life. [Here followed a description of the proceedings of meetings of the Union.]

The juvenile societies work under the direction and control only of Good Templars.

The first meeting of all abstaining members took place April 23, 1912, at Kraguyevac. About 2000 members, from all districts of Serbia, attended. The main object of the meeting was the special sessions of directors and instructors to deliberate upon the important questions concerning the future organization of temperance instruction and the part the Government ought to play in it.

Criticisms naturally did not fail. Why abstinence and not only moderation? Why the pledging by the children? Why the benefits, if they exist, for only a part of the youth? You hear everywhere the same questions. ¶

The principal difficulties consisted in the organization and working methods, especially in junior classes. They prefer less tiring things and, in general, open-air life to dogmatic teachings.

We had to make a change in the methods in order to satisfy the natural impulses of our junior members.

The efforts made in this regard by our temperance worker, Dr. Popovitch, were not in vain. There is great honor due him for having introduced in Serbia the Boy Scouts, considered by all as a solid educational standard of life. Boy-scoutism was not made the object of a special association, but of a section working in close connection with the temperance societies. General Baden-Powell's book, "Scouting for Boys," was translated and adapted by Dr. Popovitch.

The first Balkan war offered the best opportunities to our members to show how able they were to accomplish the Boy Scouts' watchword "Be prepared!" The Government, hospitals, schools, post and telegraph offices, ambulances, all wanted their voluntary help.

The authorities, the teaching and the medical bodies, and the charitable institutions have not failed to encourage by all means private initiative, busy with temperance instruction and the training in social work of the new generation. A conference on schools and the alcohol question was held at the annual meeting of the association of secondary schools.

Bosnia and Herzegovina had also done much before the war, in organizing special and practical temperance instruction of the young peasants. The temperance society "Pobratimstvo," aided by the Prosveta society for popular education, is most responsible for a wide temperance movement in this country. It has 12 sections, with 750 members. Its characteristic feature is the practice of abstinence by personal example, and educational means and physical culture on the system of the schools.

Each section possesses an antialcoholic home, comprising a reading-room and room for gymnastic exercises. These peasant societies for abstinence and physical culture are producing excellent results.

In *Croatia*, *Slavonia*, and *Slovenia* temperance instruction is given by the leaders of two temperance societies: the abstinence society "Zagrek" in Croatia and Slavonia and the Catholic society "Sveta Vojska" (Sacred Army) in Ljubljana. The last is more anxious about the foundation of the juvenile school temperance societies, and has organized occasional temperance instruction for senior members. These are named *Mladi Tunaci* (The Young Heroes.)

Dalmatia has also taken part in the temperance movement, promoted especially by school-teachers. They founded with success two Serbian school temperance societies: one in the teachers' seminary, and the other in the priests' seminary.

Such was the state of temperance instruction and of the temperance movement generally in the epoch preceding the Great War. It is not necessary, I think, to tell you about the moral and material damage done to all our work by the War. No temperance propaganda was permitted by the enemy. Several temperance workers were maltreated and brought to the center of internment, as the authorities wrongly asserted the Serbian Good Templars to be members of Masonic lodges, this action being forbidden by civic authorities. To the same treatment were submitted also the temperance workers in Bosnia and Herzegovina as also other cultural societies for having caused closer relations with the Good Templars of Serbia. Several members of our lodges, as also a great many of the Young Templars, voluntarily offered their lives for the country's salvation.

On our return after the war, in Serbia, reconstruction work on the fields of life's activities required that the free time of several members of social and charity organizations should be reserved to save an exhausted people and, before all, to preserve the war orphans. This action for saving parentless children had been happily started, at Vodena, a year before our return, by Doctor Popovitch and other Good Templars.

supported graciously by some American Relief Missions. The little starved refugees from Bitolj and its future little Boy Scouts gathered at Vodena were taught the practise of abstinence. It is important to notice that they drew the attention of Dr. Popovitch and other friends to the urgent necessity of founding "The Society for Protection of Jugoslav Children," which is now working with great success and efficiency. The Good Templars, busy with this eminently important work of child-welfare, were not able to devote themselves at the same time to temperance propaganda among the children. Only the past year were four lodges, numbering about 120 members, and twenty school temperance societies able to renew their activities. The academic lodge at Belgrade University took the initiative in organizing in March of this year a special scientific course on the alcohol question, comprising conferences held each Saturday by prominent physicians and professors.

We were able to make most successful efforts in reorganizing the two great associations for physical culture into one, The Association of Little Boy Scouts and the National Association for Physical Culture. The new association named "Sokolski-Narastaj" (The New Generation of Little Sokols) is a unique school organization allowed by the Ministry of Moral Culture. The new Association is valuable inasmuch as it accepts the principles of Scoutism comprising the practise of abstinence and purity.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The continuous growth of temperance instruction in the United Kingdom during seventy years is the best proof of its efficiency. Till the publication of the Government Syllabus, private organizations were responsible for the high mission of instructing its members in a matter of great social importance like the alcohol question.

The first Children's Temperance Society was founded at Leeds in 1847. The leading organization of the kind is the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, which has been operating regularly and with great enthusiasm since 1877. The report of Chas. Wakely, General Secretary of the Band of Hope Union, gives very satisfactory figures of undoubted value. There are about three and one half million members. The work started in London, soon took solid root over all the country. It has more than 20 lecturers; £2,000 are reserved for salaries and the organization of the lecturers. During the last 20 years the following numbers of lessons and lectures on temperance have been delivered: 36,479 in State Schools; 19,245 in national schools; 8,933 in British Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and private schools; 13,717 in Navy and Military schools, Christian institutions; 2,031 in high schools; 537 in evening schools, and 546 in teachers' schools.

Such successful work was possible, thanks to official permission in 1887 to do it under certain conditions and without charges. Although there was no regular and obligatory temperance instruction in high schools, the Band of Hope Union lecturers have delivered 3,031 lessons

in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th classes. The philanthropic and educated Englishmen have worked with success in organizing this instruction, as also other temperance societies like the Young Abstainers' Union, Cadets of Temperance, the Juvenile societies of the British Women's Temperance Union, Juvenile Societies of Good Templars, etc. The number is 33,000 with 3,700,000 members. In order to encourage the energies of the pupils, regular prize competitions, holidays, excursions and all kinds of manifestations are organized under the control of prominent persons, and with the assistance of the parents. It is stated that about 7,283,205 prizes have been given during the past 20 years. Also about 80,000 temperance and social workers are consecrating their time and force to the noble mission of raising the moral and physical strength of youth.

In speaking of private initiative in carrying on temperance instruction, I can not fail to make special mention of the wise initiative taken by Prof. G. Sims Woodhead, professor at Cambridge. In order to promote scientific and systematic temperance instruction among the young students, he founded the Temperance Collegiate Association, the members of which are divided into associated members and fellows, according to the quality and quantity of acquired knowledge relating to drink problems.

Before the issue of the Government Syllabus of Lessons of Temperance, regulating the obligatory temperance instruction, the country boards had this instruction made occasionally by the teachers of the above-named temperance organizations. Three hours in a year are considered sufficient to give to each pupil elementary instruction in the subject.

It was evident to all temperance workers and statesmen that the practise introduced can do much, but not all. The progress of democratic and liberal ideas supposes the benefits to be assured by all pupils taking a modern education. State intervention was inevitable. It was particularly taken as a reply to the petition signed by 15,000 physicians asking the Government to introduce in the school plan regular and obligatory instruction in hygiene and temperance, facilities for the scientific instruction of the teachers, and the control and submission by school instructors of reports on temperance teaching. Full satisfaction was immediately given to this petition by the Education Board by the publication of the well-known "Syllabus," divided into three parts and containing also preliminary notes, and methodic hints for the use of the teachers. The practise of this teaching is quite different in many counties. The teachers are trained by a Band of Hope Union, and especially in the Teachers' Seminaries.

BELGIUM

According to an official report, the first Belgian Children's Society for moderation in the use of all alcoholic beverages was founded in 1850, probably under the influence of the temperance movement in the United Kingdom. Later, in 1862, there was a question for the first time on temperance instruction. The Belgian Cen-

tral Teachers' Association had offered a prize for an essay on the rôle of the school in creating school temperance societies. The Society of Saint Leon Bercham was the first founded, in 1889. Mr. Robyns, Director of Schools at Limburg, was most interested in all this movement and in order to carry on the propaganda on a larger basis, he made the attempt to introduce temperance teaching in all elementary schools under his direction. The good results encouraged him to ask its diffusion in all county schools. It was permitted in 1892 by Minister de Burlet, so that until 1897 the teaching was given occasionally as completing that of hygiene. The special courses for the teachers were organized in order to enable them to communicate to the pupils the necessary ideas on the bad influence on body and mind due to the use of spirits (the moderate use of beer and wine was tolerated). A similar course was organized also for women teachers. The courses took place, but systematically and officially, also for the teachers of high schools; however, they were willing to accept a reform of the school plan. A half-hour per week is reserved for the temperance teaching in all schools. The school inspectors are charged to control it by examining the notes taken by the pupils in the course of lessons.

As many school municipalities did not give the necessary support to the teachers' activities, Mr. Schoolacert, Minister of Education, issued in April, 1898, an important circular prescribing regular and obligatory temperance instruction. For this the Government's contributions were assured for the propaganda by the schools. The Ministry of Agriculture put 12,000 francs at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior and Education. Forty-eight physicians were engaged to give these special conferences to the teaching body in eighteen school districts. As means of encouraging the municipalities in this regard, special diplomas are delivered to them. All these official endeavors were earnestly supported by school societies acting under the direction of schoolmasters. This work started in 1887. The members pledged themselves to fight only spirits.

The Government publishes the record of the societies' activities every third year. The after-school societies are directed by special committees chosen by the members. Criticism, as it is known, did not fail in regard to the general principles adopted by these societies, especially concerning the permission as to the moderate use of wine and beer. The last official report shows the following statistics of school temperance societies: In 1895, in elementary schools, 1837, and 396 in the schools for adults. In 1905 there were 5,193 societies in all schools, with 120,098 members, of which 82,067 were in elementary schools, and 38,031 in high schools. At the end of 1908 there were 1,180 juvenile temperance organizations, with 75,170 members, all subsidized by the State, which gives 70,750 francs for general propaganda, and 6,000 francs for temperance literature. There is

also a school society for students of secondary schools to discourage the drinking of spirits and to encourage strict moderation in the use of wine and beer, and a study of the temperance question. Its object is the moral, religious, and material welfare of the Flemish people.

FRANCE

The beginning of the temperance campaign among the school children in France is due, as is known to all, to the initiative in 1895 of the great French educator, Mr. Buisson, Director of the Department for Elementary Instruction. During the Ministry of Education of M. Poincaré, formerly President of the Republic of France, special school committees were charged to discuss methods of introducing occasional temperance instruction in elementary schools. As an immediate result of their discussions, there was issued a circular of the Ministry of Education prescribing occasional temperance instruction in elementary, high elementary, and secondary schools, as also in the teachers' seminaries. By circular of May 31, 1912, this teaching was declared obligatory. The circular dated November 12, 1900, made temperance teaching obligatory in seminaries for women teachers.

I beg to notice some facts in regard to temperance teaching in France. First, it is given as to complete Prohibition only of spirits; as in Belgium, the moderate use of wine and beer is tolerated; secondly, temperance instruction in high schools is not made following a special plan, but conforms to that of elementary schools.

French schools possess a great number of methodically written temperance books. The most important are mentioned in Mr. Gonsler's paper read at the Congress in London. An effective movement was the action undertaken, on permission of the University of Education, by Professor Aubert. He requested a form to be sent in 1908 to all school authorities for information on the state of temperance teaching. One hundred thousand replies were received, showing the very bad drink conditions under which the parents and the children are living. The voluminous Aubert report was published as a French official paper October 25, 1910. Its most valuable propositions regarding ameliorations to be made have not found the necessary echo in official and private circles.

The greatest propaganda is now carried on by Section Cadets, the Department of Youth of the French National League against Alcoholism. Before the war there were 1,305 sections, comprising 71,000 members, all acting under the control of the school instructors.

At the National Abstinence Congress, which took place in July of this year, at Strasbourg, the secretary of the French Federation of Sporting Societies spoke in favor of creating a section for sports and gymnastics in the Section Cadets, in order to give an oppor-

tunity to its members to practise abstinence and to attach them, at the same time, more to open-air life.

The organs of the French League, *L'Étoile Bleue* and *La Jeunesse*, contain valuable material, reports, figures and directions for temperance guidance. I am very pleased to add that a Yugoslav lodge of Good Templars was founded last year at the University in Montpellier, comprising 35 members of both sexes, all Yugoslav students of medicine, law, and social sciences. By its indefatigable activities it has succeeded in promoting a great abstinence movement among the French students, so that a new Franco-Yugoslav lodge is expected to be founded the next school year.

It is also a great pleasure for me to say here that the Yugoslav Good Templars in Montpellier and Paris are kindly encouraged by the Swiss and Franco-Belgian lodges, as also by all prominent temperance workers of Dr. Legrain's school.

The other great organization is that of *La Croix Bleue*, with 300 members, all total abstainers.

ITALY

Many statements having been made by different physicians and social workers on alcoholism in Italy, caused by the use of wine, it was clear to some prominent and deeply conscientious men of Italy that the time had come to declare war on the drink evil. The chief center of this campaign seems to be Northern Italy, with Milan as headquarters. The National Antialcoholic Association in Milan took the initiative in organizing in 1908 in some elementary schools inquiries concerning the use of all kinds of alcoholic beverages. The experience on this occasion entirely convinced the school authorities, so that the antialcoholic association continued the work and got permission to introduce in all elementary classes occasional temperance instruction in connection with the teaching of hygiene. The temperance work was on the same lines as that started privately by the directors of elementary schools at Brescia and Belluno. They wrote some special books for occasional temperance teaching in the third and fourth classes of elementary schools, which were also adopted by the town school boards.

Although no official and methodical temperance instruction existed in Italy, the high-school authorities did not fail to be interested in a matter of moral and physical education of the school children. Some books and pictures treating on the drink question were recommended by the Ministry of Education for supplying the school libraries. Many readers and books for elementary mathematics contain few elements of the bad influence of the use of alcoholic beverages. The scientific propaganda is carried on very prosperously by the civic lodge of the I. O. G. T. at Milan. Its weekly paper, *Bene Sociale-Redenzione*, published by some eminent social workers, is much appreciated by all reading people.

There is also great honor due to some Italian physicians and professors for having held conferences and lectures in the elementary schools in Milan, as also the special courses on the drink question in the continuation schools and at the University of Florence and in some teachers' seminaries. A high school Blue Cross Society, with twenty members, started in 1908 temperance work among the students. An organization of Italian *exploratori* (Boy Scouts) exists also, and we have had an opportunity to look at the Italian adaptation of General Baden-Powell's book, "Scouting for Boys." The abstinence practise is also declared obligatory for all juvenile members.

GREECE

In this country also some attempts at temperance propaganda were made, before the war, by private persons, in order to show the degree of drink habits among the school-children, and at the same time to turn the attention of the school authorities to the urgent necessity of introducing in the schools occasional temperance instruction. The report of Mr. Gonser at the Congress of London showed that some school inquiries had been privately organized at Athens by teachers for the above-named purpose.

An important stimulus to the systematic temperance movement in Greece was expected to be given by lectures delivered by Prof. Dr. A. Forel while on his journey to the Orient in 1910. He also succeeded in getting some highly educated men for the temperance cause, who were willing to see introduced also in Greece the Good Templars' Order as was done before in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Constantinople. I personally was in a position to get some further information about the temperance movement, especially among school-children in this country. While living at Corfu during the exile I was able to make some acquaintance with the organization of the Greek Boy Scouts named "Proscop." It enjoys great popularity and the esteem of the Hellenic people, and has several hundred members. I was told at Corfu that all members of this organization are at the same time total abstainers, like their fellows in England and Serbia.

It appears hereby that the Hellenic Boy Scouts by giving through their personal action, to their comrades, the best example of a practical temperance teaching, are in the best way promoting also the temperance movement in Greece.

It is hoped that the Greek Government will not fail to find in the Boy Scouts' temperance practise solid foundation for an early introduction of regular temperance teaching in schools, as the Hellenic people are stated to be subject, to a certain degree, to the drink temptation.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN: I would like to know what your regular chairman does with regard to these different people who

speak here, so that I could tell you how splendid and magnificent and superb their work is, but I don't happen to be familiar with just what this lady has done, but I have heard a great deal about her and I am sure you all have, so we will just let her speak for herself. Miss Stoddard.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES

By MISS CORA FRANCES STODDARD

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE FEDERATION

Public-school temperance education in the United States was born in one of the discouraging periods of the American temperance reform. The great early movements which had culminated in the first Prohibition period of the fifties had lost much of their driving force. Reaction had set in, partly because education to personal sobriety and the reasons for Prohibition had been allowed to slacken while Prohibition laws were being passed; partly because the stress of the Civil War period had absorbed the attention of the entire nation in another great moral and national issue. The war itself had weakened temperance principles in thousands of young men; had entrenched the liquor traffic as a source of Federal revenue; and had thus indirectly promoted the development of strong organized liquor manufacturing interests. The population, for twenty years, had been rapidly changing by heavy immigration from countries in most of which little or no organized temperance work had been done. The late sixties and early seventies found the temperance movement at a relatively low ebb and the old temperance forces fighting to retain the Prohibition laws which had lasted over the war, and fighting in some cases only to lose.

I do not wish to convey the impression that nothing was being done for the youth at this time. There were always the various "armies" in which children might pledge themselves to abstinence; the Good Templars (organized 1852) had made education of youth one of its fundamentals; but there was no general plan in operation for systematically training boys and girls to intelligent personal sobriety, thus to assure a constant public sentiment for temperance progress.

When the hour strikes for a great truth or fact to be given to the world it not infrequently happens that glimpses of it are caught by several people about the same time. Thus the idea of teaching school children the facts about alcohol was advocated by several persons at this period, notably by Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson of England, one of the fathers of preventive medicine. His little "Temperance Lesson Book" was the first scientific temperance school-book used in this country. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union early turned to the slow and arduous but constructive task of rearing a whole new generation—several generations if need be—in the principles of total abstinence.

For several years, as this Society was organizing its forces, it succeeded, as did the National Temperance Society, in securing the adoption of the Richardson "Temperance Lesson Book" in public schools, yet the work in its fulness awaited its leader, who by an independent personal course of thought and observation came to the conclusion that the real hope of permanently saving from the effects of alcohol a nation whose people are the rulers, is to teach all the children what those effects are.

It was this leader, Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, who twice stood before this Congress, whose vision and capacity for organization and leadership finally made temperance teaching of the children of the United States a part of the regular school instruction.

What were its scope and principles?

1. It was planned to reach all the children. To do this it was made compulsory; hence, the twenty years of legislative work that put a law requiring temperance education on the statute-books of every State and of Congress for schools under Federal control.

2. It was made a part of instruction in hygiene. Do we remember that the whole preventive hygiene movement is only about fifty years old? The temperance education movement in the United States some forty years ago not only began to bring temperance instruction into the schools, but it also has the credit of planning there instruction in the laws of general hygiene. Knowledge of hygiene was good in itself for the rising generation, but by including in it scientific temperance instruction, the temperance teaching was given a logical, reasonable place in the child's thought.

The ideal of the instruction was the teaching of scientific facts in form that the child could understand. It was not moral exhortation against drinking. Moral exhortation soon wears thin. The child may even resent the implication that his parents or others whom he respects are doing wrong in using alcoholic beverages. But the child who learns the demonstrated facts as to the dangers in these drinks (of which his parents might be consumers) while learning also the reasons for observing general hygiene laws (which perhaps his parents may be violating) has no more reason to feel that instruction, if wisely given, is a reflection upon the parent in one case than in the other. He simply acquires new knowledge along both lines. This is one of the wise reasons for grouping the temperance instruction with general hygienic teaching apart from the reflex influence that the latter may have in promoting sobriety by the practise of generally healthful living.

Thus the lessons required by law were not all temperance lessons. The most specific laws required only a minimum of forty lessons a year in the whole subject of hygiene and temperance. But they also required that the instruction should be given in every primary and elementary school, so that if the number of temperance lessons each year was comparatively small, the properly graded instruction from year to year continued to enforce upon the child the lessons for sobriety. Suitable

text-books were secured and required. These were published by the regular school text-book publishing houses. It required long and tedious effort to get good, reliable, well-graded books, but it was better to have them thus published than by the temperance organizations for the following reasons:

The publishers, as soon as laws began to require temperance instruction, saw a market for temperance-hygiene text-books, and set the machinery of their selling organization at work for introducing them. This hastened thorough temperance instruction more rapidly than would have been possible by the voluntary work of temperance organizations. It helped place temperance instruction on equal footing with other recognized subjects in the schools, and thus helped psychologically to prevent the idea that scientific temperance instruction was something apart from the regular school course. The story of securing graded books for pupils of all public-school ages, of raising their standards of accuracy as to facts and soundness of pedagogy, of getting such books adopted in the schools, is a chapter in itself. Starting with no laws, no text-books, the temperance forces had so far won by the first years of the twentieth century that scientific temperance instruction was not only a recognized and legal part of the educational system of the entire country, but it had for its assistance a variety of text-books, published by all the standard publishers of school text-books, adapted to all ages of pupils, books whose teaching had kept pace with scientific progress of the years. Such was the verdict of a Committee of the American Academy of Medicine in 1904, after a careful examination of the laws and text-books.

Instruction has not been a heterogeneous mass of facts about alcohol. "What do the people believe about alcohol?" was the question Mrs. Hunt asked as she went up and down the country in the early years. Whenever she found an erroneous idea, such as the belief that alcohol gives strength or warmth, it was noted and the counteracting evidence was placed in the text-books. Thus little by little a fairly clear picture was obtained of the traditions and false conceptions favorable to alcohol which must be met by the scientific evidence, if the boys and girls in the public schools were to become intelligent men and women on the alcohol question, and the necessary instruction to meet them was developed. If truth were to be an effective weapon, it was necessary to know where and how it was to be used. As experimental evidence multiplied, there was a greater wealth of teaching material to select from them in the early years which antedated most of our modern period of scientific experimentation. Hence, later instructions and text-books have been able even more definitely to present concrete proven illustrations of practical application to the experience of everyday life.

The American schools have taught that alcohol is formed in alcoholic beverages by the process of fermentation which changes naturally good food material into alcohol; that this alcohol is a narcotic poison, not a food; that one of the dangers in alcohol is its power, even when taken

moderately and in the form of wine, beer, or cider, to give rise to a desire for larger amounts which may become uncontrollable and destructive. They teach the results of scientific experiments as to the effects of alcohol upon physical and mental working ability and indicate the practical application of these results. They teach the observations of physicians as to alcohol as a cause of disease or as a source of lowered resistance to disease; the observations of life-insurance companies as to the relation of alcohol to shortened life. To older pupils are given facts as to the probable effects of alcohol on heredity. To avoid any misapprehension let me say here that when I use the term "alcohol," I do not mean merely spirituous beverages as the term is often used in Europe. I mean the alcohol itself which is the characteristic constituent of alcoholic beverages. In the past ten or fifteen years, as the industrial world has become more and more opposed to drinking, this and other economic facts and social effects have been included in the instruction; but the physiological instruction remains its "backbone."

Another principle has been that thorough teaching should be given in the early years of the child's school course. While provision was made for carrying it on into the later years, there has been general agreement that there should be this thorough teaching before the end of the child's sixth school year; that is, before he is, on the average, eleven or twelve years old. The primary reason is, of course, that these are the habit-forming years. Impressions received then are retained more tenaciously and exert influence in shaping life habits. The second reason was that with us many children, especially from the foreign-born group, left school early to go to work, but if anything occurs to delay the pupil in his school course he might easily never receive any temperance instruction if it were postponed to the higher grades.

Fathers and mothers saw in this instruction a chance to save their children from the evils of alcoholism. But it was the power of public sentiment that put this instruction into the schools—public sentiment aroused and guided by the clear vision of the leader of the movement as to what was necessary, and by the influence of the temperance forces, especially of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which has always and with justice proudly held the laboring oar; for it had not only the vision of what was to be achieved, but by the ramifications of its organization was able to bring public sentiment to bear when and where needed.

In addition to making the instruction a definite and accepted part of the regular school curriculum, there has been a vast amount of voluntary unofficial assistance rendered teachers and pupils. For more than twenty-five years periodicals containing supplementary temperance facts and teaching methods prepared especially for school use have been freely supplied to teachers and their schools, here again largely by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Thousands of simple talks including stereopticon illustrations have been given in the schoolroom.

Courses of lectures have been given in normal schools, summer schools, and training institutes. From the beginning, and especially during the past dozen years, prizes have been given for essays written by pupils and teachers on assigned subjects, and thousands of essays have been written. This is a helpful supplementary work. So far as pupils participate in prize-essay contests, the contests are valuable not only in encouraging the pupil to fix in memory and apply what he has learned, but in inciting further study and research. But in so far as this is purely voluntary on the part of the pupil, care always has to be taken that it does not supersede the regular systematic instruction of all pupils; for it is upon the majorities of all the pupils that we have to depend for reducing or abolishing the drink habit and the drink traffic.

It can not be denied that at times the compulsory feature of the instruction did not find favor with all members of the educational profession. Yet neither would a voluntary system have won the coöperation of all. The problem was to get as soon as possible a citizenship of this republic which would understand how and why alcoholic beverages were detrimental to the highest welfare of the individual and his home, of society, and of the nation. The compulsory instruction has made the study educational for teachers as well as for pupils. While the instruction has not always been well or wisely or sympathetically given, on the whole I believe there is no profession in the United States whose influence has been and now is exerted so universally and powerfully for health and sobriety as that of the public-school teacher. And while, too, it is true that the instruction is not always given as universally or systematically as intended or required, I believe there are very few of our 25,000,000 boys and girls of school age who leave the public schools of the United States without having been taught sometime during their school course that alcoholic beverages are unsafe beverages, and why.

What of the results? Many factors have entered into the progress of the American temperance movement. But it is generally conceded that the temperance education of the children for more than a generation has been a mighty force in abolishing the liquor traffic. Notice certain dates:

Not until 1890 had sufficient temperance education legislation been enacted to make the instruction fairly general, though all through the preceding decade it was being extended. For still another decade up to 1901, the enactment of laws requiring instruction was still going on, as was the struggle to get sound total-abstinence teaching. The children who entered school in 1885, when the teaching had really begun to get under way, were voters about 1900. The children who began in 1890 were coming to their majority about 1905, and it was about this time that the modern State Prohibition movement got under way. The schools had been making sentiment against alcohol for temperance organizations to gather up at the ballot-box for Prohibition. Practically half a life-time is required before a child taught the truth begins to exert

any public influence with it. But all through these years, from 1881 on, there were coming to maturity by everincreasing tens of thousands school-children who had been taught why alcohol is an enemy to human welfare.

When the Federal Temperance Education law was pending in the Congress of the United States in 1886, Mrs. Hunt, speaking for it before a Senate Committee, made this prediction: "The day is surely coming when from the school-houses all over this land will come trained haters of alcohol to pour whole Niagaras of ballots upon the saloon."

United States Commissioner of Education W. T. Harris said, in his report for 1900-1901, concerning temperance instruction in the public schools in the United States: "It may be said that this movement is the most effective one ever devised by the friends of temperance to abate a great evil, one of the greatest evils abroad in the land." Put beside this prophecy of thirty-five years ago, this word of the present United States Commissioner of Education, the Hon. P. P. Claxton (Jan. 13, 1920):

In the creation of a sentiment which has resulted first in local option, then in State Prohibition, and now in national Prohibition, the schools of the country have played a very important part, in fact, probably a major part. It has resulted, first, in clearer thinking, and, second, in better and stronger sentiment in regard to the sale and use of alcoholic drinks. It is a good illustration of the truth of the saying that "Whatsoever we would have in the nation in the next generation we should put into the schools of this generation."

We must, however, remember that the fight for temperance, sobriety, clean and healthy living is not yet fully won. In fact, it never will be finally won. It can only be won for a single generation at a time, or even for a few years at a time. It is, therefore, necessary that the teaching of health and of things pertaining thereto should be continued in our schools and emphasized more than it has been in the past. I feel sure that officers and teachers in the schools will be glad to respond to all reasonable plans for this.

The official publication of the United States Department of Education, *School News*, said editorially, Feb. 16, 1919:

The full story has never been told of how this woman (Mrs. Hunt) went over the country appearing before legislative committees and urging the acceptance of her plan. In the early eighties the results of her efforts began to be apparent, and by 1887 the propaganda had taken root in every part of the country.

It is quite possible that those who appear to have been mystified by the alacrity with which State legislators ratified the Federal Prohibition Amendment may get some light from the story of Mary Hannah Hunt and compulsory teaching against alcoholics in the public schools.

Within the past two months a questionnaire as to the possible relation of scientific temperance school instruction to Prohibition was sent to the chief educational official of every State in the United States. The vacation season is not a good time for detailed investigations, but replies have been received from more than half the States representing all sections of the country. They show that, while recognizing that this is a

matter of opinion and impressions rather than of proof, as a rule they regard the instruction as having contributed strongly to the building of an active national sentiment for sobriety which finally saw in Prohibition the only solution of the drink question.

So much for the past. What of the future? Is scientific temperance instruction to be continued? The general opinion of the State educational officials in the questionnaire already quoted is that it should be continued and especially for the next few years. Their reasons are that it is necessary to teach all children now in the schools, and especially newcomers of foreign parentage, why the United States has prohibited alcoholic drinks; that it is important to insure an intelligent public sentiment to prevent or overcome illicit manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages and the use of home-made fermented beverages.

Present-day discussions of the alcohol question indicate certain lines of instruction that are still necessary, if we are to knit up the loose ends of public knowledge about alcohol. Instruction is still needed on the following points:

(1) That alcohol with its habit-forming power is present in even the lighter forms of alcoholic beverages.

(2) The depressing effects of even small quantities of alcohol upon physical and mental activities and upon self-control.

(3) The lowered resistance to disease which may be due to continued drinking of quantities of alcohol insufficient to cause drunkenness.

The object of the American temperance movement has not been merely the elimination of drunkenness, important and valuable as that is. Its object rather is to develop and secure complete physical, mental, and moral soundness with all that implies, unimpaired to any degree by the wholly preventable influence of alcohol. The world of the future demands service of every man and woman, and for this it requires brains wholly free from alcohol for the sake of clear vision, calm judgment, steady self-control, and intelligent action.

The wise man of old said it was "Not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes to desire strong drink, lest they drink and forget the law and pervert the justice due any of the afflicted." The kings and queens of the future will be the men and women who rise to their full capacity of powers and who exercise them for the common good. Alcohol defeats both these ends. Hence lest our "kings and princes pervert justice" we are putting away alcohol.

The American democracy of the future wants no drunkards; but, more than that, it wants a citizenship free from the less conspicuous but equally real demoralization by alcohol. To this end we must pledge ourselves to maintain the temperance training of all our children, confident that our public schools will go loyally forward in this part of their great responsibilities.

DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Saleeby, of London, has sent in his name on this discussion.

DR. SALEEBY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I came here with no idea of participating in this discussion; but as there is no other name sent in I hope it will be considered favorably, my addressing you on this subject.

First, I wish to pay a tribute to Miss Stoddard because of her artistic temperament, and the good judgment which she has shown. I say she is artistic in temperament, because as a fact it is a part of the function of the artist to eliminate the unessential. I don't know whether she is teaching any course on this subject or not, but if she is I would like to enroll as one of her pupils.

When I arrived in New York the Anti-Saloon League of America had arranged that somebody should come down to the dock to meet me. This man met me down there by the docks and I said to him: "One of the important differences that strikes me as existing between the children of my country and of yours is that they are taught Prohibition from the time they start in school, whereas we in England do not have anything of that kind." He said to me: "You are entirely misinformed. As far as I am aware there is no such teaching carried on anywhere throughout America." Now, if I had been like some of the visitors who came to your country, and never see any more than New York, or Chicago, or some other big city like that, and then say it was a typical American city, I would have gone back to England disgusted and said it was all a lie, this talk about teaching these truths in the schools of your country. In England I am accustomed to say that I reckon we have never had a capable minister in that country to deal with this subject who knows as much on this question as the average American child. Sir George Newman, who is responsible for the medical and hygienic education in England, would, I am sure, like to hear about this work which Miss Stoddard is doing, and a letter addressed to Sir George Newman, Whitehall, London, giving him some light on what Miss Stoddard is doing, and a few samples of what she writes, would be very gratefully received by him.

I don't know whether in the teaching of children that you are giving, you are met with the argument that alcohol is one of the gifts of God to man, and that it is, therefore, blasphemy for him not to use it; if you have, I think that there is a pretty obvious reply to that, and that is, that if the imbeciles who say that because God made alcohol, man ought to drink it, would apply their own argument on their own persons to petrol, I should have great pleasure in attending their funerals.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are getting along splendidly. I have not yet been able to get in touch with Dr. Hercol. I know that Dr. Hercol

has something very important, some business of great importance in connection with the International Congress. In regard to the German delegates who were invited, I know that Dr. Hercod has Dr. Gonser's paper, as I understand it; but a notice has been sent up to the Chair that an allowance of five minutes was desired for discussion on Dr. Gonser's paper. I know the paper itself hasn't been read as yet. It will either be read by title or be spread upon the minutes. The communication is from a delegate who has to leave the city to-night, a delegate who says that he regards this subject as one of the most important on the program. I now call for Dr. Sutcliffe of Massachusetts.

A MEMBER: Does that mean that Dr. Gonser's paper will not be read?

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope it will be read, knowing the great work Professor Gonser has done, and owing to the fact that it was impossible for him to be here. Professor Gonser being represented by Dr. Hercod, I do hope that we shall have it read in full, if it is possible. I am sure that Dr. Hercod will read this paper for us.

MR. NEILD: I rise to ask whether it is proper to have discussion on the paper before it is read?

THE CHAIRMAN: It isn't just a discussion of the paper; he is asking to speak on the subject matter of the paper, about which the paper was prepared. I think that it is all right, in view of the fact that the delegate has been here for several days waiting for an opportunity to speak on this subject.

DR. SUTCLIFFE: I want to just say to all the delegates present that I am not a public orator, but I am just simply a business man who was saved from the curse of rum by the International Order of Good Templars. I say that at the outset so that you will understand any of my remarks.

I find in my position as Grand Chief Templar of this body, as I go around that big State, speaking to organizations similar to other Templar associations throughout the world, that I am confronted with this proposition, that there can't be any need for national temperance societies, now that we have Prohibition. Of course, there are other fields for Good Templars, and the only way that you can do this is by taking the past record of what has been done. I am proud of the fact that I represent that Order to-day. I believe that its usefulness has not gone because we have national Prohibition by law, but not by fact. When I realize the fact that out of this Order and the families of its members, there have come such splendid workers throughout the world, in the cause of Prohibition (we gave to America that lamented national leader

of womanhood, Frances Willard, to lead the W. C. T. U.; and we gave them Mattie McClellan Brown, "Mother" Stewart, Mary Hunt; and within the lines of the Good Templars was born the National Prohibition Party); when I realize the fact that in August, 1851, was recognized the human and economic truth that women have a right to vote, just as well as the men—twenty years before the National Prohibition party was ever dreamed of—I am then properly proud to be a Good Templar.

I believe that temperance societies are an educational factor side by side with the educational teaching in the public schools. We take the children from five to twelve years of age in our junior lodges as Juvenile Templars; and I believe that if the Templars keep carrying on the work that they have started, and carry it forward, we will bring to the world and America the idea thoroughly instilled into the growing generation that they should not only abstain from intoxicating drink, but that they should also be loyal citizens of this Republic, and obey its laws.

I am sorry that the paper was not read, I am handicapped by the fact that I don't know whether Dr. Herceod's or rather Dr. Gonser's, paper was to have been against or in favor of it; but I simply give my humble testimony in the belief that temperance societies are needed now more than they ever were needed before. Just the other night I was speaking in a little town in North Andover, about 20 miles out of Boston, to try to organize a lodge of Good Templars, and a young fellow of about 15 or 16 years of age said to my wife, who was present, although he did not know who she was: "I don't believe in that." He said: "I think the Bolsheviki are all right." I was talking to them about 100-percent-American citizenship, and that was what he said about that. Therefore, if for no other reason, I think that we can continue to teach our young men Prohibition, and therefore I think there is work for our temperance societies up and down the whole breadth of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a very important announcement that was cut out at noon, and Mr. Cherrington, if anyone has his card here that wishes to take that tour of the city, they will have an opportunity to do so at 5:30 to-night, and that tour will be taken in a car that will be found in front of the building. The idea is that our foreign guests will be taken around the city in a tour that will last, as I understand it, for an hour and a half. You can tell the cars by the American flag on the windshield.

We will hold a meeting at the call of the Chair, at 10:45 to-morrow morning, to transact certain business. And I am going to take the liberty of asking that you try and get here promptly to-morrow morning, so that the program may not be interrupted. I think that we can get through with all the business that is to come before the Congress promptly so that we can finish this business and get into our session to-morrow by 11 o'clock, get through our program and thus be ready



DELEGATES IN A COLONADE UPON THE FIFTH FLOOR OF THE SENATE CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C. U. S. A. SEPT. 21, 1901



PHOTOGRAPH OF A PART OF THE DELEGATION TAKEN AT THE HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, MOUNT VERNON, VA. SEPT. 21, 1901

to adjourn on time to-morrow morning. The Chair also wants to announce one thing further, that if you have not secured your dinner tickets, please do so at once, because we have got to know to-night so that we can tell the caterers how many persons to lay the tables for.

DR. CHARLES A. ROSEWATER (of Newark, New Jersey): Mr. Chairman, if it will be proper at this time, I should appreciate the opportunity of having three minutes in which to discuss the subject of law enforcement. My discussion is very brief, and it is on the subject as I say, of law enforcement. It would be just as much in order now as it will be at any stage of this proceeding. I would like to have discussed it yesterday, but did not have an opportunity so to do.

[Two members arose.]

ONE MEMBER: Mr. Chairman, I move the Congress adjourn.

THE OTHER MEMBER: Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: May I ask, gentlemen, that you defer all this excitement for just a moment? I haven't the slightest idea of what Dr. Rosewater has in his mind to say. But since he has come clear here from New Jersey to say it, it seems to me that we ought to hear what he has to say. The Chair wishes to avert any unpleasantness, and I hope there will be no remarks made here to-day, or any such demonstration as was made yesterday.

I have read quite an account of our little affair here yesterday, in the morning papers. I shall allow no personalities. If there are no personal attacks, or recrimination involved, and the discussion is for the purpose of discussing alcohol, or any branches or phases of alcohol, then those things have a place in this Congress, and the Chair will, so far as it can, protect every delegate to this Congress in a right to express himself or herself along lines which are permissible under the rules of this Congress. But hereafter, if there is any sort of engagement or any controversy or anything of the kind that we have had in one or two instances here, the Chair will feel compelled to ask the delegates to desist.

A MEMBER: Mr. Chairman I ask the ruling of the Chair on a question of this kind. Suppose, for instance, that it should chance to turn out that a member of the Congress should wish to speak in favor of alcoholism, would his remarks then be in order?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, his remarks would not be in order, because this is distinctly a Congress *against* alcoholism; and I will go further than that, and state that it is a rule established when the Secretary of State was making out the appointments of the official delegates to Milan. A request came to him from one of the liquor interests asking to have representation on the delegation, and the Secretary of State

asked me as the chairman of the preceding delegation at Milan, as to what ought to be done under the circumstances. I reverted to the official action of the Congress at the Hague in 1911, in which it was said that this was distinctly a Congress against alcoholism, and that therefore men who were engaged in the manufacture of alcohol, or in any way interested therein, could not be considered delegates to the Convention.

DR. SALEEBY: I move that we hear Dr. Rosewater.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Rosewater of New Jersey is recognized for five minutes.

DR. ROSEWATER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: When I was stationed at Camp McClellan a few months before the war came to a close, it was part of my duty to examine the soldier boys who had gone wrong, to find out whether or not they had some mental defect, which had been to blame for it. While engaged in this work I was one day examining a boy and I said to him: "How many feet has a lobster got?" He did not answer my question. I repeated my question in the air of a very kind fatherly individual, and he looked up at me in a moment and said: "Captain, is that all that is worrying you?" My friends I am not worried just now about the feet of a lobster, how many a lobster has got, but I am a little bit worried about the question of alcoholism. I want to thank the association for the kindness with which I have been received here, and I want to thank so many of you who have been faithful and stood with me so kindly, as kindly as that good woman who one time told me she was going to offer a prayer for the salvation of my soul. I am not going to talk for alcoholism, and I wouldn't think of it. I have been talking against alcoholism ever since I was able to command any attention at all. I never was in favor of alcoholism, and I never will be.

You delegates have been most generous in your approval of Prohibition. You have approved Prohibition in the United States, which permits the home manufacture of alcoholic beverages, so long as they are not intoxicating in fact; regardless of the percentage of alcohol they contain. You have applauded Prohibition in Ontario, which permits the sale of 2 per cent beer and into which strong liquor can lawfully be shipped. You have heartily applauded the splendid report of Prohibition in Finland, in which 2 per cent is the standard; and you have applauded progressive little Norway, the people of which are held up to us as models of sobriety, thrift and righteousness, and which permits the sale of 2.8 per cent beer and 12 per cent wine. Not one of the Prohibition countries are dry. Some are wet and some are moist.

The Simon-pure Prohibitionists among you condemn the Anti-Saloon League for making a non-partizan issue out of Prohibition, and

claim that neither of the dominant parties of this country will enforce Prohibition owing to the ever pressing financial needs of those parties.

Mr. Baker of the Anti-Saloon League, says that it would be impossible to pass a law which would permit the invasion of the home and put a stop to home manufacture. Mr. Coler admits that New York is a hotbed of corruption, that the immediate results of Prohibition, as shown by the diminished number of alcoholic patients, was only temporary, and that the number of those cases is fast increasing.

Mr. Kramer admits that his force is incomplete for the job of reinforcement, intimating by Biblical quotations that the job of making this country dry is merely a matter of a few thousand years. Mr. Wheeler of the Anti-Saloon League ignores the encouraging reports of sociological progress in the nations of Europe thriving under modified Prohibition, and predicts dire consequences if the National Prohibition Act is modified to permit the manufacture and sale of beverages which are not intoxicating in fact. The foregoing covers the main points brought out in the discussions thus far held at this Congress.

To my mind the situation then is summed up about as follows: Practically every advantage thus far accrued from Prohibition has come from the abolition of the saloon and the reduction in the consumption of strong alcoholic drinks. There is good reason for believing that these advantages are offset by the number of homes in which alcohol is now used daily in which it was almost unknown before, and by the number of young and old people now carrying whisky flasks. Failure of enforcement of the National Prohibition Act is largely due to the fact that countless thousands of decent citizens consider it too drastic and are not in sympathy with it.

Commissioner Kramer evidently does not know what is going on in this country in connection with the manufacture and sale of liquor. He says that improper permits will be revoked when they expire. Why wait so long? Why not revoke them at once? Enforcement of the present Act is a mechanical and financial impossibility. One of two things must be done. We must either modify the Act to make it less drastic and so get public support of it and take the question out of politics once for all, or it must be made more drastic and cover every home, club, and business house in the country from the sanctity of the White House to the lowliest hut in the land. The present Prohibition Act is intolerable because it deprives the poor working man of a glass of mild beer, while his employer has a private café and dispenses strong liquor to his customers in the front office; and summons the porter to clean the glasses. This breeds anarchy.

You must do one of two things: you must either modify the Volstead Law and make it less drastic, because there are many thousands of good men who feel just as I do, that this law cannot be enforced; or else you must go still farther and make it more drastic — make it so drastic that this country will be one hundred per cent dry.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has received the name of W. J. Bryan, sent to the platform as wishing to address the Congress, and I see Mr. Bryan is here.

THE HON. W. J. BRYAN: Ladies and Gentlemen. I have my speech to make to-night, but I have just a word now. I refused to appoint any representative of the liquor traffic when the meeting was held abroad, and I said that this was a matter for people interested in the human race and not in the interests of the liquor traffic. I think that we would have been perfectly within our rights not to allow any time whatever to the gentleman from New Jersey, who does not come here to enter into the spirit of this matter at all. He comes to us representing a State whose government is in favor of liquor, and whose Governor is the most outspoken representative of the liquor traffic in the United States. The argument presented here is wholly unsound and the Governor of New Jersey stands entirely alone among the Governors of this country. He is almost alone in his opposition to Prohibition, he was elected Governor of the State on that issue, and he went to San Francisco, or sent a delegation to San Francisco, as candidate for President, on that issue. There was a banner there representing him as the "Emancipator of the People." My friends, this man might as well realize, first as last, that we are not going to take any of his alternative propositions. We are not going to ask for any favors from the enemies of Prohibition. The people who are in favor of Prohibition will decide for themselves what the best method is of enforcing Prohibition.

We have ample opportunity to read in the editorials of "wet" papers these fraudulent arguments that are advanced in the interest of those who are fighting temperance. We have plenty of opposition to read from the papers that have received their support from the liquor traffic, and which have been publishing this propaganda in the form of paid advertisements; and we have plenty of opportunity to read what they have to say, and what they think of it. It wasn't necessary for him to send a man here to insult this meeting by presenting the liquor side of the question. The American people have decided against the liquor traffic, and they have ratified the Amendment in forty-five States out of the forty-eight, and the State that sends here the gentleman who has just spoken is one of the three that has not ratified—one of the three which in the whole Union have refused to ratify. New Jersey might just as well decide to stay in the Union. We don't have secession any more. They might just as well remain in the Union and accept what has been done.

I have no doubt that the law will be changed, and made more drastic, and more strict than it is now. My friends, the people who tell us the law is to be enforced are the very men who vote against the appropriations for the enforcement of this law. What we want

in this country is a Congress that is two thirds dry, and that can pass any needed appropriation, right over Presidential veto, if necessary.

We need State Legislatures that will pass and enforce laws over vetoes of Governors if necessary, and thus put all the States in harmony with this movement. Why doesn't New Jersey help out the United States in enforcing the law which is on our statute-books? How is it that these men who come here to tell us what the temperance sentiment of the country is, in regard to this question of world Prohibition, don't express it at the polls? This question is a settled question in our country. It will not turn back to these old conditions. Down in New Jersey they elected a man who had in advance promised to violate his oath of office and to refuse to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Now, my friends, this is not being spoken in the spirit which usually pervades a meeting of this kind; but I want this man to know that the defenders of the thousands of homes throughout America are going to stand to a finish fight, and there is no thought of a compromise on this great question. They have no thought of surrendering one single inch. Why tell us what is being done in other countries, where they are doing the best they can? Why, we used to take the best we could get, and it kept getting better, but we would only take the best we could get until some better opportunity came along and then we took that. And, now that we have got the very best, we don't intend to modify our opposition or to yield to them so that they can have a little more alcohol in a drink that they say can't be intoxicating, without violating the Constitution of the United States. We are not going to see how close we can get to the precipice without falling over. We do not want to send anybody to the White House, or to the Congress, House of Representatives or Senate, who isn't willing to come out openly in advance and say that he is opposed to any weakening of the law, and any increase in the percentage of alcohol, be he Republican or Democrat.

A DELEGATE: Didn't this gentleman come here at the request of the wet Governor of the State of New Jersey just on purpose to interfere with these proceedings? I would like to ask about that, if the Chair please.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will please pardon the Chair, but I do not think that any delegate ought to be interrogated in this manner.

THE DELEGATE: If he is here, though, I would like to ask him that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is not here. But as far as possible I am willing to answer any questions for him.

THE DELEGATE: All right, if it is permissible by parliamentary procedure I would like to ask the Chair about this man. Did he or did he not come here at the request of Governor Edwards as his representative in this Congress?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair can answer that question to this extent. I do not know whether he came at the request of Governor Edwards or not, but he came by reason of his appointment by Governor Edwards of New Jersey, just as hundreds, or at least dozens, of others came at the appointment of the Governors of their States. There is absolutely nothing unusual about it in my judgment, or improper, the request being transmitted through the Secretary of State, inviting these Governors to send delegations to the convention, asking them to appoint delegates to this Congress. As the other delegate, I think the Governor appointed a lady who is president of the W. C. T. U. there, if I am correct.

A VOICE: Not from New Jersey.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I know that it was some lady who had a great deal to do with the temperance cause. At least I have the certification here somewhere. I believe it is the secretary of the W. C. T. U.

MR. BEANE: Mr. President, I would like to state at this time, if it is not improper so to do at this stage of the proceedings, what a gentleman told me yesterday about what Dr. Rosewater had done—

THE CHAIRMAN: It is improper for the gentleman to state what some other delegate told him. It is not proper. I must insist—the Chair has to insist that we ought not to impugn the motives or impute bad intentions to those who are regularly here as delegates. I do not believe that anybody impugns my motives for being on your side. The Chair believes in fair play. Dr. Rosewater came here as a delegate from the State of New Jersey, regularly appointed as such by his Governor. He may be absolutely wrong. You and I think he is. But Dr. Rosewater has made his statement, and he should not be questioned. I would like to ask the committee its decision and I am perfectly willing to abide by your decision. And my decision is this: That the speech has been made by Dr. Rosewater, and Mr. Bryan has made, in my opinion, a very effective reply. Now, as I said before, to-day, at one stage of these proceedings, this Congress is an open forum wherein all may come to present their views for the discussion of the subject of alcoholism. That doesn't mean that everybody must see that question alike, for there wouldn't then be any need of having a forum of this kind. And the Chair, as long as he is in the chair, is going to protect the people

here to express their opinion in the matter, whether they see it as we do or not. I think I am right in that.

MR. HARRIS: But he must be a delegate from some delegation which is not *for* alcoholism.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Rev. Mr. Scott, of Virginia, is asking for one minute, and I think we have just a minute.

THE REV. MR. SCOTT: Just a word. I have heard it stated, and it has gone unchallenged on the floor of this Congress, and I have seen it stated repeatedly in the public press, that a number of families who never used liquor before are now manufacturing it and are strongly in favor of it. I want to say that, having seen that statement, I have been at some pains to verify it. I can not find, either by inquiry or personal investigation or any other sort of investigation, a single man, or woman, or family who has not been previously given to the use, moderately, and sometimes immoderately, of alcohol, who has taken to manufacturing it since this Amendment has been adopted by the United States. The advance has been made all along the line, and I want to say that in old Virginia, where I come from, although the law is violated here and there, as it is in every State in the Union, to a greater or less extent, it is an unmixed blessing. One illicit distillery which we had over there was operated fourteen times before it was caught; and the amount turned out, while not insignificant, was very insignificant in comparison with what has been obtained before.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just two things: We should like to have everybody who is in attendance upon the Congress registered. The Secretary has told me that some of the delegates who come from abroad have not registered. We should like to have you do this so that we can have some line upon the attendance.

Further, I wish to state that the buses, which were mentioned some time ago in connection with our arrangements for to-morrow afternoon, will leave the building here for the convenience of the Congress, at 1:30 o'clock, and we will arrive at the wharves in time to leave on the boat promptly at 2:30, and then there will be another detachment of them leave at 2:10, which will get you there in time, too. A tree, a walnut tree, will be planted at Mt. Vernon, by this Congress, in honor of the occasion, to-morrow afternoon.

The meeting to-night is to be at Central High School. There will be an organ recital at half past seven, and it will be one of the greatest nights of the Congress. Miss Agnes Slack, of England, will speak, the Solicitor-General for the United States, Mr Frierson, who conducted the cases before the Supreme Court, will speak, and the Honorable William Jennings Bryan will speak to-night.

[The session was then concluded.]

EVENING SESSION

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1920

At the evening session the Rev. Edwin C. Dinwiddie presided

BISHOP WILLIAM FRASER McDOWELL, of Washington, D. C., pronounced the invocation, and the hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers" was sung.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have very great pleasure in presenting to the Congress and to the citizens of Washington assembled here to-night a distinguished worker in the cause from England. I think that no one who is familiar with the movement against alcoholism in the world at large is unfamiliar with the name of the first speaker to-night. She has been prominently identified with these Congresses and she is Vice-President of the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union. I have very great pleasure in welcoming her to our country and in presenting her to this audience, Miss Agnes Slack, of England.

THE WOMEN OF EUROPE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

By MISS AGNES E. SLACK

HON. SEC., WORLD'S W. C. T. U. AND HON. SEC. OF THE NATIONAL BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION

The war has created a new position throughout Europe. Economic problems are pressing hard. The wastage of foodstuffs to be made into wasteful intoxicating drinks is causing many people to think. Right thinking will bring about right actions. It is for us to arouse the right thinking. The demands of the children are arousing attention. It has been said women must make children fit to face the world, but women must also help to make the world fit for the children. Women are the guardians of the home and the guardians of the cradle. The World's W. C. T. U. Convention in London last April demonstrated the activity of the women of Europe. A year before I saw the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster, with the result we were able to arrange for special temperance sermons to be preached on behalf of the World's Convention by the Bishop of Croydon in Westminster Abbey on April 18, and by the Bishop of London at St. Paul's Cathedral on April 25. It was a great opportunity to hear of our work from the pulpits of these historic, sacred buildings. Also on April 18, as the result of a year's steady

work, thousands of temperance sermons were preached throughout England, Wales, and Scotland, in the churches, by the Salvation Army, and in several cathedrals. The Women's Total Abstinence Union heartily coöperated with the British Women's Temperance Association. Considerable interest was aroused by these international meetings, when many European countries were represented as a part of a world-wide delegation. The National British Women's Temperance Association and the Woman's Total Abstinence Union are actively promoting local option to give localities the right to prohibit the liquor traffic. The National Council meeting in May, 1919, adopted a resolution that "The Association shall only support those Parliamentary candidates who will pledge themselves to vote for and promote legislation giving to the people, through local option, the power to prohibit the liquor traffic in their locality." At the recent Parliamentary election at Louth (Lincolnshire) local option was made the chief plank of the contest. The Liberal candidate, who fought the election largely on the issue, was returned by a very large majority. The women solidly gave their votes for him. The general election was not a test on the new women's vote, as the settlement of the war overshadowed everything. It has been said, "A woman has done half her duty in fitting her children for the world. The other half is to fit the world for her children. *The Brewers' Journal* recently contained a forecast by a brewer. He stated: "There are six millions of women enfranchised. Is it an unreasonable thing to suppose that three million will vote for Prohibition?" We are using every effort to educate these new voters on the temperance question. The National British Women's Temperance Association (W. C. T. U.) is promoting an agitation to secure an act to make it illegal to serve any one under the age of eighteen with intoxicating drink for consumption on licensed premises. The women's temperance organizations did much to secure the passing of an act in 1909, excluding children from liquor bars and prohibiting intoxicants being given to children under five years old. We are now agitating to extend the age from five to seven years. In 1901 our organization did much to secure an act which prevents children being served with intoxicants in unsealed vessels. The women's temperance organizations are in line with the other national temperance societies against the State purchase of the liquor traffic. The B. W. T. A. in England, in conjunction with the United Kingdom Alliance, undertook a war-time Prohibition campaign, and in two months gained 2,086,402 signatures and raised £222 towards the cost. A striking women's demonstration was organized in London in support of war-time Prohibition. Thousands of women assembled on the Embankment in spite of the rain. The Women's Total Abstinence Union also coöperated. It was a moving appeal on behalf of Britain's homes, heroes, and children. Bands played rousing tunes. Numbers of banners were carried. At Tra-

Islington Square and Hyde Park the women enthusiastically voted in favor of war-time Prohibition.

EDUCATIONAL

The National B. W. T. A. throughout Great Britain is alert on the importance of educational work. Summer schools are organized. Special lectures are given on the scientific and economic aspects of temperance. Educational authorities have been induced to engage temperance lecturers for the schools. In some university towns meetings have been held in hotels for students. The "Temperance Syllabus" is unfortunately not compulsory for schools, but the number of schools in which it is used is steadily increasing. We are trying to promote scientific temperance teaching in the continuation classes. In some cases we have provided a specially trained lecturer to speak in high schools and Sunday-schools. Teachers are asking for sample charts and diagrams. A definite syllabus is used for London schools. The use of this syllabus largely depends on the attitude of the teachers. In some cases we have secured the interest of the Teachers' Christian Union. The economic problem is bound to demand that we can not continue spending over one million pounds a day in Great Britain on intoxicants.

TO SAVE THE CHILDREN

The Little White Ribboners' Department of the B. W. T. A. secures pledges, signed by mothers every year, not to give their children under seven years of age alcohol. This means that a nursing mother can not take alcohol. Every year the mothers sign. The mothers are frequently won over for our cause through the interest taken in their children. In 1911 the Society for the Protection of Children reported: "Since the establishment of the Society 675,871 cases of cruelty to children have been reported. The little victims of neglect numbered 1,860,859. Ninety per cent of the cases of neglect are due to excessive drinking on the part of one or both parents. Women are the trustees of 12,000,000 children in England and Wales.

WAR WORK

A vast amount of work was done to meet the crises created by war. In England White Ribboners raised money to send four motor kitchens and some ambulances to the front. Two were sent to France and two were used in home service. Also a tent was sent out to be used as a refreshment base. The Women's Total Abstinence Union gave strenuous help in every direction. Hundreds of temperance refreshment-rooms were run by our members; and 135,426 soldiers passed through the B. W. T. A. rest-rooms at Peterboro. Our members gave invaluable help in hospitals, in sending food to our prisoners in Germany, and in managing canteens all over England, crowded with soldiers. The men's clothes were mended and their laundry cared for in several of our towns. In Bedford and

other towns our members during the war years served hot tea and coffee to the men at midnight when the troop trains left for the front. A pitiful outcome of the war has been a greater number of women, especially in London and Birmingham, frequenting public houses. We are trying to meet this serious evil. In rural districts and in the north of England such results are rarely seen. A great campaign is needed to meet the new restless conditions produced by the war. We are trying to reach girls in factories and every section of girls in our country. (See, also, "War Work in Scotland," below.)

WALES

The women of Wales are keenly alert for local option. The Welsh are largely an agricultural, chapel-loving people, much alive to the importance of the temperance question. At meetings recently it was a cheering sight to see women coming from all parts, some of them walking many miles, to attend a meeting to press temperance legislation. Given the opportunity, without doubt the women would help to sweep out the liquor traffic. Women teachers are alive to the importance of teaching the children, and most faithfully do so. The women of Wales would quickly end the drink traffic if they had the chance to do so.

SCOTLAND

One hundred thousand members of the B. W. T. A. (W. C. T. U.) are actively working for the success of the local-option poll, to be taken in November. It is most probable that many districts will then secure Prohibition through local option. The B. W. T. A. has largely supplied the basis for the campaign. The women of the Free Churches and the women of the Coöperative Societies in the west of Scotland strongly favor Prohibition. Speakers from the United States and Canada have given most valuable help. White Ribboners do a great service by temperance refreshment stalls at fairs and on many public grounds. At the Highland and Agricultural Show in Aberdeen £2,105 was taken at the W. C. T. U. stall. There are 232 dry rural parishes in Scotland. Not one of them has a retail license. The women are out to increase this number.

WAR WORK IN SCOTLAND

A great amount of work was done during the war. The B. W. T. A. raised £6,843 (over \$34,115) and equipped and maintained seven motor ambulances on the various war fronts, including one at Salonika. By a pageant they cleared \$5,000 for war funds. Invaluable help was given in hospitals and canteens. A large amount of clothes supplied for wounded men and for the sailors. In every direction there was the widest activity wherever help was needed.

In Alloa, White Ribboners compiled statistics showing that while the death-rate of infants in the town was one in ten the children on

the White Ribbon roll of the W. C. T. U. had a death-rate of only one in 200.

IRELAND

Women had more money to spend during the war, and drinking and neglect of children increased; but the secretary of the Irish Women's Temperance League also reports "These women would vote for local option." The League publishes "The Schools of Erin," and is doing excellent educational work in every part of Ireland.

The W. C. T. U. had coffee-bars in several towns on fair and market days and conducted a dinner-hour rest-room in Dublin from 1914 to 1917. This was greatly appreciated by many working girls. In a year White Ribboners had a communal kitchen in Dublin. Much help has been given at the Soldiers' Rendezvous.

There is ample evidence to show that there is a vigorous public opinion among the young people of Ireland in favor of total abstinence. Every Roman Catholic child at confirmation is given a pledge which remains in force until the age of twenty-one is reached. Hundreds of these children are drafted into the Pioneers. This is tending to a yearly decrease of drinking amongst women.

FRANCE

Temperance work in France is chiefly against the use of spirits. At a recent fair in Paris the women took several thousand pledges against spirit drinking. Many women are active in the "Croix Bleue," which stands for total abstinence, in the Band of Hope, and in the Ligue Nationale. The White Ribbon Union in Paris has suffered much through war conditions, but a Young People's Society has recently been most successfully organized. There is much evidence that the women of France are now ready for a vigorous campaign in this land, where a greater area is given to growing fruit to make wine than to food cereals.

A conference met in Paris April 3-5, 1919, called by the Ligue Nationale Contre l'Alcoolisme, when several prominent French temperance women were present. I was sent by the B. W. T. A. Resolutions were adopted to influence the Peace Congress to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks in the mandatory countries and in West Africa amongst native races.

BELGIUM

The women regard wine or beer as a necessity. Total-abstinence teaching is urgently needed. The White Ribbon Unions are all scattered as a result of the war. During the war, want of money obliged women to give up largely the use of intoxicants. Anti-alcohol teaching is given in the schools, but it is not for the prohibition of alcohol. The temperance societies generally teach "moderation." The teaching of the Croix Bleue and the W. C. T. U. is greatly needed.

Zola's "L'Asommoir" has been played in the largest theater of

Brussels. Free tickets were largely issued for the children and short antialcohol addresses were given between the acts. During the war the want of money caused much less drinking, but unhappily restrictions are now being relaxed.

HOLLAND

The W. C. T. U. in Holland has a Home for Inebriate Women in Beekbergen. The mass of the temperance women in Holland, numbering 7,000, work with the men and are steadily gaining for local option. In 1914 a petition was signed by 640,000 people. The law requires a majority of 75 per cent. When the next poll is taken the women's votes will strongly tell in favor of local option.

DENMARK

In 1911 Miss Prior (President of W. C. T. U.) started a movement amongst the women in order to prevent free licenses for the sale of intoxicants. In a fortnight 52,397 women's signatures were secured, and free licenses were abolished. The total population of Copenhagen was 400,000, more than half of this number being children. Opinion is ripening for Prohibition. Two White Ribbon Unions exist in Jutland. Regular monthly meetings are held. In the spring a very large women's meeting was held in Copenhagen, with great success. The *Hvide Baandet* ("White Ribbon") magazine does useful educational work. Care of friendless children in orphanages and in other children's homes is meeting a great need.

SWEDEN

Sweden has suffered deeply throughout the war, like other neutral countries. Advance has been checked. Now that war-time restrictions on the sale of drink are relaxed, drunkenness is increasing at an alarming rate. Miss Rathou (secretary of W. C. T. U.) was the one woman appointed on the Royal Temperance Commission. In July, 1920, the Commission by a good majority reported in favor of Prohibition. In 1919 an unofficial referendum was greatly supported by the women. All men and women over the age of eighteen had votes. A majority of 55 voted for Prohibition. There are 172 local W. C. T. U.'s in Sweden. Their work is most progressive. Drinking amongst women is rare. During the war there were no patients in the White Ribbon Inebriate Home. The W. C. T. U. used it as a training home for girls. From 1790 to 1854 almost every house in Sweden did distilling. Even then the women did not drink. Sweden to-day is physically healthy, largely owing to the fact of so little drinking for generations amongst women. The men drank heavily, and if both parents had drunk, conditions in Sweden would be very different. The sobriety of the women in Sweden for the last 200 years is a chief cause of the well-being of the present generation. The working women and the peasant women will undoubtedly vote for Prohibition when the promised referendum

(probably next year) takes place. Unfortunately this enlightened conviction does not apply in such a preponderating proportion to the upper classes, who are not prepared to deny themselves their wine or to go against certain customs; but this section will almost certainly be in a minority.

The Swedish Anti-Saloon League, organized early in this year, consists of all church temperance societies, the White Ribbon and Blue Ribbon organizations (all societies on a religious basis), and it will do much to arouse interest amongst the religious women of Sweden. I have visited Sweden many times and have always been much impressed with this fact from north to south, that children never go to the saloon. I have seen in some of the cities of Sweden on Saturday long queues of women waiting to buy spirits for home consumption (chiefly for the use of the men). Drink for home consumption can only be bought in limited quantities. The war and scarcity of food have caused numbers of women to procure drink check books to buy drink to be exchanged for foodstuffs, thus placing great temptation in the way of the mother of a family short of food.

The *Hvita Bandet* (W. C. T. U.) organized series of lectures throughout the country. Scientific temperance courses with academically trained teachers have been arranged in different centers, and meetings are held for mothers and for young women in factories. Literature is widely distributed; eight boxes containing temperance libraries are loaned to the different unions. Each traveling library contains 30 to 60 books, all tending to a wider outlook. Pamphlets and leaflets are freely circulated. Hot milk stalls and cooking and sewing classes are most successfully carried on by White Ribboners. New enterprizes were started to meet the severity of the times, such as potato-growing and shoe-mending, in north Sweden. Rooms were opened for those suffering from want of fuel and light. During 1914 to 1918 sixty-nine Unions organized cooking courses for working girls. Several Homes of Rest are kept for working women. Three Unions have children's homes. Milk is distributed to the babies of the poor. An annual Parliamentary grant of 2,000 kroner (about \$500) is given the *Hvita Bandet* for educational work. The late Crown Princess was an enthusiastic total abstainer. In 1913 she invited me to see her in Stockholm. I had a long, interesting conversation. She told me how when she became old enough to choose for herself she gave up taking intoxicants simply because she did not like them; but, she added, "I soon found other reasons and felt it best to be a total abstainer not only because it was good for me, but also for the sake of example. At public functions now in Sweden no one offers intoxicants to the Crown Prince and me. They know our principles."

NORWAY

Women of the educated classes are less interested than the work-

ing women. The communes or town councils have the right to settle the number of licenses or to grant no licenses. The vote of the people on the prohibition of spirits and strong wines was an unusual step. The women helped largely to secure the prohibition of drinks containing over 12 per cent of alcohol. Women teachers especially need temperance instruction. The use of alcohol has strongly decreased since the above reform was won. The White Ribbon Union has organized reading-rooms, some of them with refreshment-rooms, for sailors and fishermen; also sailors' homes, childrens' homes, and the regular visiting of hospitals and prisons. War conditions have considerably hampered progress.

FINLAND

The women of Finland did much to secure Prohibition being enacted in Finland in 1918. The W. C. T. U. formed clubs for young women who had not good home surroundings. They also obtained the appointment of women police. Fifty years ago Finland was one of the worst drink-ridden countries in the world. A woman, Hilda Hellman, founded the first temperance association in 1877. For 25 years an energetic campaign was carried on under her leadership, and temperance associations sprang up all over Finland.

ESTHONIA

This country is ripe for Prohibition and the women are eager for it.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The movement against alcohol has only been recently started. Wine production has the importance of wheat and corn in the American West. Public sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of the unrestricted sale of alcoholic beverages.

The women will be influenced by the 200 doctors who have declared their support of Prohibition. *El Abstemio*, the Prohibition publication, has recently been reissued after its suspension during the war.

SWITZERLAND

There are in Switzerland two women's temperance organizations. The League of Swiss Women Against Alcoholism limits its activity to Geneva, and does not exact from its members a total-abstinence pledge. The Swiss League of Abstaining Women extends over the whole country, with 60 local unions and 2,500 members. The League provides temperance booths or tents at public functions. Lectures are organized with practical demonstrations on utilizing fruit. A women's society coöperates with the League in conducting 13 temperance restaurants and two excellent hotels, known throughout Europe.

The Swiss Temperance League obtained from the General Army Staff authorization to open temperance huts in all places where soldiers were stationed during the war. These huts were much appre-

ciated by the soldiers. The League, with helpers from other societies, conducted 250 of these huts during the war, when the Swiss army was mobilized. The management was entirely in the hands of the women. It was no small thing serving temperance refreshments during the winter in huts blocked with snow at an altitude of 10,000 feet. The success was very great, and resulted in securing the canteens of the military barracks being run without intoxicating drinks. They are now under the management of the Woman's Temperance League. The woman in charge of each hut was called "Little Mother" by the soldiers. In several cases the men became so attached to their "little mother" that, when their regiments were moved on, they, in spite of military orders, insisted on taking her with them as if she were a part of their regiment. Never once did a soldier fail to treat the "little mother" with courtesy.

Swiss women are associated with every movement for temperance. They take an important part in the work of the Blue Cross and Good Templars and largely manage the Juvenile Good Templars and Bands of Hope. The Swiss Woman's League has affiliated with the Swiss Federation of Women's Societies, which is endeavoring with success to win the organized Swiss Societies for temperance reform.

GERMANY

The report sent me by President Fraulein von Blencher showed that 2500 members are enrolled in 52 local temperance societies. This includes 500 girls. They worked hard during the war to prevent food being destroyed to make alcohol. No fewer than 200,000 copies of a booklet were circulated during the war, warning German men and women not to take alcohol. The members of the Bund protested against sending alcoholic drinks to the Red Cross. They also raised a protest against wine-drinking by German soldiers in Belgium. They organized amongst young girls a special group who pledged themselves not to drink any alcohol during the war. They sent special instructions to all schools teaching housekeeping asking for temperance instruction. During the last few years war work has concentrated the efforts of the women, and temperance propaganda has been secondary. In response to a most cordial invitation I sent for German women to attend the World's W. C. T. U. Convention in London last April. Fraulein von Blencher replied, expressing the deep regret of the German women that, owing to the economic position, they could not come, but they sent their best wishes for the success of the Convention. The revolution of 1918 gave all women of twenty the vote. Twenty-three per cent of the mothers are unable to nurse their children owing to alcoholized effects. In spite of all difficulties, temperance women are energetically working to prevent the people from sinking back into intemperance, and to contribute substantially to the reconstruction of the national life. Wine

is now so dear as a general drink, it plays little part in the general life. Beer is still rationed. They had a special Siegfried Bund for total abstinence amongst young men and girls. Many of the local unions organized temperance centers for soldiers, sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with other societies. Hanover Bund sold 500 gallons of coffee every day to the soldiers. In Dresden and Hamburg they conducted special canteens for the general population. In one year at Hamburg they sold 50,000 dinners for 10 or 15 pfennig (about 40 cents) at a time when food was very scarce. The Bund owns the Queen Louise temperance restaurant at Leipzig. In spite of the war, the restaurant remained open with good results.

ITALY

Before the war, on behalf of the World's W. C. T. U. I had the pleasure of organizing groups of women total abstainers in Italy and held conferences in several cities. I found wine-drinking very general. At Milan I addressed the children at a charitable institution supported by subscriptions. At first, the children were angry when they understood I was pleading for total abstinence. At the end of my talk, by consent of the matron a vote was taken with regard to the wine always given them at dinner. By a large majority these children voted to give up the wine, and it was given up. I give this as an instance to show the responsive spirit when the injurious effects of alcohol are understood. At a large institution for giving expert training on Sundays to dressmakers, laundry workers, and others the women eagerly signed the pledge after they understood how they would gain by doing so, and I was surrounded by a clamor for pledge-forms and white ribbon bows.

The Queen of Italy invited me to a special audience at the Quirinal, and was deeply interested in the work. An organization has recently been started throughout Italy, "The Mountain Against Alcohol," to prevent people going to the *auberges* on Sundays. At a meeting at the Lyceum Club, Milan, several ladies signed the pledge. Many more would have done so could they still have taken wine. Though wine is much dearer, the working women drink just as before because wages have correspondingly increased.

ROUMANIA

Roumania was the only Balkan state to adopt Prohibition as a war measure.

GREECE

White Ribboners in Athens have instructed the District Lyceum Clubs to form special groups in which medical persons must take part and must propagate teaching against alcoholism and combat consumption and hereditary maladies by writing in the press or by printing in Greek literature of the kind published in America. The W. C. T. U. is urging schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach school-children the bad effects of alcohol.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Temperance teaching is taking hold of the women, and we hope soon to report a real advance in temperance legislation.

RUSSIA

During Prohibition all conditions were greatly improved. The war has scattered our organization in Russia. The Central Soviet Government continues a Prohibition policy, but the local soviets differ widely in their attitude.

The women of Europe are awakening to the fact that God never made a human being who requires alcohol. The mind of the world is focusing on this vast drink problem. The wonderful success attending Prohibition in the United States of America and Canada is the beacon to lead us on, and is making a dry Europe a real possibility. (Miss Gordon and Miss Deane were recently warmly welcomed by the women of several European countries. We thank your National W. C. T. U. for their generous help.) Towards that we are working with fullest confidence. We believe the increasing success of the American people is an assurance of victory for us.

THE CHAIRMAN thereupon made an announcement regarding the recitals in the Community Center at the Central High School, and continued: "We are very grateful to the organist, Miss Edith Athey, and we want to thank her for the very splendid service which she has rendered.

"Now we have a wonderful treat ahead of us, as we have had one just now, and so without any extra remarks on the part of the Chair, laudatory as he would like to make them, if there were time, I have great pleasure in introducing to you the next speaker, who has lent much effort and significance to the campaign in this country, and to the enforcement as a law of the provisions in the Eighteenth Amendment, which has recently been put upon the statute-books, and who, as assistant attorney-general, tried the cases before the Supreme Court of the United States to decide as to whether the Eighteenth Amendment was constitutional or not. Mr. Frierson has rendered great service in defending the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution against assaults and he has been promoted for his services to the position of Solicitor-General of the United States. I now have great pleasure in introducing to you, the Honorable William E. Frierson."

LEGAL ASPECTS OF PROHIBITION—CONSTITUTIONAL, FEDERAL AND STATE

BY THE HON. WILLIAM E. FRIERSON
SOLICITOR-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Congress, Friends, Ladies, and Gentlemen: If I were to attempt to tell you all that I have been compelled

to learn about the legal phases of Prohibition—the subject assigned to me for this evening—the distinguished gentlemen who expect to follow me would have to defer their speeches until tomorrow evening. Prohibition, Constitutional Prohibition, throughout the United States has come not through the spasmodic efforts and acts of an excited people, but rather it has come after long and bitter struggle, and is supported to-day by the deliberate and well-considered judgment of the American people that the liquor traffic is essentially inimical to the good of the public. I have been reminded, by the address to which we have just listened, how far we have progressed from the point where we began with Prohibition in this country many years ago. I heard the distinguished lady speak very earnestly in favor of local option. My dear madam, in recent years the only people who have advocated local option in the United States have been the liquor people. We have gotten so far beyond that point now that the only hope left to the liquor people is to invoke the doctrine of interference with State rights, or the rights of citizens. We have a few cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, where they are not enforcing it, but they will be enforcing it there pretty soon. Prohibition, as I have said, has come after a long struggle. Local option was the means first resorted to in America, as it is being resorted to in England to-day. That was the way we started in here, and as long as the Prohibition party was weak we contented ourselves with capturing now and then a small town or city. Then when we got a city we could capture a county, and after we captured enough counties we were able to get a State, and we were not so weak then. Then the whole bunch of cities and counties went dry. That was the way we went about it. After we captured enough States we got National Prohibition.

When we progressed to the point of getting a county, we then started in, as I say, to get a majority of the counties of the State, and we were not deterred by any fear of inconsistency. We made an immediate revision of our doctrine. Then we would manage to get control of the entire State. All the way through in the fight we haven't been troubled with any governmental inconsistencies or policies and governmental principles. And neither were the forces against us troubled by any fear of inconsistency. There was not any detriment on either side except in one respect. The Prohibition people have been consistently and eternally against the liquor traffic and in favor of absolutely abolishing it.

On the other hand, the opponents of Prohibition have been consistent only in the proposition that they would support such measures as necessary to prevent Prohibition in this country, and would continue their practise. Let me refer just briefly, and I shall be brief in what I say to-night, to the history of Prohibition in this country. It started in, as I say, with local option, and that was the cry of the Prohibitionists until they became powerful enough to demand something else. When they got the city, they demanded the county, or what was usually the case, if they could vote it out of a city they could usually manage to get it

voted out of that county; but maybe the next county to it was selling whisky, and the law would be practically useless, and so they started in to get the surrounding counties, and then they went in for State-wide Prohibition. Then we found that wherever State-wide Prohibition has been advocated in recent years it has been met with the argument: "I am not in favor of liquor, or anything of that kind, but I am opposed to anything which prohibits the selling of it in one State alone. The State in itself could do nothing with other States right next door to it who do not have Prohibition. Any State act by itself can accomplish nothing, and therefore what would prevent this neighboring State sending it in here? I would vote to put whisky out of the whole United States, but not to put it out of one State." So then we commenced to think of putting it out of the whole United States by Constitutional amendment. The reason the whisky interests were favoring that was they thought they had us "barking for the moon"—they thought we couldn't get it.

Then those who had been so strongly in favor of National Prohibition fell back upon State rights as a shield. They said let every State in the Union settle the question for itself. Now, under our form of government there were difficulties encountered as we progressed along the road. Each State, under our Constitution, was vested within its domain with the right to exercise the ordinary police powers, and they are the powers which control the liquor traffic when it is controlled. The Federal Government had no right under our Constitution to exercise such powers in the States; and we were meeting just then with another proposition—the proposition that this law conflicts with the personal liberty of the citizen. That plea wouldn't stand ten seconds in any court in the United States, because the United States Constitution does not give the individual the privilege of using his rights to the detriment of others. That is the whole principle upon which our Constitution is based, upon a very ancient legal maxim: That no man has the right to so use his property or so conduct himself as to injure his neighbor or violate his neighbor's rights. And Prohibition rested on the fundamental principle that no business or institution of whatever kind has any right under the laws of God, or the laws of man, to exist, unless the net result of the operations carried on in it, give to the public more of good than otherwise.

And so it is that, after a fair trial, after subjecting it to all the regulations that could be devised, and in fact giving it more than a fair trial, the American people have decided against it—they have deliberately taken an account of it and have added up on one side of the ledger the evils of the liquor traffic, and on the other side whatever there may be of good in it, and they have found the balance on the wrong side. And so by a Constitutional amendment, which has now been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, they have declared that the liquor traffic shall die.

This matter of State control which finally enabled us to get National

Prohibition,—in dealing with that, the first difficulty encountered by us was that while the State could drive whisky out of its own jurisdiction, nevertheless the Federal Government, under our form of government, had complete control of interstate commerce. The State could prohibit the liquor traffic from being carried on within its own State limits, but it could not prohibit the shipment of whisky from another State to within its own borders; and under the law as it was then, if it remained within its original package until it got to its destination, the courts held that that was a matter of interstate commerce and not for the State to prohibit. Then Congress finally met that situation, as best it could, by passing a bill regulating interstate commerce, over which it had jurisdiction, by passing the Wilson Bill, which provided that as soon as the liquor arrived at its destination in the State it should then become subject to all the laws of the State, and subject, therefore, to seizure by the State authorities.

The Congress then passed a law that, under interstate commerce, no liquor could be shipped from one State into another State where the manufacture and sale of liquor were forbidden for beverage purposes. And then, still later, when we were in the throes of a great war and the examination of many thousands of young men called for physical examination for duty as soldiers showed the terrible effects of the use of alcohol and kindred vices, the Government itself was impressed with the necessity of maintaining a sober manhood in this country, and Congress in the exercise of the great powers which were bestowed upon it during the war, and which could temporarily be exercised in favor of Prohibition, at least, passed the War-time National Prohibition Act. That law made it unlawful to sell whisky in the United States. That law, however, would have gone out of existence with the declaration of peace. In the meantime the Eighteenth Amendment had been submitted, and the proposition was then made that the American people should write Prohibition into their Constitution, and almost before any one realized that it had been submitted to the Congress, more than the necessary number of States had ratified, and most of them with a heavy majority, and so Congress passed the National Prohibition Act on the 22nd day of October, 1919. It was immediately assailed in the courts by the advocates of the liquor traffic, but that did not harm it at all; if anything, it gave it an added impetus. The remarkable result of it was that, though it was passed late in October, on the first Monday in December all the courts in the United States had gone through with it, and then the Supreme Court pronounced it a valid law. The Eighteenth Amendment became a part of the National Constitution on the 16th day of January. Some of the greatest and most able lawyers in the country assailed the validity of it—they said that the Constitution of the United States never contemplated such a thing—that it was beyond the powers of Congress to pass such a law, that it was up to the legislatures of the various States, and on various other grounds they assailed it; but in the June following the whole of this turmoil the Supreme Court announced that it was a valid law, and all laws which were made to enforce it, and that the Eighteenth

Amendment was forever an integral part of the Constitution of the United States. I have a very brief amount of time allotted to me, but during this time I hope I have managed to go over it in at least a general way and go into the matter of law, the result of which has been that no man can lawfully obtain a drink of intoxicating liquor anywhere that the American flag flies. I conclude as I began. This has not been the result of any spasmodic action. The people have not acted under excitement or irresponsibility. They have proceeded step by step, each step making sentiment which carried them to the next, and that which is brought about through such means as this and with such deliberation, and with careful consideration, is permanent and not temporary.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is one of the easiest men to introduce in the United States, and I have thought, since we decided to have the evening meetings in the Civic Center, how appropriate it was that Mr. Bryan should speak on Friday night of the series of Congress meetings, because I think I remember it was right over here on the next corner, in Telamon's place, at Thirteenth and Clifton, where Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State a few years ago, used to give his grape-juice dinners! I have pleasure to-night in presenting the Honorable William Jennings Bryan.

THE HON. W. J. BRYAN: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I do feel at home in this neighborhood! And I feel at home in this gathering, and I think it's very fortunate that this meeting, that is, this Congress provided for several years ago, when we could not foresee the situation as it exists to-day,—fortunate that this Congress should meet in this great Capital of the greatest nation that has ever set the seal of disapproval on intoxicants. And it so happens that this meeting is held during the first year of this Nation's existence as a saloonless nation; and I have been very much interested, as I have noted the distinguished visitors from so many lands, who by their coming testified to their interest in this great step in advance,—I have noticed that when the fulness of time has come,—a Bible phrase that has seemed to me to have an added significance as the years go by,—that “when the fulness of time has come,” all over the world, people rise up to make the fight for the thing that is right. And “the fulness of time has come;” the hour has struck; the world is going dry, as this nation has gone dry! And these people who come as our visitors, bringing inspiration with them, and giving encouragement to us, will take home with them inspiration from this meeting, and will be stronger for the work that they are to do in their own countries.

And, my friends, I do not know that this nation can better render a service to this cause than to furnish inspiration and facts to those who can use them in their lands better than they could be used by people from this country going into these lands. They will speak to their own people, and their sympathy with their people can not be questioned, and

those who oppose them there can not appeal to any prejudice or excite any feeling against a foreigner who would interfere in their affairs. We can furnish them with the facts, we can fill them with enthusiasm, and send them back with unanswerable arguments against the traffic in their own lands.

Now, you have listened in this series of meetings to specialists who have come prepared to give us information on some particular line, the line with which they are most familiar; and we could not get along without these specialists. But I do not belong to that class. I'm a generalist, instead of a specialist. And I take the facts that the specialist gives, and try to make them plain to all the people. And to-night I want simply to present a brief history of the greatest moral triumph that this nation has ever won, and the greatest triumph ever won at the polls since time began. And to do this, as I want to do it, I have to do what I never like to do, and that is, follow my notes. Notes bother me. They are a nuisance. But I am much more interested in presenting for the record that will be made up a history that will be helpful,—much more interested in that than in either pleasing myself or in pleasing you who assemble here to-night. The report of this Congress will go throughout the world. And I want the world to know something of the victory that we have won in the United States. And that's why I have taken the trouble to jot down some notes, and I will refer to them, but I won't keep my eyes on them all the time! They will be just suggestions, and I will lay aside my glasses and speak extemporaneously most of the time.

Let me first speak of the triumphs, and then of the tasks that are still before us. The visitors ought to know that, in the latter years, we have traveled much more rapidly than any of us expected. When this amendment was submitted, it required two thirds of the members of both Houses of Congress to lay the subject before the nation, and the resolution that submitted National Prohibition gave seven years in which to ratify. We needed one year and less than two months. The amendment was ratified in just a little more than one-seventh of the time allowed for ratification. The Constitution required ratification by thirty-six States. We have ratification by forty-five states of the Union. We needed for ratification three to one. We secured for ratification fifteen to one! I wish we could have made it one more!

You might be interested to know how the New York papers used to deceive their readers in regard to the progress of this reform. And I may say to you that—the reporters of the New York papers will not take this down—I might say to you that I have been getting acquainted with New York papers off and on for about twenty-five years! And the better I know them, the more sure I am that the one passage in all the Bible that has most profoundly impressed them is the passage that says that nineteen hundred years ago the wise men came from the east! And they seem to think that the wise men have been coming from that direction ever since! And, therefore, unless reform starts in New York, they can't have any faith in it! And as no reform ever starts in New York,

they cannot have faith in any reform! And they ridicule reforms down there.

When the South began to go dry, the New York papers said to their readers, "Don't worry about the South." They said, "Those white people down there don't want Prohibition for themselves; they just want it for the black man." And they promised that Prohibition would never come north of the Mason and Dixon line. But it did, and it reached the Canadian line, and every State bordering on Canada ratified.

When the West began to go dry, they said to their readers, "Don't worry about the West; that's just another western craze, and it will soon blow over." And it reminded me of a man down in Kansas who lived on the prairie where the winds were high. He was putting up a fence that adjoined a neighbor's, and a neighbor came along and said, "You are wasting time on that fence. Don't you know that the first wind that comes along will blow it over?" The man replied, "Look at the fence,—four feet wide and three feet high! If it ever blows over, it'll be a foot higher than it is now."

When the agricultural States began to go dry, the New York papers said, "That's just a farmer's question." They said, "Those farmers don't enjoy life anyhow! Their necks are short, and they can't like liquor for that reason! But wait till they get to the city, where the necks are long, and where they can enjoy it all the way down, and Prohibition will not do in the cities!" But the farm communities went dry. And then the States with cities went dry, until it ceased to become an agricultural question. It became a great National question.

And when the Amendment was submitted, after they had said it couldn't be submitted, they immediately changed, and said "It can't be ratified and they showed why. They explained that according to the Constitution it took thirty-six States to ratify, while it only took thirteen to prevent ratification; and they said, "Can't we get thirteen before they can get thirty-six?" And it did look like a difficult proposition. And then they pointed out that they had a greater advantage than we. A dry State had to be dry in both houses, but a wet State needed only one house; and that meant that the dries had to have thirty-six dry States, and that they had to have seventy-two dry Legislatures, while the wets had to have only thirteen wet houses in thirteen States. Now it did look like a great handicap. But, my friends, we secured ninety-one dry houses, and they were able to hold only two States and one half by their legislatures!

The first States to go dry were small States, and then they immediately announced that if this Amendment was ratified it would be because the little States joined together and forced Prohibition on the big States! And they said it was an outrage that the Constitution would permit any such a thing! And the more they thought about it, the madder they got! And the madder they got, the redder they got! And finally they had to print their editorials on pink paper to make them harmonize with their complexions! It was simply awful! But you don't read any edi-

torials like that now, because the big States ratified. New York ratified, and Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and Illinois,—the big four; and then they went on ratifying so fast that you could hardly keep track of them.—Massachusetts and Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas and Oklahoma and Tennessee and Kentucky and Indiana and Michigan and Minnesota and Wisconsin and Iowa and Missouri and Oklahoma and Kansas and Oregon and the two Dakotas, and all the States west and all the States east but three. And now it looks as if the big States were just determined to force Prohibition on Rhode Island! It's a wonderful victory! I want our visitors to know that this is a victory that is not sectional; it's not a southern victory, it's not a western victory, it's not a northern victory, it's not an eastern victory. It's a victory of the nation and of the consciousness of the nation! And it's not partizan! That pleases me!

If the Republicans had done this all by themselves—there are parts of this country that I wouldn't visit. I couldn't stand it. I just couldn't stand to see Republicans swaggering around and claiming credit for the greatest victory of our nation's history. But I can go anywhere now, for my party's had a glorious part in this great victory!

If this were not an international gathering, I'd tell you what the Democratic party had done, but no, no, I won't violate the proprieties of the occasion. I want our visitors to know that the two great parties, the Democratic and Republican parties, have fought over every great question in the arena of politics for fifty years; but when this question came up, when this great moral issue was ripe for settlement, these two parties laid aside their differences on other subjects, and stood together for the home against the home's greatest enemies. And they share the glory together, and in about equal degree. It's interesting to note that when the vote was taken in the Senate and House, the percentage of Democrats and Republicans voting for and against these measures was almost exactly the same. Now if the Democrats had done it all by themselves, I suppose I'd be tempted to brag a little. But I'm an American citizen before I am a Democrat, and I would rather have it the way it is. I'd rather have it unanimous than for either party to have the benefit of the victory. And then I feel surer about its being permanent, when the parties agree in bringing it.

Looking back over thirty years of active participation in politics, I can see that sentiment has changed from time to time, and one time one party is in, and another time the other party triumphs; and if it were a party victory, we might tremble lest a reversal of party success might rob us of the benefit of Prohibition. But when they win it together, and by such a majority as they have, it's a revolution, and we will not turn back! I think it's a fortunate thing that we do act together. And I may stop for a moment to say that when we look back over the great fights that we've had in the last few years, we find that every Constitutional amendment has been adopted by joint action of the parties; that

however people may differ, and however parties may fight, when a great issue is ready, and the people understand it, when the nation has arrived at the point where it's to go forward, the two parties join together, and they carry their standards side by side as the nation moves forward to higher ground. That's true of all our great reforms, and it's true in a very special degree of this, the greatest of all our moral reforms.

And now I want to speak of some of the causes that have contributed to this triumph. There's glory enough for all the organizations that have had a part in the winning of this victory. As has been said by our distinguished official, who has played so important and so honorable a part in the final settlement of this question in the courts of last resort, "It's not a new movement; it's not a thing sprung upon the people suddenly. The fight for this reform has gone on for something like a hundred years, and the greatest factor in the winning of the fight has been the awakening of the conscience of the nation; and it's been a very gradual process."

I was interested to learn, something like two years ago, that the activity of the Congregational Church began about one hundred years ago, and it has made such progress and done such splendid work that if there are any Congregationalists here to-night they will pardon me if I refer to the incident that stirred them to action. Down in Connecticut, there was a meeting of Congregational clergymen. They did some work in the morning, and adjourned for their noon meal; and at the noon meal, so many of them drank to excess that they were not able to resume the session in the afternoon. And Lyman Beecher, the father of Henry Ward Beecher, was so impressed and so distressed that he prepared and delivered six powerful sermons against drink; and if you will read them, you will find in them almost every argument that we've made since in favor of total abstinence and legislation against the liquor traffic. And he stirred his generation, and as a result of those sermons, a great temperance society, national in extent, was organized, and from that day the Congregational Church has been a growing power for good on the side of the home against the saloon.

We have with us on the platform here one of the most illustrious representatives of one of our greatest churches, and no church has furnished more active workers for the cause of Prohibition than the Methodist Church; and yet I am informed that the Methodist Church began its activity in a very modest way; that the first resolution introduced in a Methodist General Conference was not in favor of Prohibition; it was simply to the effect that ministers of that church should not be pecuniarily interested in the liquor traffic! And that couldn't pass the first time it was introduced, either. I suppose they considered it was an infringement on their personal liberty. I think it was in the next session that it passed.

But I wouldn't speak of the Methodists, if I did not have something to say about the Presbyterians,—my own church. I am very proud of my own church and of its activity in these latter years. But

I am informed that the first resolution of this character, or pertaining to this subject, introduced into the Presbyterian General Assembly was to the effect that Presbyterian preachers could not drink in public! Now, no one could say that that was a radical beginning!

I was speaking of the history of these beginnings in the various churches down in Mississippi, and a Baptist came up and seemed to be a little hurt that I hadn't mentioned his church. He said, "You didn't say anything about the Baptist Church."

"Well," I said, "I don't know anything. Tell me, and I will tell anything that you can give me as a fact.

"Well," he said, "We were looking over the records of one of our Baptist churches near here a few years ago, and we found the minutes of a meeting held back before the war, and a resolution was passed at the meeting declaring that members of the church ought not to sell intoxicating liquor on the church grounds during the service!"

Now here are four great branches of the Christian church; and I call attention to the things that illustrate how, only a short time ago, comparatively speaking, they had not undertaken this great work. But year after year, we have found an increasing awakening, and now we find the churches of this country standing with practical unanimity against the liquor traffic; and with the women now voting, all the churches will be with us against the opening of the saloon in this country forevermore.

I think it's worth while to note that the churches that have been our greatest factor were not always as active as they are today. It's been an awakening of conscience in which they've led.

And then, about fifty years ago—a little more than that—a great temperance organization was formed,—the Good Templars,—more than fifty years ago, and the gentleman who presides with such dignity and fairness at these meetings was one of the leading members of that great organization that now has some 750,000 members, and extends throughout the world. They began back when they were simply trying to persuade people to sign a pledge. It was individually offered to save individuals from the drink habit.

And then, nearly half a century ago, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized. Think of it! When you think of the work that that organization has done; when you consider its faith and its vision; when you remember that they began fighting for two great reforms, that it took fifty years almost to secure them, and that they triumphed almost simultaneously,—they began fighting for Prohibition and for woman suffrage—and when you consider their faith and their industry and their patience and their perseverance, I think you will agree with me that it's the greatest organization among women that the world has yet known. It's had a tremendous part. Without it we never could have won this victory. And I lose no opportunity to pay my tribute of praise to this organization for the glorious part it's had.

And then back about that time, a party was organized with Prohibi-

tion as its only plank, and men left other organizations, forfeited their opportunity to share in the rewards of victory, and they persistently and consistently fought for Prohibition as a principle.

We can not tell how much each one of these organizations contributed. But, my friends, we've needed them all for the final outcome in this triumph.

Twenty-seven years ago last spring the Anti-Saloon League was organized. And the same State, the State of Ohio, that gave birth to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, gave birth to the Anti-Saloon League. It was born in prayer, as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was born in prayer. And for now more than a quarter of a century this organization has accumulated force and strength and numbers and influence, and its organizing power has been a very important factor in the winning of this victory.

These are some of the causes that have contributed. And as the years went by, church boards were organized. Among those actively engaged with this great meeting, this great Congress, is the Rev. Charles Scanlon, who has been at the head of the Presbyterian Board of Temperance. And we've had also the Methodist Board of Temperance. And church after church has set apart money, and selected powerful representatives to speak for the church in this accumulating force that has won this victory. And near the close of the fight a large number of organizations, Catholic and Protestant, religious and non-religious, joined together in the formation of the National Dry Federation.

I have only mentioned some of these. They've all had a part, and they all have a share in the triumph and the glory of the triumph.

But the conscience has only been one part, the greater factor, but not the only factor. Science has contributed. And, my friends, we have reason to be grateful for what science has done in helping us to win this fight. The great delusion that we had to contend against was that it didn't hurt to drink, if you didn't drink too much. But nobody could ever define how much "too much" was. And a great many people went down to drunkard's graves as they vainly sought for the imaginary line between moderation and excess. Many stories have been told to illustrate how impossible it is to fix a line and stop there. The best story I know, if you will pardon me for telling a story, is this: A man said to one of his friends, "I am drinking too much. I know it. And I don't want to do it. But I just can't help it, and it isn't my fault. My friends keep asking me to drink, and the first thing I know I get too much."

His friend says, "I will tell you how to prevent it. After this, when you get all the whisky you want, and anybody asks you to have more, don't call for whisky; call for sarsaparilla."

"But," he says, "that's the trouble. When I get all the whisky I want, I can't say 'sarsaparilla'."

Science has taught us that even a moderate use of intoxicating liquor is harmful. Science has taught us that the line to look for isn't the

imaginary line between so-called moderation and excess, a line that is like the line of the horizon that recedes as you approach until it's lost in the darkness of the night. Science has taught us that's not the line to look for, that there's a clear, easily discerned line between not drinking and drinking, and that's the line to look for.

And now, they've accumulated the statistics until there is only one side to this question. They have shown us that the accidents are most frequent on Monday, after they have had a holiday, and before they've recovered from the effects of drink. And that is true not here only, but everywhere in industry all over the world. You'll find that the largest number of accidents occur after a holiday. They have found that if a man is shooting at a target, and they get the average accurately, they can tell how much he has been drinking by the increasing number of mistakes that he makes. They have found that it decreases a man's power to resist disease; that when he reaches the crisis of a disease, whether he lives or dies may depend entirely on whether he's poisoned his system with alcohol. And the insurance companies now furnish the statistics to show that if a young man of twenty-one begins to drink, he must deliberately decide to trade more than four years of his life's expectancy for the pleasure of drinking.

But the most terrible thing that science has revealed is that the alcohol habit fastened on man or woman does not stop with the one who drinks, but goes on and on, and curses children unborn; for they now know,—and we have before us as one of the delegates from Great Britain, perhaps the most distinguished of all the authorities on eugenics, and by the study of this science they've learned that little children come into the world with their eyes closed to life's possibilities before they could have a chance to see the light of day. My friends, I can't think of anything more terrible than that a father or mother, for the pleasure of drinking, should thus injure their own flesh and blood—those who come into the world at their call.

These are some of the things science has taught us; and if any one tells me that this victory is going to be undone, that this revolution is going to turn back, I answer them that we build our success upon facts that will never be undone, and that it will never turn back, and the arguments will never be less strong than they are today.

But business has helped us. Business men have found that they can't afford to entrust important business to any man who will befuddle his brain with liquor; and the business promotions and discriminations have taught the young men that it doesn't pay in business to drink. If any young man thinks that drinking pays, let me suggest a way in which he can satisfy himself of his mistake. Let him go to the best friend he has and ask that friend to give him a recommendation, and make it strong, and when the friend has said everything good about him that he knows, let him add just a few words at the end, and put them in red ink, so they'll be sure to be seen, — just a few words, — “And he drinks.” And then let him take that recommendation to anybody who has money

enough to hire another man, and then watch his face when he reads those words, and then wait until somebody else gets the place!

Business has helped us. But, my friends, in this country we have had another argument on our side, and that is, our respect for the right of the majority to rule. No matter what a man's opinion may be on a subject in this country, he's taught to recognize the right of the people to have what they want, as the fundamental right in popular government. And those who respect our form of government yield obedience when the people speak; and while we have people now rising in rebellion against Prohibition, I want these visitors to know that the world has never presented such a spectacle as we present in this country, when a nation of more than a hundred millions of people accept a change that affects their habits of life, and accept it as a settled thing that's not to be undone.

More than that, I want the visitors to know that while this fight has continued, commencing in cities, continuing in States, and ending in the nation, that we do not yet know of a single people's representative elected to office on a platform in favor of Prohibition who has been corrupted for election and betrayed the people who elected him. We have known them to dodge. We have seen them get into office by evasion, and fool the people after election. But, so far as I know, there's not a single instance in State or nation of the corruption of a public official on this question who had pledged himself beforehand; and that, in spite of the fact that the liquor traffic has had its millions and could make a man rich if he would just violate his promise to his people. It's a great fight; and the victory, I think, is a great tribute to the integrity of the American people.

But, my friends, there are many things that I want to say, and I will have to hurry on, for I recognize that I am speaking at a late hour. We have also benefited by the experiences of the places that have tried it. Mention has been made of how we've gone from town to county and from county to State, and from State to nation. I think we ought to have it understood that each place that has gone dry has strengthened the organization in favor of Prohibition by showing what Prohibition can do when it's enforced; and we've proven the benefits of Prohibition, even when we've forced Prohibition on unwilling communities.

Prohibition was forced on the city of Denver. The city of Denver voted ten thousand "No," when the State went dry; but one year's experience under Prohibition led the city of Denver to vote fourteen thousand against allowing beer to come back into the State after they had tried the benefits of Prohibition.

And so with the city of Seattle on the western coast. Go down into Birmingham, Alabama, a great manufacturing district, and you will find that before the city went dry they built a great big jail, costing about a hundred thousand dollars. Just about the time they got it done, the State made Birmingham dry, against the wishes of the people of Birmingham; but when Birmingham went dry, they didn't need their jail.

They've never had a prisoner in it, and they now use it for a school!

Prohibition, forced upon Massachusetts, reduced the number of boys in the reform school from a thousand to four hundred in four months' time. Prohibition, forced upon the city of New York, has reduced crime about thirty-three per cent.

My friends, Prohibition has vindicated its claim by experience. Go out through the West, and you'll find counties with jails empty. I found in the State of Washington three counties adjoining, with empty jails; and they told me they were going to get a law passed the next session of the Legislature allowing the counties to join together and keep a jail in common, because under Prohibition they didn't have criminals enough in a county to support a jail! Up in the East they have been selling their county poorhouses, because they couldn't get enough people into the poorhouse now to do the work upon the poorhouse farm!

And so, as place after place has gone dry, we have found Prohibition a success. I went out to a town in Kansas, Emporia, where they have a great normal college, and just before I arrived there a teacher had asked two questions of eight hundred students. First, "How many of you eight hundred students ever saw an open saloon in Kansas?" And only three out of eight hundred students had ever seen a saloon in Kansas. And the second question was, "How many of you eight hundred students ever saw a drunken man in Kansas?" And eight of eight hundred—only eight had ever seen a drunken man in Kansas!

It has been the success in the territory where it has been tried that has given us the arguments to win in the territory where it has not been tried.

And I may add here that whenever we got a town dry, the liquor traffic set up its machinery in the nearest wet town, and conspired against the law in the dry territory. And then, when we got a county dry, they set up their machinery in the next county. And when we got a State dry, they set up the machinery in the next State. And they have conspired against law and order. And now we have a nation dry, and they have to go three miles from shore in water over their head before they can conspire against the law of the nation!

And I believe, my friends, that every day will find a more and more complete enforcement of the law; and I venture to suggest here that the time is not far distant when we will stop the leakage that is going on in this country now by the Government taking over all the manufactured alcohol, and then making the manufacturers of alcohol a Government monopoly, so there'll be no more places from which they can supply this intoxicating drink.

But, my friends, these are some of the things that have contributed to the victory of our cause. The respectability argument finally came over to our side. It used to be respectable for people to defend the saloon. It's not now. The saloon has been tried; the sa-

looon has been convicted; the saloon has been sentenced; and the saloon has been executed, and by the time a man is executed in this world, he loses all his friends, except the members of the family, and they speak mournfully of him! It's no longer respectable to be on the side of the liquor traffic. It's an outlawed traffic; it's a fugitive from justice. And, my friends, respectability is now on our side, and respectability is a tremendous argument in support of any cause.

Patriotism helped us in the last days of our fight. We found out the character of the liquor traffic. We found that when this nation entered war, and when we needed one-hundred-per-cent men, that the men engaged in the liquor traffic would put their houses, their saloons, near the gates of our cantonments. They even put them by the side of the fields where we were training aviators, and we found that the men back of the liquor traffic would, for pay, make drunkards of all our soldiers if they could, and leave the nation defenseless against the foe.

And then we tested out the value of Prohibition for our young men for the first time in the world's history. Our nation attempted to train a great army with alcohol kept from the soldier. And what was the result? The result was that we trained our men for war in less time than any men were ever put into condition to fight, and in less time than it would have been possible to do, if they had divided their time between the camp and the nearby saloon.

And, as Dr. Saleeby stated, when he was speaking in this country a year ago, the saloon is not only an evil in itself, but it is the gateway to all other evils; and when we took away alcohol we took away the things that followed in the wake of alcohol; and our boys set an example in cleanliness of life and in freedom from the diseases that are attributable to immorality. We found that when we took away alcohol, we could take boys from farm and factory, and in a few months' time we could convert them into as great fighting machines as this world ever saw. And what we learned, the world will learn. And the experience of our nation will aid all the world in the training of young men.

Now, my friends, these are some of the things that helped us to win. And now, I want to speak of the tasks that remain before us. Let no one think that because we've won this fight, our battle is ended. We have it in the Constitution. We have it on the statute-books. But it has to be enforced, and we will never enforce this law through men who do not believe in Prohibition. No county would entrust the enforcement of a law against stealing to a sheriff who believed in stealing. And it's just as absurd to attempt to enforce the law against alcoholism by a man who does not believe in Prohibition. And I think the best test that an official can give that he's going to enforce the law, is willingness to put its enforcement in the hands of people who believe in the law, and not of people who are opposed to the law. I believe that enforcement will grow easier day

by day, and year by year, and that the time is not far distant when we will be able to shake the world with the testimony that this nation will give against alcoholism, with Prohibition enforced, enforced by officers, national, State and local; for we are only beginning to get the benefits of Prohibition, and we will enjoy them in proportion as the law is enforced.

But, my friends, I believe we have a more prominent work than enforcement. Enforcement ought to grow easier constantly. But there's one work that must continue generation after generation, and that's the teaching of the people to believe in total abstinence, that they may put a total-abstinence sentiment back of this Prohibition amendment and law. We can't expect to keep Prohibition unless the people believe that alcohol is a harmful thing; and here we stand upon solid rock. Here we plant ourselves upon propositions that can be stated without qualification and without limitation.

Let me set forth a few of the fundamental propositions upon which we build our claim that total abstinence is wise. First, the use of alcohol is not necessary. God never made alcohol necessary to a normal body, mind, or soul.

Second, God never made a man strong enough to commence the use of alcohol and be sure that he would not become its victim. Every drunkard who has fallen into a disgraced grave has passed through a period of confidence when he boasted that he could drink what he wanted to and let it alone when he wanted to. But he over-estimated his strength, and fell. No man can afford to take the risk that comes with the formation of this habit.

Third, God has never placed a year in a human life after which it's safe to begin. Neither in youth, nor in middle age, nor in old age is it safe for one to commence the use of intoxicating liquor.

From these propositions I go on to three more. Every human being who believes in God believes that he must stand accountable to God for the service that he rendered. How can a man then dare to impair by drink his power to render service? How can a Christian who has given himself in pledge of service to God and to Christ, how dare he take into his body that which lessens his power to serve? And how can any one justify the expenditure of money for drink, when there are so many causes that need all the money that any one has to spare? Least of all, how can a Christian justify the expenditure of money for intoxicants—how can he go down on his knees at morning and pray to the Heavenly Father—"Thy Kingdom come," and then rise up and spend for intoxicating liquor money he can spare to hasten the coming of God's kingdom on earth? And how can one dare to set an example that will harm his brother?

Friends, we will have enough to answer for when we stand before the judgment bar of God without having a ruined soul rise and testify that it was our example that led him to his ruin.

And, my friends, what I say against alcohol, I say against ai-

cohol in any form, and in any kind of drink. I hope our people from other lands will not go back with the idea that we in this country who are fighting against alcoholism are discriminating in favor of any kind of drink, for we have the question of wine and beer, and we are no more in favor of wine and beer than we are in favor of alcohol in any other form. And I think our visitors should know that the men who make beer have been even a greater corrupting influence in this country than the men who made whisky. The brewer and the distiller have been partners in business. They have conspired against everything high and holy. And now that they reach the end of their wicked careers we shall not separate them. They shall die together, and be buried in the same grave.

If you have any faith in the Bible, turn back through its pages and find that wine has been a mocker throughout the years. It was wine that made a drunkard of Noah. The Bible says that when he came out of the ark he planted a vineyard and drank of the wine thereof, and was drunken. And the Good Book tells us that his sons, in mortification took a garment, and walking backwards, that they might not see their father's nakedness, they spread the garment over him as he lay drunk in his bed. And if you are not relying upon Bible history, turn to your "Iliad," and you will find that away back there in those twilight days Achilles killed Agamemnon, a wine-bibber. It was a term of reproach even then. Take your Bibles, and you will find that in the Book of Esther, it was wine that made Aliasuerus merry and drunken, and it was when he was merry with wine that he sought to humiliate his beautiful wife and sent for her that he might exhibit her charms to that lot of drunken revelers; and Vashti ought to stand as one of the great lights among the women who are martyrs to drink, for she lost a crown rather than surrender her self-respect. And it was wine that made her the victim of her king's anger. It was wine that Daniel refused to drink. My friends, what a picture Daniel's experience presents! The overseer offered him wine from the king's table, and he asked that he be permitted to drink water instead of wine. And the overseer said, "Daniel, I'd like to permit this, but you know I am responsible for your appearance, and if I let you drink water while the others drink wine, you would not look as well as they, and then I'd be to blame." Where on earth he got the idea that a young man could improve his appearance by drinking wine, I don't know. But he was touched by Daniel's eloquence, and he permitted the test to be made; and ten days were set apart, and at the end of the time he was brought before the overseer, he and his high-brow companions, and they proved by actual test that the water was better than the wine. And that test has been going on from that day to this, and never in a single case has it been found that wine was better for a young man than water.

The Bible is full of the evidence that wine is a thing that can

not be trusted. You may go through all the nations and search their history, and you will find tragedies that are due to wine. Alexander the Great killed his favorite general at the table, when they were drunk—a man who had once saved his life. And it has been brought down to today. Ibañez, the greatest living writer in Spain, has recently written a book condemning the wine-saloon of Spain, and he tells how the young men of promise are destroyed. There they are, destroyed before they are old enough to redeem the pledge that they've made to help their fellows.

No, my friends, we will make no discrimination; we will preach total abstinence; and I believe that every church should have its pledge-book, and that every member of a church and Sunday-school should be urged to sign the pledge, and throw his or her influence on the side of total abstinence.

What can be the pleasure of drink compared with the pleasure of helping people to avoid the danger that comes with the use of intoxicating liquor?

And now, my friends, let me say to you that, having emancipated our nation, this nation is ready to enlist in a war to drive intoxicating liquor off the face of the earth! And we shall not be deterred by any newspaper threats. What the newspapers say in other lands on this subject is not news to us. We had it in this country until by law we stopped advertising on the advertising pages. We used to get live editorial pages in regard to the liquor traffic, and one reason why it took us so long to vindicate the effect of Prohibition was that in the beginning we failed to make it unprofitable for the papers to misrepresent. There has been a crusade in this country, a newspaper crusade, against the truth; and you couldn't find the truth on this subject in the papers that could make their thousands by advertising intoxicants first.

My friends, we couldn't refuse to take part in world Prohibition. If we wanted to, our consciences wouldn't allow us to; our self-respect would forbid silence on this subject. We've found a remedy, and the world must know about it. What would you think of people concealing a remedy for the disease that twenty-two years ago we had as the great disease to be feared in the army—typhoid fever. I remember that in our camp in Florida hundreds died of typhoid fever. Twenty-seven of the brave men of my own regiment died of typhoid fever. And they were encamped, and not upon the battlefield at all. But we found a remedy. We make men immune now to typhoid fever. And of the nearly a billion that went to the battle-line in France, not an American soldier died of typhoid fever! What would you think of a nation that would discover a remedy for typhoid fever and not give it to the world? Now, total abstinence is upon the same principle as the remedy for typhoid fever. By total abstinence we make men immune to alcoholism. No teetotaler ever dies of alcoholism!

But there's another great remedy that has been discovered, and that's the remedy for yellow fever. When men tried to complete the canal across the Isthmus of Panama, in the beginning they were baffled by yellow fever. Scores died, hundreds died, thousands died; but they found a remedy. They discovered that it was the mosquito that carried the germ of the disease; and when they found that, they destroyed the breeding-place of the mosquito, and now they've made the tropics habitable.

And so, after we'd tried half-way measures for a long while, we found that the saloon was creating more drunkards than we could prevent by total abstinence. We found that the saloon was the breeding-place of the germ of alcoholism, and so we adopted Prohibition; and now we destroy the saloon, the breeding-place of these germs, we have a double remedy, and we want to give it to the world. And I have faith that it's going to triumph throughout the world. We've traveled so fast, we've gone so far, that I believe now that I shall yet live to see the day when there will not be an open saloon under the flag of any civilized nation in all this world!

My friends, you'll pardon me if, in the presence of these visitors, I express my confidence in my nation's leadership in two great reforms. I believe the two greatest reforms for which the world waits to-day are the abolition of war everywhere, and the driving of intoxicating drinks from off the earth. And I am praying that our own beloved land may, in the providence of God, be permitted to lead the world in these two great reforms; and if we can do so, we shall have placed to the credit of the nation the two greatest services that any nation has been able to render to mankind. And it's because I realize that those who have come from other lands to meet with us on this occasion have come with their hearts consecrated to this great cause which brings us here, that I feel honored to be associated with them; and if by coming here tonight and by recalling what has been done in this country, I can contribute even a small part toward helping them in their fight in other lands, I shall be happy for the opportunity thus afforded. I thank you for your attention.

THE CHAIRMAN made some announcements relating to the visit to Mount Vernon on the morrow and the Congress then adjourned.

MORNING SESSION

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1920

The session was convened with the Chairman of the Congress, Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie, presiding.

THE VERY REV. P. J. O'CALLAGHAN offered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hope that none of you will think for a moment that the Chair wants to be ungracious at any time, but the Chair has problems of his own. We have some people who are here from a long distance to be heard. One paper has gone over. Another gentleman that came unexpectedly a long distance to tell us about a tremendously important campaign that is going on in Scotland, that we want to hear about, is here, and must be heard; and we have several gentlemen connected with embassies and legations, and officially appointed by their governments, who are to be heard this morning by appointment.

I shall be very glad if Sir François Lemieux, of Canada, will come to the platform. I think he will respond on behalf of the Canadian Government. He was not here the other day, by reason of a delayed train when the welcoming addresses were given, and the responses were made. I have great pleasure in introducing Sir François Lemieux, the Chief Justice of the Dominion of Canada's Supreme Court.

RESPONSE

BY SIR FRANÇOIS LEMIEUX

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: As just stated by the President, I am the official representative of the Canadian Government, and I think that before operating as such representative, and as a stranger to this country, on your behalf and on my behalf as well, it is a duty and a very agreeable duty to express our deepest admiration to you, the worthy president, and your most intelligent committee, for the splendid organization that has led to the success of the Congress. And I would, moreover, propose if there is somebody in the meeting will second my proposition, a standing vote of the strangers who come from all over the world, a standing vote of thanks to you, Mr. President, to your committee, and to the American nation, for the splendid and most gracious reception made to us during our most delightful stay in the great capital of Washington!

I do not intend to examine the legal aspect of the temperance laws of Canada. I shall confine my remarks to showing what are

the best elements and most powerful factors wherewith to combat alcoholism.

The recent sanguinary war, which has threatened the very fabric of our social system and which brought perturbation in our economic and political institutions, could not fail to affect the temperance question in many ways, because the experience of centuries has proven that wars have generally been the cause of wide-spread demoralization. But war, which wrought so much havoc, which heaped ruin and devastation, has had one good effect; it awakened humanity from its selfish indifference and brought it to realize that there is such a thing as solidarity among men; that men may transgress the divine command of Christian brotherly love, but that they can not with impunity ignore the ties which, willingly or unwillingly, bind together nations and human beings the world over.

War had another great result, which was to show where were the nations that had the sentiment of justice; and among other nations that held that sentiment was America, which played such a noble and humanitarian part in the great drama. During that war the courageous boys of the United States showed that the blood running in their veins was the blood of their forefathers, and that they were not only "chips of the old block," but that they themselves were the "old block" which has not yet chipped.

It is a thought of altruistic concern which has brought about this Congress, the purpose of which is to secure the coöperation of all men of good-will towards suppressing a great evil, the worst enemy of mankind, alcoholism, which, according to Gladstone, has caused more harm than the three historical scourges: famine, pestilence and war.

My contribution to these great assizes may be very modest: I have come to learn rather than to teach.

According to my experience, the women have been in the past and are yet the greatest factor of temperance: and I am glad to have such a solemn opportunity offered me to express our deep and grateful admiration—and I know I am voicing the sentiments of all—to the women who have been the pioneer advocates of our great cause. I do not know what is the custom in this country, but if I were in Canada, my country, I think I would have enough authority to propose, as a mark of admiration and gratitude, a standing vote to the ladies.

The reason of the courage of women is apparent: Woman is the most directly affected, the most immediately exposed victim of alcohol. How often during my judicial career have I witnessed heartrending tragedies where alcohol held the part of villain and held it well! How often I have heard the sad tales of so many wives and mothers! I have seen, when at the bar and since I have been on the bench, what I should call deluges of tears, when unfortunate husbands and children, guilty of crimes attributable to alcohol, were

sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, others to the penitentiary, or even to the gallows. How many desolate creatures, overburdened with grief and shame, came for assistance, begging for protection from liquor-crazed brutes! And, alas! How many poor victims were driven, through desperation, to vice and dishonor!

Is it any wonder that woman, a born sympathizer with suffering, should have volunteered her support, her enthusiasm, her winning diplomacy towards redeeming such helpless victims from actual slavery. They may be of the weaker sex, but they showed that they could fight with vigor and courage, that they could do wonders of heroism, for the reason that they were defending what is most dear to their hearts. They meant to save what is everything to them—their husbands, their children, their brothers, their homes, their very happiness and their very lives.

Gentlemen, we men and the world at large owe a debt of gratitude to such women as Miss Frances Willard, the founder of the great W. C. T. U. in America; to Mrs. Mary Hunt; to Lady Somerset, in England; to Mrs. Dickson, in Sweden; to Madame Legrain, in France, to many women in Canada, etc., and, in fact, to every woman who is an irreducible enemy of alcohol.

Many means may be suggested to combat alcoholism, and they are to be derived from two sources: Government intervention and private initiative. According to my humble experience, having been many years in public life and a Member of Parliament, I know that public men will support and adopt temperance legislation only when electors after a long campaign of education impose their views upon the legislators. If the Congress of the United States and the Parliament of Canada have had the courage to overcome many influences and obstacles to put in the statute-book prohibitive laws concerning liquor, it is due to the fact that the people had the "pluck" to tell the public men: "Prohibition or no vote; temperance laws to protect the citizens, the happiness of the family, and the future of the country or no vote!"

It will be eternal honor to the Congress of this country for having given to the world such a splendid example of patriotism, and we Canadians, your friendly neighbors, are proud indeed to offer you our national gratitude.

Returning to my subject, let me say that woman is by temperament fitted to take an active and successful part in the crusade. Her very happiness and peace are at stake; besides the moral aim to attain, she is personally interested either actually or eventually. Her fascinating ways give double force to a strong argument. She can make her home much more attractive than the club. She can make family life delightful, and can win her husband back from the saloon and keep her sons away from it.

The people are not prejudiced against women; they are satisfied that the motives underlying their activities are unselfish. A man

urging another to subscribe to his views will be oftentimes suspected of some afterthought, political or personal, and sometimes of religious interest.

Of all the horrors, of all the crimes to be laid at the door of alcoholism, the most deplorable is its influence on children. That the man who drinks be eventually stricken in health is to be expected; it is fatal, implacable justice. But what is indeed pitiable is to see children, poor guiltless children, made to suffer through heredity for the faults of others. They are tied down with the chain of certain inherited predispositions, doomed to the tyranny of certain hereditary failings or cravings with, oftentimes, in the background of their lives the gloomy prospect of the insane asylum, the hospital, the jail or the morgue, after a miserable existence. Is it any wonder that the wives and mothers were moved to pity, and decided to save the young generations from the horrors of alcoholism.

The mothers, as a rule, are quite alive to their duty of educating their children as to the desirability of temperance and warning them against the evils of drink.

Now let us speak of the school or of the teacher who may be another factor of temperance. Let the teacher follow up and accentuate the training initiated by the mother. The proper period in life to convince and moralize a man, to set him in the right path and prepare him for a life useful both to himself and his fellow-beings, is when he is young, when his faculties are keen, when his heart and mind may be easily impressed, when his soul is open to generous thoughts, to good sentiments and to enthusiasm towards great and noble ideals. Start him right, and the chances are he will not stray from the path. Let the teacher cultivate the self-pride of the boy into personal dignity, develop his manliness. Teach him, as a French humorist writes, that a successful cure for alcoholism is the infusion of a few grains of will-power into any quantity of water. Appeal to his better instincts, educate his intelligence and heart not only through his memory, but through his eyes, by wall tableaux or pictures of a nature to strike his imagination.

We see in public places such notices as "Keep off the grass," "Drive slowly," "Danger," "No admittance." Why should not people, and especially children and young men, be warned in a similar way against the worst dangers of liquor, thus: "Keep out of the saloon"; "Beware of whisky,"; "Bar-room spells danger"; "Safety first; don't drink;" "Be sober and you will be a good Christian," etc.?

If as much money had been expended in antialcoholic slogans and attractive illustrations to be displayed all over the land in most conspicuous places, in newspapers, on posters, etc. as has been spent in extolling such and such a brand of whisky or cigarettes, how much more benefit would have resulted to humanity!

Former President Poincaré, of France, said: "It would be deplorable if after the generous efforts of the parents towards the men-

tal and moral formation of the children, alcoholism should step in and compromise the result. It is therefore important that the scholars should be warned against the lurking danger, that they should be inspired with the fear and distrust of alcohol, and be informed as to the shameful consequences of alcoholism."

The teachers should be bound to discharge towards their pupils this duty, which is not merely of a moral nature, but which verily is of a public national character. The teaching of temperance and antialcoholism should be made compulsory in every school, as it is in some countries amongst which are the United States and Canada. It would be well calculated to create a higher standard of private and public morals and a more profound patriotism. Why should not temperance find its place in the curriculum? It is much more important, even from a purely business standpoint, than arithmetic or grammar.

There is another class of people whose support I would crave for our cause, because they are all-powerful, well-organized; they mean well and constitute the majority in any nation or in any democracy; I mean the working men.

I believe temperance is on the program of every labor organization and brotherhood. Labor is well aware of the fact that there is no surer way to stultify a man, tread him down, and divest him of his self-consciousness than alcoholism.

Vandervelde, the famous Belgian labor head, has said in a book he wrote on the question that "alcohol is the opium of the proletariat." The labor leaders all over the world, Burns, Keir Hardie, Guesde, Jouhaux, Gompers and others, hold the same view.

I believe that if the labor organizations were to declare war on alcoholism—though I am free to admit that the working men are just as temperate a class as there is—the day would not be far distant when the conditions governing labor would be adjusted along lines of true social justice; that is, a more judicious distribution of the public wealth.

I said a moment ago that I relied more on the action of the people than of the Government, although I must say that there are certain reforms which should be brought about through legislation. Does it not strike you as inconsistent that governments should subsidize—and properly so—associations aiming at suppressing the white plague and yet display so little interest towards wiping out alcoholism which is the chief purveyor of hospitals and sanatoria? Governments should devote large sums of money for the pursuit of a campaign of education on temperance.

Amongst the means or plans devised to suppress the evil is one which strikes me favorably as it appeals to human nature, and such an appeal is bound to be heeded. The legislator in every country has reformed morals chiefly through penalizing the offenders. That system is based on the fear of punishment rather than of the love of

virtue. It has not modified towards good the inner nature of man. A full measure of justice would consist not only in punishing crime, but as well in rewarding virtue, in rewarding the sober man. Would it not be worth while to try the experiment as regards alcoholism by rewarding those who abstain from drink. In other words, instead of trying to make virtue compulsory, make it profitable, and infuse enthusiasm in the hearts of the temperate man or of the abstainer.

Personal interest is the great prompting motive of human actions. Let us therefore use or exploit that feature of human nature.

Let us create another incentive of morality, let us place a prize on temperance by giving, for instance, a higher wage or a bonus to salaried men who are total abstainers.

As a rule, I am averse to discriminating between men engaged in the same class of work and performing the same duties, but if such discrimination is based on grounds of efficiency and public safety, the principle is no longer objectionable.

The same system could carry in the army and navy. Alcohol is fatal to discipline; it weakens the men, lessens the endurance and energy and shatters their nervous system. Most mutinies can be traced down to drink.

We could profitably apply the same principle to railway employees, bank clerks, public officials, and in fact to every class of employment, menial or otherwise.

This great country is replete with wealthy philanthropists, and if I were one of them I would rather spend a few millions in founding temperance prizes than in building sanatoria for alcoholized people or degenerate children of drunkards. An ounce of prevention is always worth a pound of cure, despite the high cost of living! That man would be hailed as a benefactor of humanity to a greater extent than Nobel, Montyon, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and the other noted men who established such foundations.

To serve a similar purpose and using the same incentive, great national, or even international contests could be instituted, inviting people to compete for the greatest drama based on the great social question of alcoholism; the best film on the same subject; the most appropriate manual on alcoholism for school use; the most artistic painting or drawing portraying the moral and physical degeneracy caused by drink, etc.

I spoke of infusing enthusiasm in the minds and hearts of children of the people. Therefore, those who can write should write, those who can speak should speak, in order that the people at large should remove from their minds the prejudice against temperance or Prohibition. They should not be afraid to be called "cranky" or "the dries," and they should, by the hundreds and thousands, turn out in patriotic processions or national demonstrations with their temperance regalias and medals. It would be a great spectacle be-

cause it would be a procession impersonating health, good conduct and love of family and country.

I shall close my remarks by quoting a verse sung at the pageant: "O God, our help in ages past, our hope in years to come!" Substituting the word "temperance," I shall say: "O Temperance, our help in the present age, our national and religious hope in years to come!"

I see, decorating these walls, the American flag, the glorious Stars and Stripes which can not fail to enthuse the hearts and souls of the people of this great country. Yet, I can feel a still more inspiring stimulus animating this cosmopolitan gathering; I can see, with my mind's eye, hovering over this Congress as a tutelar divinity, the very spirit of the Founder of the American Republic, whose name is spoken with profound veneration in all civilized countries, Washington the Great, who knew so well that temperance spells liberty; Washington, the immortal liberator, whose magnificent monument impressed me so deeply this morning, that I came near kneeling down and invoking his intercession from above that he may enlighten our deliberations so that they yield abundant fruit and that all of humanity may be emancipated from the shackles of alcoholism.

Mr. Chairman, this visit of mine in America will be one of the best remembered souvenirs in my life! And always I shall feel grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the American nation, for what we learned. We shall leave here with a car-load of learning; and I hope that the customs officer won't trouble me at the line when I pass through.

I repeat my thanks that come from the bottom of my heart, and that come from the heart of the Canadian nation, which is the neighbor nation of the American nation, and I propose a standing vote of the visitors to the Congress.

MR. THOMAS REA (of Scotland): Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I am sure it would be presumption on my part to add anything to the admirable words spoken by Sir Francois Lemieux, but he has asked me, as coming from that far-away island that is sometimes forgotten, even by our friends in England, because when they say "England," they sometimes forget Scotland; when they say "Great Britain" they sometimes say that Scotland can be left out. I want you to understand that it's exactly the reverse of that. When they say "England," Scotland is out; when they say "Great Britain," Scotland is in. But, coming from Scotland, I say it is particularly appropriate, I think, that I should be asked from a national standpoint, and not from a personal sense, to second this motion because this year in Scotland I hope, I prophesy, we are to reap the fruits—some of the first fruits of these conferences, which have gone on for years; and I take this opportunity of thanking not only the members

of the committee of this Congress, but all the members who have attended these Congresses, and made them so important as they are internationally, and, as we are to reap the fruits of that within a very few weeks, I therefore have the greatest pleasure in seconding Sir François Lemieux's motion for a standing vote of all the visiting delegates.

[The visitors to the Congress rose, and the vote was carried.]

THE CHAIRMAN: In reply to this resolution, and on behalf of the American nation I think I can say, for in these matters we have represented the Department of State—speaking for the American nation, and on behalf of our American Executive Committee, I want to say to Sir François Lemieux and Mr. Rea and our friends from other countries, — I dislike to say “Foreign countries” for we are getting a little closer together all over the world, — our friends from overseas, and from existing border lines north and south, that it has given us unbounded pleasure, notwithstanding the fact that there has been some tremendously intensive work required during the past three months, it has given us unbounded pleasure to complete the arrangements for the holding of this Congress in America, and to welcome you as our guests upon this occasion.

We are pleased to believe, from what you have been so generous as to say, that your stay has been pleasant thus far. We hope it will be pleasant to the end, and that you will return to your homes, for the resumption of your great service to humanity in this cause, with nothing but pleasant recollections of America, and our devotion to the cause of humanity in this land. If we have been able to contribute in any wise in the Congress, or by reason of what America has been privileged to do in the success or toward the success of the movement against alcoholism in your lands, we shall have been amply repaid for all the effort which has been spent. It's a great pleasure for all of us Americans to have you here. We welcome you. We bid you God-speed, and we wish you the largest measure of success in your work in your home lands, and trust that we may all together, in the comparatively near future, rejoice in the redemption of the world from the evils of drink.

DR. BARTON: Mr. Chairman, would it be in order for us to move a rising vote of the American delegates to express our approval of and concurrence in the words of the Chairman in response?

THE CHAIRMAN: I should be very glad to have that done.

[The American delegates rose accordingly.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I think I see every American standing. So you can consider the remarks of the Chairman as expressing the unanimous sentiment of the American delegates to the Congress.

I have great pleasure at this time in introducing, for a few words,

Señor Carlos Gibson, the First Secretary of the Peruvian Embassy at Washington, as the delegate from Peru. Señor Gibson was not here on Tuesday morning.

RESPONSE

BY SEÑOR CARLOS GIBSON

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PERUVIAN EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Honored with the official representation of my Government to the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism, I greet you in the name of my country as the precursors of a new, healthy, and regenerated humanity. To combat the ravages produced by alcohol is to undertake an arduous task of social prophylaxis and of human hygiene; is to prepare for a new generation of men redeemed from vice and of vigorous, grand, and noble people.

Four centuries ago a powerful kingdom arose in Peru, a secular civilization, an intelligent and virile race which extended its dominion and spirit over all South America. To-day it has almost entirely disappeared, destroyed by alcohol. From the eleven million inhabitants which composed the empire of the Incas there remain scarcely two million five hundred thousand. Two elements have destroyed them, the lash and poison. In its colonization it became the victim of conquest; as a republic, a victim of the poison which debilitates and kills. And yet, actually, the native element forms 50 per cent of the national population, not only as an ethnical factor, but also as a productive potentiality; it works the mines, cultivates the soil, and weaves in the factories, is the shepherd in the fields and the tradesman in the cities, is the day-laborer and the artisan.

The Indian, during the viceroyship, uncovered the treasures hidden in our land, molded our industries, and conveyed to the metropolis the fruits of his labor; it was he who pitifully exhausted himself in the bowels of the earth under the cruel régime of the *mitas* which compelled the Indian to work by turn in the mines and the manufactories, and supported the national treasury by his tributes and his *quintos reales* or one fifth to the royal treasury. In the course of centuries he has not lost his capableness. The Indian incorporated in the Peruvian nationality is an excellent factor of progress. The only difference is that he has stopped being a contributor, he is withdrawn from the taxation for the simple reason that, having been despoiled of his property, he no longer possesses any; and, his necessities being limited, he no longer consumes. He is a person frugal to the point of excellence, is clothed with the wool which he himself has woven, is nourished with the corn and potatoes which he himself has cultivated, and resists the fatigues of labor with the "coca" which gives him an unbelievable endurance. The only tax he pays to the Government is that levied on alcohol, because alcohol is the only article he consumes and from which he derives his greatest pleasure. Alcohol is alike the means of his participating as a citizen in

the support of the obligations of the state, the distinguishing feature of his nationality, and the stigma of his degeneration.

What has Peru done to counteract this evil? It has not yet been feasible to prohibit the sale of liquors. Remember that even here the State of Maine was the only one of the American Union which was able to make effective the Prohibition law since 1851. It being impossible, therefore, to attack the disease at its root by absolutely prohibiting the poison in a territory as wide and extensive as ours, which has an abundance of grains, vegetables, grapes, sugarcane and other prime ingredients which produce it, and which are in turn sources of other great national industries, an active, systematic and methodical propaganda was organized.

In 1896 the evangelists who had come to Peru began the antialcoholic campaign in Lima, Arequipa, Puno, Cuzco, Huancavelica and other cities. The results of their efforts were the founding of the *Liga Porvenir dei Peru* and the Epworth League of Callao, destined to prepare the path for temperance which, as your grand Benjamin Franklin said, "puts fuel in the home, meat and bread in the pocket, credit in the town, intelligence in the brain, and energy in the soul."

These evangelists were seconded by the national element. In 1903 the League for Anti-Alcoholic Propaganda was established, although short lived, in 1912 the National League of Temperance, represented here by its delegate and secretary the Rev. Ruperto Algorta, and in 1914, the "Children's League of Temperance," whose meaning I defend from being inadequate, because saving the children of to-day is to save the men of to-morrow.

Soon afterwards the institutions of the State took up the movement. In 1901 the municipal council of Lima convoked an assembly to draft an antialcoholic law for the country. Two reasons determined this course, the rapid increase in the production of alcohol, which carried with it a like increase of crime, and the duty which that corporation ascribed to the towns of the Republic for organizing an immediate campaign against this threatening danger. The most notable of the propositions submitted was that of the eminent scientist, Dr. Manuel O. Tamayo, now lost to the country. Unfortunately this reform could not be carried into practise. In 1903 a National Antialcoholic convention was convened, with delegates from the municipalities, universities, clergy, Institute of Hygiene, the Chemical Laboratory, Superior Council of Public Instruction, and other national institutions. I will not forget to mention the work in this line of the Fifth Latin-American Medical Congress, which met in Lima in 1913.

On its own part, the State in 1885, for the first time, imposed a tax on liquors, and in 1896 established the company empowered to collect the tax and to regulate the consumption of the alcohol. This tax, therefore, has been in existence for thirty-five years, and although it has been progressively raised the results have been ineffective. In Peru it was always thus, the greater the tax the greater the contraband. The con-

sumption has not been in any way diminished, but the fraud has increased. In thirteen years, according to statistics, while the tax was raised from two cents to twenty-two and a half cents per liter, the contraband increased five-fold.

We are reaching the last stage of a healthful national evolution. In the year 1917 the Congress of the Republic passed a law prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages on Saturdays and Sundays, on which days, the people, especially the natives, freed from work, gave themselves up to dissipation and drunkenness. Up to that time it was restricted by mere government regulations at the central mines of Cerro de Pasco and Morococha belonging to the influential American enterprises the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation and Morococha Mining Company, and to the agricultural center of Chanchamayo. To-day it is the law for the whole nation. An extension of this law has just been passed, a radical measure, because it even prohibits the use of beverages containing a low percentage of alcohol, as chicha, produced by the fermentation of corn, which used to be the national beverage of the people.

The latest act of great importance in Peru is the one which makes antialcoholic teaching obligatory for our fiscal schools by decree of the Government (1913), and which now we are trying to extend from the child to the adult, from the primary school to the universities and professional centers, from the humble workshop to the great industrial seats. The example has been given to us by this great Democracy. In 1882 none of the States of the American Union had antialcoholic instruction; in 1902, all with indisputable uniformity had implanted it by law as an obligatory subject.

Along the path opened by the great nations, led by the United States, private initiative first prepared public opinion in Peru from which has come the law to crystallize in an imperative formula the supreme necessity of temperance. Private work has been done by societies like the Temperance Society, and later it was taken up by institutions such as the municipality, the university, the school, the army and the navy, which have applied it, owing to the example given by the allied troops during the great war; and finally the State, thanks to the law, has come to protect the public health. At present it is the national desire to complete our antialcoholic legislation in order to save the people of Peru and to restore her historic race and her glorious traditions.

It will be the greatest triumph if we may encompass this ideal, due to the beneficent work of this Congress, from which we hope to derive wise counsel, and to the example of this great Republic and its distinguished Government under whose auspices this Congress is celebrated, and which I am honored to salute in the name of the Government which I represent.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very glad at this time to introduce the official representative from Venezuela. The Venezuelan Government has regarded this Congress as of sufficient importance to send here an official

delegate with the special rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and I have great pleasure in introducing Señor Dr. Rafael Requena, of Venezuela.

ADDRESS

BY DR. RAFAEL REQUENA

MINISTER FROM VENEZUELA

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I desire to state to this Congress that Venezuela, the country I have the honor to represent, has also taken an active part in the modern crusade against alcoholism, and that the Government as well as the scientific men of my country have taken the greatest interest in carrying on this beneficent social struggle against alcoholism.

I shall only mention in this connection an Act of the Venezuelan Congress of June 25, 1910, approved by President Gomez, directing all colleges and national or federal schools to give a course in temperance instruction suited to the different grades. This class is compulsory for all students, and is given by means of objective lessons, especially as regards the causes and effects of alcoholism in mankind, in the family, and in society. There are text books used in inculcating in the new generation the habit of temperance. In the Schools of Arts and Trades, as well as in the military and naval schools, and in the School of Fine Arts, also, regular instruction of antialcoholic character is given.

I take special pleasure in presenting to this Congress for its library a copy of the official text book approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction, which is used in the educational institutions of the country.

Women are given the same instruction in this important topic that is given to men, and the principals or teachers of the municipal and federal institutions not complying with the provision of the act providing for antialcoholic education, are forthwith dismissed from the service.

In this connection I cannot fail to mention the name of Dr. Luis Razetti, who has been the standard-bearer in this great movement. Dr. Razetti has published several books on the subject of temperance, and it is my privilege to present to the Congress for its library a copy of "La Cruzada Moderna," by that prominent Venezuelan professor.

Venezuela can not at the present moment enact strict prohibition laws, for several reasons that I do not think it necessary to discuss here; but there is no doubt that, in view of the antialcoholic campaign that is being carried on in the country, in which the Government takes decided interest, it will not be very long before Prohibition will be finally established in Venezuela.

As regards the evils of alcohol in the human body, I myself have had occasion to note its effects, in my professional work. Without going into details, I may state, from my personal observation, that alcohol plays a most important part in cases of malaria. I am of the opinion that alcohol is as important in the pathogeny of malarial fever as the mosquito, which is the carrier of the malaria-producing germ.

I would like to make a more extended statement in this connection, but as our time is short, I will merely state the fact, leaving for another time a more extended discussion of this topic.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are a little late. I am sure that Dr. Stockard will pardon us, because we had some things that had to be done; but we will catch up with our program, I think, before we get through. I have very great pleasure indeed in presenting to the Congress Dr. Charles R. Stockard, of the Cornell Medical College, who will speak to us on the "Latest Scientific Investigation in America of the Action of Alcohol."

LATEST SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION IN AMERICA OF THE ACTION OF ALCOHOL

BY DR. CHARLES R. STOCKARD

OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL

Ladies and Gentlemen: I merely want to state, or report, the findings of the long series of experiments on the effect of alcohol on the developing embryo and on the progeny of animals that were treated with alcohol. These experiments have all been done in the regular control of the patient. In the case of animals the entire situation can be very well controlled, and the results that are obtained one may be certain are due entirely to the experimental treatments employed.

Now, in the first place, about eleven years ago, in 1909, an attempt was made to determine what effect alcohol would have on developing embryos, and I took the case of fishes, because they develop outside of the body of the parent, and they can be subjected to any kind of solution that any one would like to use, and you can see very readily and at once what the results are. If such eggs are taken out of the natural salt-water environment surrounding them, and are fertilized and allowed to start developing in other surroundings — I am just going to take this matter of fish eggs as an example, without going into any very great amount of detail.

These eggs are taken out, as I said before, and put into the solution — a weak solution of alcohol. This is done during the very early stages of development and they are kept there for maybe two or three days and then they are taken back and put in ordinary sea-water for the rest of the period of incubation. They are returned to the ordinary environment and then they are carefully observed. The alcohol causes them to grow more slowly; they take a longer time to develop than they would if they were not treated with alcohol or some other chemical, and the result is, of course, that when they grow so slowly they don't reach the full stage of development of their structure and you would be surprised at the amazing results you can produce. You can make all kinds of monstrosities that way. You can cause them to develop with a single long, tubular brain, so that it resembles the upper end of the spinal cord.

You can not only do that, but by waiting to a little later stage to apply your alcohol you can produce all known deformities and defects of the eyes. You can produce one which is positively blind, having no eyes at all, or you can produce one which has a single eye right in the middle of its forehead, like the old Cyclops you read about in Greek mythology. *Anopsia cyclopia* we call that condition. That is what we call them, when they have only one eye like that. Or, you can produce one which will have one eye which is apparently all right, and the other eye of which is very imperfectly and rudimentarily developed, or else absent entirely. That is another form.

Then, too, you can suppress the development of the ears, or you can, in fact, eliminate practically any organ in the body which you see fit, if you once have the system down so that you understand it. But you have got to know just exactly when to apply this arrest of the development. These things can be produced in that way. Here is one point I want clear, though, and that is that I am merely mentioning alcohol as a standard of comparison and as having merely a secondary consideration or significance, because you can get practically the same results with any chemical you use. Common salt would do it, for instance, or sugar, or anything you have on the table. I am therefore merely stating these facts as the results of my observations. I am not placing any interpretation upon these facts at all, just because it is produced by means of alcohol, for I am not talking any kind of propaganda whatever.

I can't do that because I am here for the purpose of giving you positive facts regarding what I know about it. You see that while it is true that you can make all these monsters, and many more that I have not mentioned, with the agency of alcohol, yet you can, if familiar with the process, take common salt, or sugar, or vinegar, and apply it to these eggs, and the results obtained are just the same. There is absolutely no difference. It tends to obstruct the development of the body in the egg — and so does magnesia.

All these actions and effects are due to chemical action of some kind — generally an obstruction. I have used over a hundred different chemicals in my experiments, and the result has been the same for each chemical, whenever we placed them under proper conditions. Those proper conditions are just the secret of the whole business, because when we are conducting these experiments we take these eggs and put them in a place where the rate of oxidation will be lowered, during this period of chemical action — thus, in its turn lowering the rate of metabolism. Bad metabolism means poor oxidation, and poor oxidation means bad metabolism. We are just like an engine. We are burning stuff all the time. Starting in, the egg is one of the best engines in the world; then, the infant is quite a good engine; and then, as we go on through life, we gradually grow slower, and slower, and slower, until, finally, we stop altogether, and die. The fishes' rate of metabolism in the egg is even higher than that of man, and if you arrest the metabolism of these fishes, if you slow down that engine, the egg, you get these bad effects of im-

perfectly developed creatures. The type of defect or the kind of monster that you get depends upon the time of development at which you slow down this rate of development. If you produce this halt very early in the formative stage, you produce a double monster or twin. A twin is the same kind of a result as a double monster, except that the twin separates from its fellow. But as far as producing a twin is concerned, a twin is produced by the same *modus operandi*, or method of procedure, as a double monster. A twin is the result of two germs becoming united in the same egg, and if they produce only one embryo that embryo is a double monster. Or, I can make one egg produce two or three fishes.

The whole thing is based on the mode of operation; the way of doing it. In this connection let me say to you that alcohol is only one of hundreds of chemicals which tend to anesthetize the developing individual in the egg, and lower that individual's vitality. Of course, it would be hard to carry on these experiments on the human subject, because in that case, in order to fill the amniotic fluids, which surround the embryo, with alcohol, and to pierce the uterine membranes, so as to affect the embryo, you would have to give a considerably larger amount of alcohol than in these fishes. — a dose, which would, I am afraid, almost surely be toxic, so that your subject might die of acute alcoholic poisoning. I would be entirely wrong if I were to lead you to believe that alcohol would have the same effect, as far as anything of which I know is concerned, upon the human species.

I would not want to say for sure that it would do anything of the kind at all, for the human blood would be a rather difficult medium to transmit the alcohol. It would take a proportionately larger amount of alcohol than it would in the case of the animals; and I will say that no old "tooper," I don't care how much he can stand, could possibly stand that much alcohol at one dose. It would kill him dead as a stone. If he takes that much he dies of acute alcoholic poisoning. His heart won't pump nor function under that amount of poison. In the case of the lower animals, you can do it with sugar, or salt, or anything of the kind which you have a mind to use, and you could probably do the same with a human being if that human being could stand it to get that much of your chemical into his or her system. These are merely set down as the results of my experiments on animals, and they could not possibly be attributed as having the same effect on human beings. I have no responsibility for that fact, of course, that they can not be directly interpreted as affecting human beings.

Now, in order to determine what amount of alcohol would be necessary in order to affect the egg within the mother's body, which would be the case with the human being—in man, you couldn't use this data because these fishes' eggs don't strictly apply, on account of the fact that they are not incubated within the mother.

So, for that purpose let me say that I have used guinea-pigs very successfully in my experiments with alcohol, which approaches the nearest to of any of the lower animals as regards the reproduction of

the species. I tried these experiments with guinea-pigs in order to determine whether or not I could successfully effect these conditions in man. Guinea-pigs are ideal experimental animals. They are very easy to keep under the ordinary laboratory conditions, and they are cheaper than other animals and more or less easily obtainable. So, in order to get a standard of results on which to base my experiments with guinea-pigs, I obtained a large number of them and subjected them to various tests, and finally to the special treatment which I shall describe in detail to you in a minute. Those experiments have been going on now for about 11 years, and those guinea-pigs have certainly been worth the while, and worth the feed it cost for them.

Our experiments are now practically proven beyond a doubt, and we know just about how they work out. The results are very interesting from any standpoint. We have now about four hundred offspring from the original guinea-pigs and we have found a great many interesting things; but it takes a lot of patience, because the body of a mammal is a most complex organism. There is nothing in the whole world more complex than a human body from a physical-chemical or chemical-physical viewpoint. We are the most complex things going around loose. I want to illustrate to you what we found out. We found out, in the first place, that in the case of guinea-pigs, it is worse than useless to try to give it by the stomach, and so we saturated cotton with alcohol of about 95 per cent proof and placed this cotton in a tank and left it there until the whole tank was saturated with the alcohol. Then we took these guinea-pigs, and put them into this tank, and caused them to inhale the fumes for a certain length of time each day, six days a week, every day except Sunday.

As soon as they become completely intoxicated, they tumble over, and lose their muscle coordination; in fact, they are really pretty drunk, just like men you used to see on the street, but they soon recover from the effects of this spree and are all right again, and within five or ten minutes they are back in good shape. An animal can be treated in this manner for five and six days a week without being injured in any degree, as far as the welfare and bodily vigor and general behavior of that animal, go

Then there is another consideration which this brings out. A guinea pig grows old very rapidly in the matter of what really constitutes age. A guinea-pig seven years old is in reality as old as a man of ninety. A guinea-pig seven years old is a very old, decrepit, aged, individual. And so you take a guinea-pig and get it drunk six days a week with 95-proof alcohol, for seven years, it represents a human being being intoxicated almost constantly from about the time he is ten years of age till he is about seventy. This treatment is a little strenuous. The results of our experiments with these guinea pigs have surprised me. You don't often meet a man, even of a class who is not held in very high esteem, who gets enough alcohol to put himself in that condition,

and have it last for any such a length of time. They usually consider a man is awfully lucky if he gets enough to get drunk once a week! The male side of the species is always the crucial test, because it is the male who fertilizes the egg. The egg is within the female, and he does the fertilizing. If a mother was poisoned with alcohol or disease, when the egg was fertilized, and the embryo was defective, as it most likely would be, you couldn't say it was due to the egg having been injured any more than that the environment was injurious, or say that the egg had a defect in it without first settling the fact that the male had been poisoned with alcohol. You can just about make up your mind that the only thing which carried the defect within the mother was a defective germ cell or spermatozoon, which, when united with the normal female, causes the young to be defective. When a healthy female is bred or fertilized by a defective male, as happens in a large number of cases, the result is that, though nothing is at all the matter with her, she gives defective offspring. When the majority of these offspring are born, if they are not born dead, or aborted, or something of that kind, they are either afflicted with some awful and constantly increasing nervous disorder, or they have *paralysis agitans*, so that they tremble and shake all over, and can't live, and the mortality with such young is very high. The young often shake to such a degree that they can't take nourishment from their mother, and thus often starve to death.

Then, too, some of them are born, like the fishes of which I spoke, without eyes, or with brains degenerated or defective, or even sometimes absent, and you get this same kind of results as through direct treatment of the eggs of the fishes, and you get them through the male. That is how people run as a genetic or eugenic problem. You often find that the male is the dominant factor; when you take the human race as a whole, with a blue-eyed mother and a black-eyed father, the children will most likely all have black eyes, and with a blue-eyed father and a black-eyed mother, they are apt to have black or gray eyes. The offspring tends to inherit the characteristics of the more potent factor. It is the degree of pigmentation in the eye that counts. We can predict exactly how many blue-eyed and how many brown-eyed children there will be in the third generation. Those things follow regular lines.

The effect is not the same at all with the guinea-pigs. You don't turn a red guinea-pig into a black one, or anything like that; but if you modify the egg by the use of this alcohol, you find out that you get these same results as you did with these fishes, just by modifying the germ cell in the first place. You modify the whole result that way. By the use of alcohol you modify those germ cells by causing them to grow more slowly; and by causing them to grow more slowly you cause them to undergo a certain modification in form. Therefore, they are less efficient. It is just like trying to run an automobile with a broken engine. It can't be done; and these individuals can not be as efficient

on account of having this weakness—for such it is—in their structure.

That bad structure naturally gives you a bad function and a bad result. Now, it is the same way with these guinea-pigs. But here again is the consideration for you, that no human being could stand the doses of alcohol to the extent that we "dosed" those guinea-pigs. No human being has, as far as I know, ever undergone such experiments. I do not want to be disappointing, I am not trying to discourage you, but I am just simply giving you my views on the subject, based on the results of my experiments.

As I told you, I have devoted a great deal of thought and study and consideration to this subject, in the matter of retarding embryonic development, or its modification; in the last sixteen years, which is the length of time I have been working on this problem, I have used hundreds and hundreds of different chemicals. I have also used many different kinds of animals, and I honestly don't believe that any human being could stand such doses as we gave those guinea-pigs, in our experiments at the University. These guinea-pigs, when we get them to experiment on, are generally young, but when a human being is an alcoholic drunkard, he is usually old. Fortunately, we rarely see a young man of twenty who is a habitual drunkard. When a man gets to drinking, he is usually from thirty to thirty-five, and from that on up. We get old at thirty, nowadays, you know. You take an old guinea-pig and it is much harder to get him used to these intoxicating conditions.

There are also strong indications which have come to my attention within the past few years that alcoholism, gonorrhoea, syphilis and such venereal diseases, and tuberculosis all work very much in common, and are usually found more frequently in nervous, high-strung people than they are in persons who are the opposite. A nervous, high-strung man is more likely to be susceptible to the results of syphilis than is a man who is more "easy-going." I don't believe any normal well-balanced individual would deliberately run the risk of contracting syphilis. You see hundreds of them in the hospitals, in New York's Bellevue Hospital, for instance, in the alcoholic ward. You pass through there, as I have, and look at them, and you can see that there is in most cases something the matter with them, more than their alcoholism. There is usually venereal or mental disease present.

Well, now, we must get back again to our guinea-pigs. The various generations form an interesting study of evolution or involution, which ever way you look at it. The first generation of those animals from those treated guinea-pigs is the worst generation that follows. There couldn't be a worse batch. Everything known to man is afflicting them. Then the second generation of those guinea-pigs is a little bit better. The percentage of the defectives is bad, that is, the grandchildren of the treated ones. The parents were not treated at all, but the grandparents were treated with alcohol. You thus get bad individuals and a high proportion of mortality; but the prenatal death-rate in this generation is very much reduced. And when you get to the third generation, or the

great-grandchildren, they are still better. The fourth generation is even better than the original great-great-grandparents, and if these guinea-pigs are cross-bred with some of the third generation, the result is a very superior pig, larger and healthier, and better in all points, than any of the preceding generations.

That brings out one point on the subject of alcoholism which some of the humane may not just like to hear, but it is true. This proposition, as I say, although it don't appeal to you people, still you will admit that it must have some basis in good reasoning. There are a certain class of weak mediocre people or individuals who don't seem to amount to anything and you want to take them on your lap—so to speak—and coddle their mediocrity, and humor them; but alcohol, if used in a eugenic way, will prevent such people from even being born, and that is quite a consideration for those interested from a scientific standpoint in the progress of the world. These weak, undesirable, broken-down individuals that you want to humor so much—you try to make them something more than mediocre, but you can not do anything of the sort, because it isn't in them. Alcohol is one of the things that will tend to eliminate bad individuals, and inasmuch as from an economic standpoint they may not do much good or amount to much, why not use this means of eradicating them?

We can't look at this from an ethical or humanitarian standpoint; we've got to consider it on a scientific basis. If you go to breed horses or dogs or cattle or pigs or any of those things, you must, and do, go at it scientifically. If you don't do that soon with that aim in view of improving the race, there soon will be no strong individuals, and we shall eventually go even below mediocrity; and that is not what you want to do to the human race. You want to lift it up, and improve it. That is the very purpose of this convention, as I take it. It is no new thing, of course, to protect the unworthy—to shield the helpless, weak individual, and help him fight his battle. That is a tendency which we always find on top, and it is so strong in the world today that the people who do not think of things from a general life standpoint, and not from the standpoint of humanitarianism, are wondering what the world is coming to—the real serious students of social problems. They are wondering where we are going to land.

Now, what have we got to do to "clean ourselves up?" I think that carefully conducted experiments along these lines have indicated something like what I just suggested. I will tell you how: For instance, we take one hundred fish eggs, we will say, and put them in some chemical solution which is injurious, every time you will get ten or twenty perfectly good normal individuals out of the eggs, and they are the very best fish in the whole bunch. Then you will always get ten or twenty that are just normal, averages, and then in between those you will get sixty or seventy or eighty fish that will be deformed and broken up, and decidedly poor and worthless—they are the mediocre.

The other ten or twenty are the bunch that were injured slightly by the alcohol, but the first ten or twenty which were mentioned, they are the best fish in the bunch, who developed rapidly and properly and who were able to stand the brunt of hardship, and stand a few hard knocks, and that is the kind that produce other strong specimens of the species.

I don't want to be antagonistic or over-free with my advice, but I do think that proven scientific facts should be given cold, fair, frank, impartial consideration, and one we may consider that it ought to, when we see such experiments as these. No one can say such effect is taking place on man. It will if he can stand the treatment; but I will also guarantee it has not taken place on any man in the way it has on these guinea-pigs, so far as any one is able to judge from the results known to medicine.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Saleeby, of London wishes to speak to the Congress on this paper, and he will be recognized for five minutes.

DISCUSSION

DR. C. W. SALEEBY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I want first to state what a great pleasure it was for me to meet Dr. Stockard. I have heard a lot about his guinea-pigs, but I have never met him before. He omitted to state one thing, about those guinea-pigs, in his speech, and that was the fact that these guinea-pigs were not kept under the influence of liquor for more than an hour at a time, instead of all day long, as you might naturally be led to suppose.

On the whole, however, I think that many of the European men of science who disagree with much of his work, have come to recognize him as one of the foremost investigators in this line. I visited his laboratory last year, but did not have the pleasure of seeing him. I think in Europe the men of science respect America. They know that while you have a Dr. Cook who claimed to have discovered the North Pole, you also had a Peary who really did discover it. In his paper he brings out the fact that the third generation does not seem to be quite so bad as the first one, but not so good as the fourth, and the way he treats of it, he would also give the impression that they are not so important, which I must say is rather a strange interpretation of the latest advances in science along this line of heredity and widely at variance with the theories of leading British scientific men.

[It was moved and seconded at this point that the Doctor be given fifteen minutes instead of five, as originally assigned, and this motion was carried.]

DR. SALEEBY (continuing): Now, there have been a great many discoveries made recently in America and in Europe among scientists which show that about the same action which took place in Dr. Stockard's guinea-pigs is always going on in man, in a parallel condition or plane.

Dr. Stockard, I am sure will agree with me that when he says that no dose comparable to those given his guinea-pigs has ever been given to man, and therefore these results can not happen in man, he is assuming as a fact which he can not prove and which he has no right to assume namely, that the susceptibility of man to these bad effects is similar to that of the guinea-pig—in fact, the same. According to his paper, there is quite a difference in this degree of susceptibility. And then, again, whereas Professor Stockard has never subjected his guinea-pigs to any microscopic examination, as far as his paper shows, demonstrating any weakness in the germ cells due to alcohol, there are many European scientists who have made such microscopic examinations, and found that alcohol did indeed produce those results. And it has been demonstrated that great microscopic changes do take place in degenerative germ cells due to alcoholic poisoning.

I think that Dr. Stockard has successfully excluded the fallacious factor of syphilis, which would otherwise invalidate this claim. The indication of the microscope seems to be that man is more susceptible to alcohol than the guinea-pig. I would further point out to you that Dr. Stockard eliminated the influence of age, and its consequent influence upon the stomach—for in the case of man, when liquor is taken into the stomach directly, nothing happens—except he gets drunk. Then, another point to which I wish to call your attention; and that is, that, as I said before—none of Prof. Stockard's guinea-pigs were exposed to the influence of alcohol for twenty-four hours in each day, as you might have possibly been led to suppose—they were only exposed for one hour out of the twenty-four. I hope that no one here will suppose that anything which Dr. Stockard has said regarding the influence of liquor upon the gestating mother indicates that the mother can drink alcohol and have nothing happen. He is concerning himself with the male element, and so he speaks then of the germ cells and spermatozoons being defective; but taking the consideration of its effect upon the mother, if you trace the history of any well-known family of criminals or inebriates, you will find a steady progressive history of alcoholism, syphilis, inability of the expectant mother to carry the child to term, thus resulting in frequent abortion. Dr. Stockard lays down for our guidance a principle which he adduces from his observations on the guinea-pigs, but which is very inapplicable to man.

Then, he points out another factor and that is that a man usually becomes addicted to alcoholism when he is old, and when his reproducing career is past. Those poor old inebriates in Hinky-Dink's saloon in Chicago, they were excluded from the possibility of parentage and therefore they don't harm anybody but themselves. But, nevertheless, there are a certain younger class of them who are in the habit of drinking, and they are to be the parents of the next generation. In this there is a certain amount of danger, in those unhappy countries where they do not have Prohibition. Professor Stockard pointed out that where you

were dealing with a stock which is already defective, a stock which is defective in itself, you can only produce defective stock from it and therefore it is better to destroy the stock entirely. I would call his attention to the fact that this has been advocated by a great many medical men, in the last half century or so. My illustrious grandfather, Dr. Caleb Williams—forgive the personal allusion—was one of the first to discuss this point, many years ago in one of the leading medical journals of England. He later put it in his book on "Heredity in the Insane." I think he was really the first to point this out. As regards the use of alcohol as a selector, it may have the effect of eliminating the defects from the stock, and defective products from the whole stock.

I have written many books on that subject myself, and I am sure that he will agree with me that the same applies to syphilis in the same way that it applies to alcohol. Syphilis would do the same kind of work. I am sure he would agree with me that we would not be wise to favor syphilis and give it every possible advantage just to eliminate a few defectives. We might eliminate others, too. No one would favor syphilis, I believe, just to exterminate defectives.

I entirely agree with him that we must cut off the propagation of these defectives or they will overpower us. But I reason that the true solution to this problem is through the operation of the pure Darwinian theory or doctrine. In order to do that, I suggest, not to kill the individual or anything of that kind, but the humane method, the moral method, to preserve the individuals. This principle of prohibiting parenthood on the part of defectives without wishing them any evil, or killing them, is known as the principle of negative eugenics; and, although it has been said that it would be almost impossible to do this, the real solution to this problem would be to confine them to farms where they would be treated kindly and mercifully, in a sort of colony where they would be prevented from reproducing.

That is the way to deal with these feeble-minded folk. That is the ideal and humane method of dealing with them, and it effects the same thing—the same result. I really think that the maintenance of these farms would be a far less public expense than it would be to allow a feeble-minded woman to become a prostitute on the public streets to spread venereal diseases right and left, and allow her to be killed by her disease, but while she is being killed by the disease to infect hundreds of others. Would it not be much more humane to allow her to live to an innocuous old age in some institution? I thank you.

THE REV. A. J. COOK: Mr. Chairman, I speak not as an expert, but as an uneducated layman. I listened with the most thrilled interest to that wonderful paper of Professor Stockard. But I just want to say a few words to prevent any enemy of our cause using those statistics about one hundred persons, there would be ten or twenty developed who would be absolutely perfect. That is purely theoretical of course. But

in his speech I understood him to say that in these one hundred persons, twenty useless persons might be killed off, and then there would be these twenty perfect ones, and then finally there would be about sixty ordinary persons who would be injured through its use, and possibly be deformed, or something. Now, personally, I would just as soon as not be rid of those twenty useless persons, but as I understand it, these twenty splendid people that had come through this danger undamaged, they were not specially benefited by the alcohol. And then we should have about sixty persons left, who might have under ordinary circumstances, come through all right; we have them injured and damaged for life, less than even the average, and we would have spoiled all these sixty people to get these twenty splendid people.

Now, that being the result, I as a layman, would prefer to have these twenty splendid ones as they were, and sixty normal ones, and take a chance on protecting the twenty useless ones. I thank you.

MR. NEILD: I think that if Dr. Stockard desires any time in which to answer these two gentlemen, we should grant it to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be granted.

DR. STOCKARD: Mr. Chairman, I don't want to be too antagonistic, for it is like fighting a game chicken. I appreciate what Dr. Saleeby says, and I agree almost completely with everything he says, as I think it is all right along the line of my previous remarks. Though it seems as though I have aroused his opposition on some points.

In regard to the question of susceptibility, there were many things which indicated throughout our experimentation that guinea pigs are highly susceptible to the effects of alcohol. A rat is almost twice as resistant to the effects of alcohol as the guinea-pig. Then, in regard to the statement of Dr. Saleeby about the length of time they were exposed to alcohol fumes, I hope I did not leave the impression in any one's mind that they were exposed to alcoholic fumes for twenty-four hours, because I didn't intend any such idea. They were exposed only until they were completely intoxicated which took about an hour. They are completely intoxicated once a day, and you must consider, as I mentioned to you, that very few persons get intoxicated every day. If they get drunk once a week, they are doing something. Then, as regards the effect of alcohol upon the pregnant mother, although I did not cover that point at all in my lecture, I will state to the Doctor that I have statistics on about twenty-five hundred offsprings and find the effects to be just as he said, very harmful to the offspring.

By treating the mother with these alcoholic fumes, you get the effect not only through the germ cell, but also through the nutrition

of the offspring in the body of the mother. So you are really experimenting on two individuals at once in such an experiment as that.

CAPTAIN HOBSON: In connection with this question, do you believe that that animal is thoroughly intoxicated—any particular individual? In other words, is that a fair test?

DR. STOCKARD: I think it is true for this reason, that, if you treat the guinea-pig for a much longer time than that, you are apt to kill them; for when they become intoxicated with these fumes, you are just on the verge of giving them a fatal dose.

Another common illustration of this is found in the anesthetization or etherization of any of these animals. Most of them will stand a certain amount of it, but if you keep it up for a longer time, even for just a minute, it kills the animal; but just as soon as one of these nose-intoxicated animals is taken out into the pure air, it immediately begins to inhale healthy air again, and just breathes it out of its lungs. If you take alcohol by stomach, Captain Hobson, you are constantly absorbing it, and it therefore takes a longer time to get it out; but by nose, you breathe it out, and recover more rapidly.

CAPTAIN HOBSON: During the course of those experiments, am I to understand you to say that as soon as there was an indication of intoxication, you stopped the fumes.

DR. STOCKARD. Yes. During the first two or three years of the experimentation we treated them for one hour a day, and that just brought them up to the verge of intoxication. Then, we increased the length of treatment, gradually, to three hours, and now many of our pigs are treated for three hours.

CAPTAIN HOBSON: Now, one more question. Did you find in your experiments that the more complete the alcoholization was, the more injurious it was, or less injurious—which?

DR. STOCKARD: The more complete alcoholization, the more dangerous and injurious it was. Some doctors would contend as Dr. Saleeby does, I take it, that it should give the Mendelian reaction. I heard Professor Charles C. Jones say one time that he never succeeded in intoxicating a chicken by means of the stomach to a sufficient extent to get any results, but we have done it by means of this inhalation. I don't believe that any animal can be especially injured by alcohol taken in this way, unless you carry it clear to the extent of a toxic dose, in which case, of course they would die of alcoholic poisoning.

DR. COOK: I know that you won't consider me imposing upon you when I ask you to clear up one point here, and that is this: Do you really think that this toxic alcohol does good, if administered, as you intimated, to those twenty best specimens of the human race? Were those twenty individuals injured, benefited, or left neutral by this alcohol?

DR. STOCKARD: The twenty individuals certainly are not improved or benefited by its use, but there is no evidence at all that they are at all injured. By the way, I didn't advocate that as a means of handling the human race, at all, but merely to show the great variability of individuals. You know there are some of them who can stand things which others can't. You know there are lots of persons who have been drinking all their lives and are healthy and successful, and they don't seem to have anything the matter with them at all. And then there are others who never drink at all, who are just naturally mediocre and commonplace. Now, I have taken too much time. I thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN: "The Movement Against Alcoholism in Mexico," by Señor Velasco.

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN MEXICO

By THE REV. EPIGMENIO VELASCO

OF MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: As in most countries of Europe and Latin America, total abstinence is practically unknown in Mexico, except among the members of the Evangelical churches. Some kind of liquor is served at meal times in most of the homes, as well as in all hotels and restaurants. Many children are taught to drink from their earliest infancy, and the parents see no harm in the custom. Among the educated classes there is a stigma attached to habitual drunkenness and even an occasional lapse is discountenanced. Among the poorer classes the man is rare who does not frequently imbibe too much, and one loses no standing because of such habits, provided that, between sprees, he is able to attend to his work. Even employers in mines, factories, and the farms expect nothing else of their men, demanding only that drunkenness be kept in its proper bounds of time and place.

Agricultural Mexico is distinctly a liquor-producing country. The vine, sugar-cane, and the maguey plant are extensively grown in different parts of the republic; cane on the low, hot, coastal lands, grapes in the valleys, and on the slopes of middle altitudes, and maguey on the plateau. These three crops are cultivated chiefly for the liquor they yield. The grapes are used for wine, the sugar-cane

for aguardiente (distilled liquor), and the maguey for pulque, the national drink of Mexico.

In 1906, of all the agricultural products of the country, alcoholic beverages ranked second, the 155,600,000 gallons produced being valued at \$48,359,400 (Mexican pesos), surpassing the yield of wheat, beans, cotton or henequen, and being exceeded in value only by corn.

It is but natural that a country which produces such a large quantity of liquors should consume them largely. Foreign trade statistics bear out this supposition, for none of these liquors figure among the exports of the land, but are consumed at home. In fact the domestic production does not even meet the domestic demands. A considerable quantity of foreign liquors is imported annually. In the fiscal year 1907-1908, approximately \$7,500,000 (pesos) worth of alcoholic liquors were imported into Mexico. These combined figures would indicate that the country consumes annually some \$56,000,000 (pesos) worth of alcoholic beverages. Dr. Pence, in his "Alcoholism in Mexico," estimates that his people consume more alcohol per capita than any other nation in the world.

The beer consumed in Mexico is produced in large breweries in Monterrey, Orizaba, Toluca, Jalapa, Mexico City, some of which are among the most extensive plants in the world. These breweries are largely in the hands of foreigners, Germans and Spaniards. They pay a heavy tax to the Government, but are still profitable concerns. The malt and hops used in the making of beer are imported. A number of American breweries have recently applied for concessions to establish plants in Mexico. So far there has been little opposition to their coming.

The distilled liquors are produced principally in small, local establishments in the cane-growing lowlands. Wine also is produced on the estates where the grapes are grown. The drinks made from the maguey plant are not manufactured, but simply collected, and allowed to ferment. They are not even bottled. This process of their preparation will be described later.

In the present paper we are concerned chiefly with intemperance in the capital city of the republic. Mexico City, the metropolis of the country, contained in 1910, 471,066 people. This number has been greatly increased in the last few years, not only by the natural increment, but in particular by the influx of many people from the surrounding districts who during these ten years of civil strife have found the city a safer place to live, or have moved into it hoping to find employment until peace should again make it possible for them to engage in their usual occupations of farming, trade, or industry in the outlying towns and country. Some people believe that the city now contains 1,000,000 inhabitants. That seems hardly possible, but 750,000 is probably a reasonable estimate of the present population.

The vast majority of the inhabitants of Mexico City belong to the poorer class. This has always been the case. It is more evident now than ever. Many of the wealthy families of the old régime were driven out by the revolution, and the poorer population has been greatly increased by the influx from the surrounding region. Moreover, many people have been reduced to poverty by the lack of regular employment, or the destruction of their business during these years of turmoil. Consequently, it is the poorer people who suffer most from the effects of this social evil of intemperance.

DRINKING PLACES IN MEXICO CITY

There are several kinds of saloons in Mexico City. At the top of the scale are the "cantinas," where all kinds of liquors, both domestic and imported, are sold. These are patronized by the upper and middle classes. A peon would not be served in them. They are usually well-kept saloons, much on the order of the more decent drinking establishments found in other countries. There are a great many of these cantinas in the city, 455 of them being registered in November, 1919. They are located principally in the business section of the city, where they form the rendezvous of merchants, clerks, and professional men. The third and fourth wards, where are situated most of the commercial houses, banks, clubs, and hotels, contain 89 and 86 cantinas respectively. There are also a good many scattered throughout the best residential sections, the fashionable eighth ward having thirty.

Somewhat different from these cantinas are the restaurants and eating-houses where drinks of all kinds are served supposedly only with meals. These do not possess the club features of the saloon. There are about 250 of these (242 in November, 1914.) The number is constantly increasing. These restaurants are frequented chiefly by the upper and middle classes.

Assorted liquors are sold in the closed bottle in many liquor stores, grocery stores, candy stores, and other such houses. In November, 1919, there were 636 places of this kind where liquors could be purchased and carried away, but not drunk there. These places are also distributed widely over the city to supply the household demands.

For the common people there are two kinds of drinking-places: The "pulquerias" and the "fondas," or "figones." The former are saloons proper, mere drinking establishments, with no other business than the sale of their particular kind of alcoholic beverages, the native Mexican pulque, as the fermented juice of the century plant is called. The fondas are the poor man's restaurants. They keep on sale a few of the common articles of food eaten by the working classes, the "tortillas" (thin corn pancakes, patted out by hand and baked on a hot piece of sheet iron), "chile con carne" (a sort of Irish stew well supplied with red pepper), baked beans, and so forth.

These dishes are sold with pulque accompaniment. Many of the common laborers of the city depend upon these places for at least one meal a day. They are the peon's lunch counter, though they are generally small rooms, with no furniture other than the bar, a charcoal brazier, and perhaps a chair or two. Were they to sell no liquor at all, they would still be a curse to the city (though perhaps a necessary evil), for they violate every law of hygiene and sanitation. The worst feature, however, is the sale of pulque in these establishments. They are the most numerous drinking-places in the city, numbering 900 in November, 1919. Their number was also rapidly increasing during the past year, January showing only 627. Every month marked an increase.

As would naturally be supposed, these low-class restaurants and drinking-holes are most common in the poorer wards of the city. In the first and second wards, the old densely populated slum districts, there are 110 and 328 respectively, while no other of the eight wards shows more than 97. It is thus evident that there are several social and economic problems closely connected with the existence of these drinking-places. They afford places of recreation, amusement (though only dominoes and billiards are allowed in any of the saloons), eating-places, and centers for social intercourse. They are, in fact, about the only such centers possessed by the working population.

The liquor sold and consumed in these low-class saloons is a distinctly Mexican beverage. It is the fermented juice of one variety of the century plant (*Agave Mexicana*). This plant is native to the cool uplands of Mexico, and is now cultivated extensively over the plateau, particularly in the States of Puebla, Hidalgo, Mexico, Tlaxcala, and the Federal District. In these States it forms the most important agricultural product. Dr. Ponce calculates that there are, in the States named, at least 864,000 acres planted in maguey, all of which is grown for the pulque produced.

The maguey plants are grown from suckers that spring up around a parent plant, are transplanted when two or three years old, are set in rows about as corn is planted, and reach their maturity when about eight years of age. The profitableness of this crop can be seen when it is remembered that each plant costs, up to maturity, not over \$2 (Mex.), and will yield some one hundred gallons of juice during the five or six months during which its sap may be collected. This juice is valued, on the farms, at about two cents per quart. Thus a single plant may easily yield \$8 worth of liquor. As about four hundred plants can be set on an acre of ground, the yield per acre is some \$3,200. The pulque is sold in the city for from thirteen to fourteen cents per quart, thus bringing a good profit to the dealer as well as to the owner of the farm.

The pulque farmers are organized and wield a considerable influence in the economic and political life of central Mexico. They

pay heavy taxes to the public treasury. Any limitation of the sale of pulque would meet their united opposition. Probably the best solution of the economic difficulty which would result from a restriction of pulque production and sale would be the diverting of the use of the maguey plant into other channels. Experiments have been made which show that an excellent variety of sugar can be produced from the juice, that the fiber of the plant, closely related to the henequen of Yucatan, can be utilized for manufacturing cordage, and that the pulp of maguey is very suitable for the manufacture of paper. It has even been claimed that such uses of the plant would be more productive financially than the making of liquor; but, as the owners are conservative and timid about introducing new industries, and as a considerable outlay would be required in the purchase and installation of machinery, all hesitate to make the venture. However, the uses to which the maguey plant can be put are such that a complete abolition of the manufacture of pulque should work no permanent hardship. Though much of the land dedicated to the cultivation of the plant is arid volcanic hill-land, where little else can be produced, there are many other uses for the maguey—uses which would soon be discovered and developed, once the production of pulque were prohibited.

This consideration serves to show that there are important economic factors closely related to the problem of pulque production, factors which should be recognized, but which should not prove an insurmountable obstacle to the limitation and ultimate abolition of the making of this harmful intoxicant.

From time immemorial pulque has been the beverage of the Mexican people. Indian tradition affirms that this drink was discovered in Toltec times (648-1000 S. A.) and that the decay and downfall of this Toltec civilization was due to excessive use of this fermented beverage. In the time of the Aztec Empire, which followed the Toltec rulers, there were strict laws regulating the drinking of pulque. Its use was limited almost entirely to that of a medical tonic. Drunkenness was severely punished, the drunkard's head being shorn and his house razed. It is even said that the death penalty was sometimes inflicted upon the offender. Unfortunately, the "civilized" conquerors of these aboriginal Indian empires did not consider it necessary to regulate the use of this intoxicant, but rather saw an opportunity of financial profit in its production. Hence, the land dedicated to the cultivation of the maguey plant has been much extended and the use of pulque has reached such a degree that the physical, mental and moral strength of the common Mexican people is being seriously undermined.

Pulque has become a recognized item in the daily bill of fare of the laboring class. According to Pani, in his "Hygiene of Mexico" (New York, 1917), about one eighth of a family's expenditure for "food" goes for pulque. As the food value of pulque is almost neg-

ligible (it is estimated that one glass of pulque contains the same amount of nutrition as one bean), and its content of alcohol is from 5 to 7 per cent, one can readily see that persons who daily consume a quart of pulque (the estimated average consumption per capita in the city of Mexico), not only are being deceived as to the amount of food obtained, but are also laying the foundation for some form of alcoholism, acute or chronic, in later years. This must be particularly so with children, who, as a rule, among the poorer classes, use pulque much as milk is used in other lands.

The adulteration of the pulque which is commonly sold in drinking places is another, some say, the chief, cause of its bad effects upon the health. Its volume is frequently augmented by additions of water, often taken from drainage canals or pools along the roadside. Almost no precautions are taken to keep the liquor clean. The barrels into which it is emptied in the pulquerias, and from which it is drawn to be sold, are seldom, if ever, washed, since the idea prevails that the dregs left in the barrel each time add to the flavor of the drink. Furthermore, as pulque ferments very rapidly, and can not be kept more than some 48 hours, various materials are added to delay the fermentation. Some of these are comparatively innocent, some are dangerous to health, some unmentionably filthy. According to one writer, the pulque that is usually drunk in the city of Mexico, consists of "a mixture of human saliva, dirty water, dust, filth, excrement of dogs (purposely added during the fermentation), and, in minor proportion, the juice of the maguey, all plentifully populated by every kind of microbe. Any one who has seen the process of preparation of the pulque, its journey into the city, and the places where it is dispensed, will not consider the above description at all exaggerated.

Pulque is the prevailing beverage of the common Mexican people. They consume an enormous quantity of it. They are daily provided with a new supply. What milk trains are to New York, the pulque trains are to Mexico City. Each day several entire trainloads of this adulterated liquor are brought into the city, from the surrounding pulque farms, just as fresh milk is rushed into other cities in the early morning. Every morning here a multitude of two-wheeled carts may be seen, each carrying three or four barrels of this drink from the railway stations to the pulque shops scattered like milk stations, over the city. At all hours of the day, women and children may be seen bringing earthenware jars of pulque from shops to their homes. Each day this enormous quantity of filthy alcoholic liquor is consumed by men, women and children, in the saloons and at their own tables, by those that imagine that they are getting real food, or by those who seek to forget the hardships of their lives by stupefying themselves with this intoxicant.

During the year 1905-1906, apparently an average year, there was brought into the Federal District the enormous quantity of 7,175,920

barrels of pulque. Estimating the population of the District as about 1,000,000 people (1910 census), that allows over seven barrels per person each year, for man, woman, and child. In addition to this, a large amount of maguey is cultivated in the Federal District and its product must be added to the above figures. None of this pulque is exported. It is all consumed here.

EFFECTS OF DRINKING

According to the best Mexican opinion there are several grave results of drinking, particularly of drinking pulque, aside from the consequences of its unsanitary preparation and handling. Two of the leading physicians of Mexico City state that alcoholism produces more than 50 per cent of the cases of insanity recorded. Dr. Ponce says that of every 100 insane persons in Mexico, 54 are brought to that state by alcohol. Another prominent doctor asserts that of the three great causes that send people to the insane asylum, alcoholism is the first and greatest.

As to crime, judging from reports of the crimes committed in the city, it would seem that intoxication figures less conspicuously as a cause than in other cities of the same size. Here love affairs appear to produce many of the crimes of violence. The municipal records show only a small per cent of the crimes as committed under the influence of liquor. But as these records specify only those committed when actually drunk, it is scarcely safe to conclude that drinking did not influence the committing of many more. In fact, as practically all the people drink, and as the relation of even moderate drinking to crimes of violence is well established, it is reasonable to conclude that intemperance plays an important part, particularly in the crimes of passion which are the most common in the city.

The death-rate of Mexico City is considerably augmented by alcoholism. Mortality statistics show the following number of actual deaths from alcoholism, acute or chronic, for the specified years:

1904	....	194	1908	....	531	1912	....	517
1905	....	315	1909	....	457	1917	....	120
1906	....	311	1910	....	339	1918	....	80
1907	....	463	1911	....	372	1919	....	50 (Jan.-Oct.)

An explanation of the decreasing number of deaths in recent years is rather difficult to find. It may be due to the epidemics of influenza which have snatched the victory of conquest from the more slow-moving alcoholism, claiming the victims for itself, or it may be due to the fact that, during revolutionary times, the authorities have often felt it necessary to close the saloons or limit their hours, for extended periods, so as to prevent disorders. The year 1919 will probably show an increase in the number of deaths since, during the past year, the number of places where liquor can be sold has steadily increased from a total of 1,785 in January, to 2,318 in November. This increase has been most

notable in the number of cantinas and in that of fondas. The number of pulquerias has little more than held its own.

TEMPERANCE REFORM

The need of limiting consumption of alcoholic beverages, particularly among the common people, is quite generally recognized by public-spirited Mexicans. All the evangelical pastors and church-workers lend their enthusiastic support to the temperance cause. Among those who are not affiliated with Protestant work there is also a keen interest in the matter. The President of the National University recently stated that "Pulque drinking is the curse of the common people." The editor of the leading daily paper in Mexico City asserts that "Intemperance is the most pressing problem of the nation." Prominent Mexican physicians are urging the adoption of general temperance instruction in the public schools. Some of the Catholic clergy are earnestly advocating temperance and total abstinence.

A few governmental measures have been adopted for the control of the traffic in intoxicants. In the Federal District the liquor traffic is regulated by ordinances that are probably more strict than at any time in the past. In March, 1919, new regulations came into effect. These provide that the Federal Government shall receive a tax on all liquors sold. In addition, the municipality requires the payment of a license fee from all establishments where liquor is sold, the amount of the license varying according to the zone in which the saloon is located.

Other regulations provide that: "Saloons may not be established nearer than fifty meters to another saloon, a school, church, hospital, barracks, asylums, houses of prostitution, or on the avenues of Francis I. Madero, Cinco de Mayo, or Juarez." As this provision has no retroactive force, drinking-places are now frequently found within the prescribed areas.

The following persons shall neither own nor administer establishments where alcoholic beverages are sold: (1) Public employees of whatever category; (2) minors; (3) women of whatever age. Also individuals who have undergone any punishment of the law for having had part in such crimes as murder, brawls, robbery, corruption of minors, etc., unless five years have passed since such crimes or since the punishment for such crimes was completed, and those who have at any time suffered penalties as owners of gambling dens or houses of prostitution, or who have been punished or fined for having sold spurious goods or those dangerous to the public health.

The ordinances provided also that the owners or managers of saloons are responsible for the sanitary condition, the maintenance of order in their establishments, etc.

Women and children must not enter saloons of any kind. A notice must be posted over the door to this effect. (This does not apply to the fondas and figones, where women are constantly employed in preparing the food for sale, in the same room the liquor

is dispensed, or separated with the poorest excuse of a screen.) The owners or managers are forbidden to permit any laboring-man to stay in their saloon for more than fifteen minutes during work-hours. They must not give or sell liquors to policemen on duty, nor to those already intoxicated. All games except dominoes and billiards (without betting) are forbidden in all saloons.

Drinking-places may open only between the hours of 5 o'clock in the morning and 9 o'clock at night. On Sundays and holidays they must close at 2 p. m. However, additional hours may be granted upon request, and upon the payment of a larger license fee. As a matter of fact these additional hours are frequently granted.

PRESENT STATE OF TEMPERANCE WORK IN THE CITY OF MEXICO

Though the missionaries and the evangelical workers have preached temperance constantly since such work has begun in Mexico, the first extensive activity along that line was commenced in 1897; Mrs. Helen Stoddard came to the country under the auspices of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Many local temperance societies were organized and hundreds of people were induced to sign the pledge. She was succeeded by Mrs. A. N. Fields, who during the years 1899 to 1903 carried on an active campaign with successful results. People of all grades of society coöperated in the temperance work, President Diaz attending and presiding at a "scientific" temperance rally. Other officials of the nation and the different States also lent their support. In 1902 a national society was formed in Mexico City, "La Liga Anti-Alcoholica Nacional," which enrolled several thousand members. Local societies were organized also in twenty-four cities of the republic, and the membership of these must have reached many thousands. Public programs were held in the theaters, the daily press carried articles in favor of temperance, and a course of temperance instruction was prepared for the schools. Such instruction was made obligatory in the schools of the Federal District and in the territories, where federal control of the school systems existed.

All of this was prior to the beginning of civil war in 1910. Since that time most of the temperance activities have ceased, all attention being concentrated on the revolution and attendant problems. Some societies still exist, the local churches have maintained their custom of temperance instruction in the Sunday-school, and recently a national temperance society has been formed in the City of Mexico.

For the past year the Latin-American Department of the Anti-Saloon League of America has been active, more especially in northern Mexico and along the American border.

The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America is now preparing to enter Mexico. The Anti-Alcoholic Association National is active, maintaining an office at Mexico City.

Among Protestants three temperance boards are now represented

by the Committee on Coöperation in Mexico: The Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare, and the Christian Board of Temperance. There is a sub-committee of temperance in the Committee on Coöperation in Mexico. Its principal activities, so far, have been in the printing and distribution of literature, and the fomenting of organization of temperance societies. In the last six months something over 50,000 pamphlets have been printed. Within this period, too, a number of new societies have been formed and several old ones resuscitated.

Two of Mexico's twenty-eight States have had Prohibition laws for several years. These two are Yucatan and Sonora. However, it has often been impossible to enforce the Prohibition laws, because the public sentiment has not been educated up to that point as yet. Yucatan has now repealed the law. Before such statutes can be made effective, the people of the country must be educated to the evils attending drunkenness and moderate drinking. At present, according to leading Mexicans, there is with the average man no moral aspect to the intemperance problem, nor do they see the connection between moderate drinking and drunkenness.

In order to carry on any extensive educational work in temperance in Mexico there must be provided a great additional supply of temperance literature. At present there is very little available in Spanish, though something is now being done to supply this deficiency. The different foreign temperance societies have been requested to send any literature they may have in Spanish and also anything that may be available for translation.

A Mexican physician, member of the Liga Nacional Anti-Alcoholica, is preparing a course of instruction which it is hoped to have introduced into the public schools. Several of the missionaries also are getting out leaflets on temperance for circulation among their people. The League is preparing still other literature. A page is now devoted to temperance in the union evangelical weekly periodical, *El Mundo Cristiano*.

During the early days of the constitutional régime, mainly under the influence of Louis Cabrera and Ignacio Bonillas in the central government at Mexico City, and that of General Elias P. Calles in the northwestern States, the cause of Prohibition made considerable progress. At this stage of the movement, four States became dry and many restrictions were placed upon the liquor traffic throughout the republic.

In the State of Sonora, which comprises most of northwestern Mexico, Prohibition was established during the governorship of General Calles, and during the brief period that he was Secretary of Commerce in the Carranza Cabinet our cause was very favorably received by that administration.

General Calles was followed, as Governor of Sonora, by Governor

de la Huerta, who is now the Provisional President of Mexico City. He put the Prohibition laws into very practical operation throughout his administration, as can be said also of the present Governor of that State, Señor Flavio A. Borquez.

For some years General Alvaro Obregon has been seriously considering Prohibition, especially from the angle of its benefit to the Indian and peon classes, and during his tour of the United States of America, in the early days of the World War, he was greatly impressed with the practical working of Prohibition in the dry States, and the very salutary effect of the prohibited military zone districts around American army training camps, and returned to Mexico a warm advocate of both Prohibition and American friendship.

At the present time General Obregon's influence is paramount in Mexico, and his popularity throughout the Republic was largely responsible for the speedy success of the Liberal Constitutional Revolution, and its practically bloodless consummation which has resulted in the establishment of the present government in the Republic of Mexico. General Obregon has been elected the next president of Mexico.

General Alvarado is Minister of Finance in the de la Huerta government. He is the man who put State-wide Prohibition into effect in the State of Yucatan while governor of that State during the beginning of the Carranza administration and maintained a very rigid enforcement of the law. He owned and published the paper *El Herald de Mexico*, one of the most prominent newspapers of Mexico City. During the period that General Alvarado published this paper, it was a strong advocate both of the cause of the Allies in the World War and of Prohibition.

Upon Governor de la Huerta's assumption of the Presidency, he issued the following as a part of a general manifesto on the policies of the new government: "We can not expect Prohibition in a day nor the end of gambling by a decree, but it is an end towards which we are striving. It will come in Mexico as it did in the United States. We have ordered liquor-selling and gambling stopped in all territory under military control. It will be most rigidly enforced along the national boundary because of the danger of the traffic to the relations between our country and the United States at this most critical time."

Referring to the border traffic, President de la Huerta said: "Mexico invites and enjoys the visits of foreigners, but we do not wish to make our country a place of dissipation."

The Provisional President is now preparing a bill to be placed before the Mexican Congress for American Border Prohibition. During the short period that the Republic was under martial law, practically all the cantinas in the Republic were closed. President de la Huerta and General Obregon believe that he will be better to establish Prohibition in Mexico by legislative enactments upon the part of the several State Legislatures and the Federal Congress, giving the strongest possible moral support of the government to the campaign for such enactment

rather than to put it into effect by military and presidential decrees; we heartily agree with them in this.

In a recent interview, Señor F. A. Pesqueira, Mexican Consul at Douglas, in commenting upon orders issued to all law enforcement officials, wherever laws, either local or state-wide, exist throughout the Republic for the prohibition of the liquor traffic for their rigid enforcement, said: "Mexico's only hope for reconstruction and progress is sobriety and production. For years peons have been furnished liquor, deceived, and chided into revolt against their neighbors. What wages they have made from work now and then has been taken by the dealers at roulette, card-tables, and saloons. The order abolishing gambling and strong drinks is not temporary. There will be no shuffling of permits to gain higher prices for gambling and saloon privileges. In the State of Sonora, war against vice of all kinds is to be permanent. And we expect other States to follow in rapid succession."

We rejoice in the appointment of Mr. R. E. Farley by the Anti-Saloon League of America as its superintendent for work in the Spanish-speaking countries of the Americas and extend the thanks of all lovers of the cause in Mexico for the preparations now being made for our assistance.

We congratulate the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America upon its unanimous decision, at its annual convention this week, agreeing, at Mr. Farley's invitation, to enter Mexico with its great work for this movement in Mexico among Catholics, which will be of great help in this holy cause.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, we can only have one more speech. Unfortunately, we are two speeches behind. We are going to try to work them in. We must have the speech of Mr. Larsen-Ledet, who is on the program, and we must hear from Mr. W. W. Naismith, of Scotland, whose arrival we did not know of at all, until after he had arrived. They must be worked in some time tomorrow.

Now we will hear from Señor Ruperto Algorta, of Lima, Peru, on "The Movement Against Alcoholism in South America."

THE MOVEMENT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN SOUTH AMERICA

By RUPERTO ALGORTA
OF LIMA, PERU

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to me to have the opportunity to return to this great and noble country bringing fraternal greetings from my beloved country, Peru. In my country they love and admire the United States not only because of its colossal material progress, but also because of its great interest in the welfare and happiness of mankind.

I desire to express my gratitude for your generous invitation to me to attend this Congress. This invitation I consider as a tribute to my country.

A little over a year ago, I had the pleasure of telling in one of the sessions of the Nineteenth National Convention of the American Anti-Saloon League of some of the results of the temperance campaign of the National Temperance Society of Peru. Now I wish to speak of some of the events of this past year.

Temperance education by means of public lectures has been carried out with great success. Frequently in different cities of Peru, I have given illustrated lectures on temperance topics, and they have helped much to enlighten public opinion with regard to the harmful effects of intemperance.

We have also used with good success Temperance Medal Contests in several cities. The extent of this work can be seen from the fact that this year we have been able to have some contests for gold medals. These contests have been instrumental in interesting many families in the temperance reform.

In order to make use of the printed page, we publish a magazine called *La Temperancia*, and circulate it in all the schools. Besides, we print leaflets and distribute them by thousands in the factories, shops, barracks and public squares. In addition, we get out temperance charts, and introduce them into the schools.

Furthermore, we translate interesting temperance articles and news items and secure their publication in the leading dailies, which are very willing to receive our articles.

We have tried especially to help the Minister of Instruction in order that he might more efficiently apply the law of temperance instruction in the schools. In order to do this we have taken the necessary steps to secure the publication of three books for use in temperance instruction. Two of these books have been written by Peruvian professors who are members of our temperance society, and the third is a translation of a notable book written by Miss Cora Frances Stoddard, well known as an authority on temperance problems; a book that has been very well received in Peru. I am pleased to state that the Minister of Instruction has lent a ready ear to our requests.

Law No. 2531, which prohibits the sale of liquors on Saturdays and Sundays has been better enforced this year than ever before. In order to secure a better compliance with the law, the Temperance Society asked the local officials for written authorization to enter accusations against violators of the law. We not only secured this, but also succeeded in stimulating the police to more vigorous action, and they are now applying the law with severity.

We have submitted to the Peruvian Congress a bill to secure a law called *Ley Blanca* ("White Law") it has been presented—by J. A.

Encinas, National Deputy and Member of the National Temperance Society—as follows:

ARTICLE I: The consumption, sale, manufacture, transportation and importation of alcoholic beverages is hereby prohibited in the entire country.

ARTICLE II: There shall be established for the country a company under government control to provide alcohol for medicinal purposes. The Executive shall have power to carry out this provision, and shall establish this government monopoly of alcohol in the form considered most appropriate.

ARTICLE III: This law shall become effective within two years after the proclamation in order to give the manufacturers, importers, and sellers an opportunity to go out of business.

ARTICLE IV: During the given length of time stated in the preceding article, it shall be absolutely forbidden to open new establishments for manufacture of alcoholic beverages, new distilleries or drinking places in the country.

ARTICLE V: The violators of this law shall be punished as follows: Manufacturers with a fine of from ten to one hundred pounds according to the amount of capital invested; Importers with the loss of all the beverages imported; Sellers with a fine of from one to ten pounds according to the class of license held; Consumers with a fine of from one to ten pounds according to the judgment of the official who imposes it. For second offense the penalties shall be double the foregoing. For third offense the Government shall seize the entire stock with machinery, fixtures, etc., and in addition, the consumers shall be arrested for misdemeanor.

ARTICLE VI: The funds received from these fines shall be used for improving primary instruction.

ARTICLE VII: The Executive shall dictate regulations in order that this law may be properly applied.

Given the great influence that the example of the United States has in Peru, I do not doubt that within a short time this bill will be passed by the Peruvian Congress.

One of the most important things done is that of interesting the students and professors of the Normal School. They constitute what we may call an army of officers who will direct the people in the battles against the worst enemy of man, alcohol.

As you will easily comprehend, there remains much to be done still, but if we succeed in organizing systematically for the battle against alcohol, and if we succeed in applying better in Peru the methods that have brought such great success in the United States, there is no doubt that we also shall win out in Peru.

The temperance work began in Peru for the Methodist Episcopal Church thirty years ago. In the beginning, this work was very hard. Now it is very hard yet, especially among the two millions and a half of Indians, but public opinion is in favor of prohibition. We have faith not only in the Prohibition law, but also in the antialcoholic teaching in the school. We believe that the complete victory depends upon two things—to take away the man of alcohol and to take away the man of the canteen.

Before I conclude, permit me to give you in the name of Peru, in the name of the National Temperance Society, and in my own name the

enthusiastic congratulations for the great success of the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism.

With my heart full of noble inspiration received in the memorable sessions of this Congress, I make the decision to go ahead in the temperance work for the realization of Prohibition in my country.

THE CHAIRMAN: Señor Algorta did not take all of his time. That gives us the opportunity to call upon the Chilean representative who is here; and I am glad to do so, because we have not had the pleasure of greeting a delegate from Chile up to this time. We have made the call a number of times, but they have not been present in the body. Señor Tancredo Pinochet. We are very glad to have the Señor here.

SEÑOR TANCREDO PINOCHET: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: The chairman has called on me to speak in the name of Chile, saying that the voice of that country has not yet been heard here. I am sorry that I have only been able to come this morning, but I must say that the chairman is mistaken in his statement that the voice of Chile has not been heard. This mistake is easily explained, because the one who spoke in the name of Chile did so in Spanish, and I suppose most of you did not understand what he said. Since his address will be translated into English and published in the records of the convention, I want to state that some of his opinions should be looked at as personal impressions. I myself do not agree with him when he says that there never will be Prohibition in Chile, stating that neither the tendency of the Government nor that of the people is leading to that end, because there are many important interests connected with the alcohol industries, and the sense of liberty of my country would not tolerate the imposition of Prohibition.

Let me state the facts very candidly. I am here in a very special position. I represent both the Government and the Anti-Saloon League of my country. It is true that my Government is not looking forward to total Prohibition and that important interests are linked with the manufacture of wines. But this attitude of the Government will change rapidly, urged on by public opinion. The worst enemy of my country is alcohol. We have nearly thirty thousand saloons, one for every three industrial working men! Any superficial observer may come to the conclusion that our people are drinkers by nature. I visited once the coal mines of the south, and stopped at a plant with five thousand miners. After having been entertained by the manager in his palatial residence, I asked him to let me go and live for a few days in the house of one of the miners. He said that it would not be possible for me to go, as he supposed all of them would be drunk. It was our Fourth of July. One of the policemen was sent to see if a home could be found where the miner was not drunk. After several hours the policeman returned and said that there was not one miner sober on the whole plant.

"You see," the manager said to me, "the Chilean people have to drink; that is their second nature."

He did not stop to think that the company itself had official saloons on the plant and that the salaries of the miners were paid to them in wine. A liter of wine was actual currency in the plant. Add to this that their living conditions were poor, their working hours long, that they had no healthy entertainments, and you will easily come to the conclusion that heavy drinking was enforced there.

Shortly afterwards, I visited another plant, a copper plant, with five thousand workers also. That plant is run by Americans. Total Prohibition is enforced, no one can even drink a drop of light beer. And the workers are satisfied.

The attitude of the workers towards alcohol is such that they ask for Prohibition. Not long ago the skilled and unskilled laborers of Punta Arenas, our most southern city, passed a resolution, that bound everyone, to refuse to handle or transport intoxicating drinks. The worker of the saltpeter region in the north of Chile has officially asked the Government to pass laws that would forbid the manufacture, sale, and consumption of all intoxicating drinks. Only two months ago—in July to be exact—the convention of the Federation of Labor, which has three hundred thousand members, took place in Santiago, Chile. They passed unanimously the following resolutions:

First: To order the executive committee to initiate a campaign of propaganda throughout the republic for the rapid solution of the alcohol problem, by means of antialcoholic teachings in all schools and colleges, and the transformation of this deadly production into the production of food and industrial alcohol.

Second: To ask the Government to give to the commission for the control of alcohol all the cooperation necessary to carry out its plans consisting in education and the transformation of wine-growing, of breweries and distilleries, which are to-day in their present form the great poisoners of the race, into big fountains of vigor and nutrition for our race.

These facts and other similar ones, the intimate knowledge I have of the people of my country, where I have traveled from end to end, studying social conditions and putting my ear on the heart of the people, permit me to say that there is not only a tendency towards Prohibition in the heart of the people, but a strong, vehement desire for it. The fact that they drink is no proof to the contrary.

About our conception of liberty being opposed to the enforcement of such a law, I also disagree with the statement made by my predecessor who spoke in the name of my country. We are a democratic country; we believe in the government of the people, by the people, for the people. We believe in our law that has made public education compulsory, that has made vaccination compulsory, that has forbidden the traffic in opium. Why should we not believe in the authority of the people to pass laws that will stop the gradual suicide of the country?

The fact that the wine producers have such large interests invested in this country is, of course, one of the causes that make our progress towards Prohibition slow. But this country will bring out the lesson

that their interests, the interests of the growers, are not to be forever linked with the manufacture of intoxicating drinks. The transformation of the alcoholic industry and commerce into healthy industries and commerce in this country will be a lesson of tremendous importance for us. And the day will come when every one will be asking for Prohibition as the only salvation of my country.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair stands corrected. I did not notice the check marks against the names of Señor Valderio and Señor Narreto the other day. They were heard in Spanish. I did not understand what they said; consequently it did not make the same impression on my mind as the speech of Señor Pinochet does this morning.

THE CHAIRMAN read cablegrams from temperance workers in Portugal and New Zealand, and from the Finnish National Brothers' Temperance Association of America wishing the Congress success.

THE CHAIRMAN and THE SECRETARY made several announcements.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just one thing more: Tomorrow afternoon we will have brief addresses from representatives of national and international organizations cooperating in the promotion of the Congress at the Central High School. If there are any cooperating societies represented on the Advisory Committee to the American Executive Committee that have not notified Mrs. Yost, the Chairman, they will please do so as soon as possible.

And I want to pay Mrs. Yost a tribute. She has been of invaluable service to us, in charge of women's activities for this Congress, and as Secretary of the Advisory Committee, she has been receiving the designations of speakers for the various cooperating organizations. If your society or organization has not designated a speaker for tomorrow afternoon, please do so at the earliest possible moment. The more there are designated, possibly, the shorter the speakers can talk, but there will be time enough for every organization to be represented,—to speak of its program and of its work, and to set forth its claims.

The meeting tomorrow afternoon will be at two-thirty. Both of the meetings tomorrow will be in the Central High School Auditorium at two-thirty in the afternoon, and eight o'clock at night.

The Congress will now stand adjourned until two-thirty tomorrow afternoon in the Central High School Building.

The session was then concluded.

BANQUET TO THE FOREIGN DELEGATES

On Saturday evening, September 25, 1920, a banquet was tendered to the Delegates from abroad at the Raleigh Hotel, Dr. Dinwiddie acting as toastmaster.

DR. DINWIDDIE welcomed the guests in a felicitous address, and then first called upon Dr. Robert Hercod, of Lausanne, to respond.

RESPONSE BY DR. R. HERCOD

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I was sitting quietly at my table, enjoying the conversation of my neighbors, and my dinner, when Mr. Cherrington came to me and informed me that I would be called on for a speech in a few minutes. I must say it is a very unpleasant invitation that I must speak. If I could speak in French it would not matter so much. I know you do not expect a speech from me in good French, if possible, but in bad English. But I know from experience that it is necessary in America to obey such orders.

I feel it almost as a duty to say a few words to the members of the American organization committee, because since seven years I am in touch with this splendid group of people; in fact, ever since, seven years ago (1913) it was decided that we should have this Congress in America.

During the seven years that have intervened the world has been subjected to one of the worst cataclysms of modern times. But even during these trying years the friends in America did not despair of the Congress.

We must say that we have had a very successful Congress, which will leave long remembrances with us, and which will be considered as one of the most fruitful we have ever had.

This morning, one of the members of this Congress in America — perhaps he is here — told me that "in America we are above the stage of science in the Prohibition movement." Certainly scientific investigation is an excellent thing and a necessary part of the solving of our problem of alcoholism. We owe much to science and investigation. But of course the people who are always investigating without ever acting are not doing any very progressive work; and we are in a social cause as men and women who want to progress. So the great impression which we take back from this Congress in America is that you are a people who know how to act. We are talking much; you don't talk so much; but act! You have done good work, and you have known from reports, you have heard about the conditions of our countries abroad, but we hope that we will have much better reports to render later on. You have given us a great lesson.

But we are not here at a meeting of the Congress, but at a good dinner, and what I want to tell you at this time is, how much all we foreign delegates appreciate not only the great world organization which you have assisted in bringing about, but all your kindness to us. As we came here to the United States we knew that we would not be among familiar scenes or faces, but now we feel that you are our friends, and by your many acts of kindness and sympathy you have made us feel at home. We are very sure that during all our lives we will think of this meeting with you as one of the great happenings of our lives.

People are thinking these days quite a good deal about the League of Nations, and quite especially here in America; but we believe, without speaking of the political League of Nations, that we are here to-night a League of Nations! We have fifteen or twenty different nations represented in this Congress, and we are all friends. We are co-workers in the same cause, and we are working hand in hand; and it is this feeling of cooperation which I believe will bring us success.

I consider it an honor to be with you in the United States. We feel very thankful to the good people who have received us so kindly, not only the members of the American Committee, which has organized this Congress, but all of those whom we have met and been associated with in the days of the Fifteenth International Congress.

[The delegates all rose and drank a toast in water to "America."]

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I am going to call on Dr. August Ley for an address. I am sure we are deeply appreciative of the kind words which have been spoken by Dr. Hercod.

RESPONSE BY DR. AUGUST LEY

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: In spite of my bad English, it gives me great pleasure to express my most sincere gratitude to the committee of this Congress who received us so royally. I shall consider my time spent in attending this Congress at Washington as one of the sweetest memories of my life. Let me assure you that all that we have seen, and all that we have learned in America, will be very useful for us in Europe, and especially for me in Belgium. From the bottom of my heart, allow me to express my best feelings to the American Government, to the American people, and to the American Committee of this Congress.

May I say just a word more? We foreigners in this Congress owe our best thanks to the man who has just spoken, Dr. Hercod, who has been for us a providence, I may say. He has translated our papers; he has helped us in every way; and I think it to be the feeling of all the foreign members of the Congress to give our best thanks especially to Dr. Hercod.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: The next speaker is a gentleman hard to limit. I do not feel disposed to limit him, for the

sake of the audience, except so far as he has to limit himself in order to take a train. I am going to call on a gentleman under whose régime as Secretary of State the arrangements for this Congress in a sense began. As I said last evening, he does not need any introduction, — William Jennings Bryan, of the United States.

RESPONSE BY THE HON. W. J. BRYAN

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: I am limited, dear friends, by a sense of propriety as well as by my train time. You have been very generous in giving me time, and I would not be so impolite as to occupy time to-night when there are so many of these guests who can bring us a thought that will add to the value of this gathering.

I want, in the first place, to express my profound appreciation of the opportunity of taking part here. I think that none of you is more in sympathy with such a crowd as this than I am. I have long seen all the moral forces of society back of every moral cause, and I do not know of any time when we have been more unified than we have been and are being now in the fight against alcoholism. And it rejoices me to see all the branches of the church and those outside of the great churches joining as they are throughout the world in this war against the great enemy of man and the great enemy of the home. And I was especially interested this morning when I learned from one of the speeches that one of our greatest temperance societies in this country was about to undertake the extension of its influence into the republics to the south of us. I take pleasure in saying whenever it is proper that the first temperance speech that I made in recent years was made at the invitation of Father O'Callaghan, and under the auspices of the Catholic Total Abstinence Society of America. We have been associated in that work since, and I rejoiced this morning to hear that that great society is going to reach out to the south and attempt to extend its influence there, first in Mexico, and I doubt not it will be in all those States. And of course that society is the one that will be most sympathetically received down in those countries. It's a great beginning of a great work.

I want to express my appreciation, too, of the honor conferred upon me in making me a member of this international committee. I shall prize fellowship with this group of very earnest men and women who have a world movement on their hearts and on their minds.

I want to say just one word further. My good wife, who would be here if her health permitted, at the suggestion of Dr. Howard H. Russell, the founder of the Anti-Saloon League, wrote a song. It's a world temperance song, and can be sung to one of the familiar tunes. And I am going to give myself the pleasure of furnishing to the officers of this committee enough copies for distribution among the members throughout the world. It contemplates a world movement, and I think it fits into the present occasion.

And now just a word: I would not want to leave this gathering

without just suggesting one thing. We have found in this country that we welcome aid from every source. I am always interested in the demonstrations of science, and I like to see the boost given our movement by business, and we gather evidence everywhere. But I have learned that the instinct is often more speedy in its action and more sure in its results than mathematical calculations. If the conscience of woman had been trusted instead of the business judgment of man, we would have had Prohibition in the United States many, many years ago. Man started out to figure whether it was really wise from a business standpoint to execute the saloon. And many good men, men good at heart, were led to tolerate the saloon on the theory that it was better for the business of a community. The women, led by conscience, without these calculations as to money, put the home above any business that could be benefited by a saloon. And when we have exterminated the saloon, we find that the business of a town is better, and all over the United States there are business men who used to contribute their hundreds of dollars to prevent Prohibition, who would, to-day, under Prohibition, contribute thousands of dollars to prevent the saloons ever coming back.

And I want to suggest to our friends, that back of all the arguments in favor of Prohibition is the argument of conscience; and I believe the most effective appeal that can be made, when the subject is understood, is to the conscience of the world; and I believe we can look forward to the time when the conscience of the world will win for the world such a victory as the conscience of the United States has won for the United States.

And I want to thank these good people for the encouragement that they give us in showing us that everywhere there is an awakening, and that everywhere men and women are rising up and are willing to endure, and if necessary to sacrifice in order to contribute their mite toward the emancipation of the world from intoxicating liquors.

Pardon me for speaking even this long, and allow me to conclude with an expression of deep regret that I am not to be permitted to hear the words to be spoken by those who are to come after me. I am so much interested in the work that I hope some day I may have a larger opportunity to hear from the people abroad, by visiting them when our great Congress meets some day under a foreign flag. I thank you.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: The gentleman whom I am now about to introduce has a very unique experience. I take it, in the history of these international congresses. The ordinary tenure of a chairman and a secretary, I think, is two years, the Congress having, before the war, met biennially. We have with us a gentleman who has occupied one of those positions for nine years. By some inadvertence, the officers were not properly elected for the ensuing biennial period at Milan, and the Dutch Committee, which officiated at The Hague in 1911 were continued until the meeting which was to have been held in

Washington in 1915; and this is the meeting that was to have been held in Washington in 1915. So that the Dutch Committee have been in existence, and the officers have been the officers of the Congress, for nine years. I have had the distinguished honor of succeeding Baron de Beerenbrouck as the President of the Congress, and we have Dr. Slotemaker de Bruine of Holland, who, until the election of Mr. Cherrington the other day, as his successor, has been in this office for nine long years. That's a unique record, and I have pleasure in introducing the very efficient, genial secretary of The Hague Congress, Dr. Slotemaker de Bruine, of Holland.

RESPONSE BY DR. J. R. SLOTEMAKER DE BRUINE

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very sorry that I can not say what I am feeling, because it is difficult for me to express myself satisfactorily in English. I have more on my heart just at this moment on behalf of all you foreign friends than any of us can express. I think I shall have to leave the expression of our sentiments to Dr. Saleeby, who can speak English; for some of us can not say the things we would like to say. We can only try to speak the best we can. I am sure I can not say enough. You should therefore know that I should have liked to express myself much more satisfactorily, and take my thoughts and wishes for granted, though I do not express them in words.

I should like to tell you a story. Last Sunday evening I was in the lobby of the hotel. I met our lady representative, whom you all know, from Holland. She was wearing the badge of the Congress, a very nice badge. And you don't know how glad I was to observe that it contained three colors,—red, white and blue, which are also, as you may recall, the colors of Holland. So I say to myself, "That's a fine people,—the American people," and I say, "We have but two representatives, a lady and a gentleman from Holland, and yet they give us a badge in our own colors!" Then I began to feel at home in a foreign land. But the next morning I saw in the lobby of the hotel a gentleman with a badge,—red, white and blue, who was not a Dutchman, and a lady with a badge in the colors of the red, white and blue, and it was not a Dutch lady! And I stopped and studied,—Do you understand?—studied the matter both from a theoretical and a practical point of view. There was a historical question to be answered, and a psychological problem to be solved. And all at once I discovered that the colors of the badges we Dutch delegates were wearing were not the colors of Holland necessarily, but of the United States of America! In the first moment of my discovery I was a little disappointed, but afterwards I was so glad, because, although I had been under a little misapprehension, the fact was that from the first moment you gave us this badge, we Dutch people thought we were not abroad, but that we were at home; and even after we discovered our error, then, recognizing the colors of your flag as our own national colors, we have felt certainly that we were among our own

friends. And all during the days of the Congress, not only have we Dutch people, but you other people from the Continent of Europe, and from England, have thought and said, "We are not abroad, we are at home!"

And you, Mr. Chairman, and you, Mr. Secretary, the ladies and the gentlemen of the Congress and all the officers, and I can not tell how many of you, have been so kind that we can not express what we feel, and can only say, "Thank you most and most and most heartily." We realize that we are here so far from our country, but still we do not need to force ourselves to feel at home, because you have all done everything that was possible for us to make us happy and contented, and to feel that we were really at home. Therefore I thank you most heartily.

I would say one word more. A few days ago, the Secretary of the Navy, in the High School Building, in concluding his very interesting speech, said, you remember, the men of America are concerned for the welfare of men in Africa, and men in Asia, and men in Europe! And so this international body, powerless to legislate for any government, still has about it the power to educate, the power to inspire, and it has the purpose to say that what is evil to ignorant people and child races, is evil to the educated people of the most advanced races.

When you ask me what is the deepest impression I take with me from America to Europe, it is very easy for me to answer. I have a lot of impressions naturally, being in Washington for the first time in my life, but what I never shall forget is this, that you people of America all accomplish such seemingly impossible things! When we talk about Prohibition in Europe, we are told that it is impossible; that a hotel without alcohol would be very fine, but they say, "We are sorry, but that is not possible." A large town where you might do away with alcohol would be very fine, but they say, "Alas, that is not possible!" I am told that when you go to New York, if you try to find it, you can have a glass of wine or a glass of beer or a glass of whisky. I did not try to find it, but it is possible for one to find it. But suppose that we, going through New York and going through Washington, do not see a restaurant or a hotel serving alcoholic drinks, and the men, and the boys and girls, and the children, and the people all over the town, are doing without alcoholic beverages, then that proves that you have a public life without alcohol. And I tell you that all the people in Europe, and possibly those of Canada—I don't know about them—say this thing is not possible, and as I come over to America with my certain knowledge, so it seems, that to do without alcohol is not possible,—and I come here and I see things that are not possible actually in operation.—How's that? How do you do that? How can you be able to do things that are impossible? I do not try to explain it!

I do not venture to say that next year we will have Prohibition in Europe, and I am not saying that perhaps in one year we will have anything that approaches Prohibition in Europe. If I do not say that, you must not think that I am a friend of the liquor traffic! It's possible

that it will take two years, or perhaps three years. But you have shown us what you have done here in Washington, and in your entire country, and we are going home and tell our people what America has done. And when we go back to Europe, and people greet us and say, "You have idealized the importance of these things," we will say, "That's true, but there is one ideal that's possible. We saw it in Washington. It's absolute Prohibition! I thank you.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I am sure we were all pleased the other day when he was called upon for a reply, when the responses to the last addresses of welcome were being given on the opening day, that the British Ambassador graced the meeting with an address in person, and that he responded in a most felicitous fashion to the remarks of Secretary Daniels, one of the representatives of the Department of State and one of the Commissioners of the District, as well as the Director General of the Pan-American Union. We have with us to-night the First Secretary of the British Embassy, and I am going to ask Mr. Craigie, who is the official representative of the British Ambassador, to speak to us at this time.

RESPONSE BY MR. R. L. CRAIGIE

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is to me a very great privilege to have an opportunity to express to you in a very few words, strictly within the Chairman's five minutes, my appreciation of the great kindness that has been extended to us all during this conference. As Dr. Dinwiddie reminded you, Sir Auckland Geddes told you at the opening meeting of the Congress what a sincere and earnest interest the British Government is taking in the proceedings of this conference. But it is not merely in Government circles, but throughout the length and breadth of our country that this question is receiving from it a closer and a closer attention. It is not necessary for me to dwell on this point which has been explained to you all very fully, and I think I may say admirably, by the more expert exponents of this question who have come from abroad and from the British Dominions. But I perhaps may be permitted to make a little personal statement as representing my own sentiments in regard to this Congress. I should like to confess,—perhaps confession is a little dangerous before so large a gathering,—but still I should like to confess that I came to this Congress without any very violent prejudice in favor of Prohibition! Now, ladies and gentlemen, this Congress has made me think very deeply. And I believe that there must be throughout the world millions of people who are in just that state of mind in which I was at the opening of this Congress. To them will go the results of your work, and on them, I think, the same impression will be made as has been made on me. It will make men think, and in this great problem which you are investigating, you have nothing to lose; you have everything to gain from people thinking.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: The next gentleman has been crowded off the main Congress program until this hour. We all want to hear a few words from our distinguished friend from Denmark, Larsen-Ledet.

RESPONSE BY MR. LARS LARSEN-LEDET

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I never make table talks. In Europe we have no toastmasters. Everybody who wants to speak rises in his place and starts talking! And until I came over here, being a modest part of mankind, I had never risen to make a speech.

A VOICE: That is not true!

MR. LARSEN-LEDET [continuing]: Yes, it is, indeed! You have never heard me make any table speech, but I understand that here in America, you have no personal liberty. You have a toastmaster and he is privileged to force people who do not want to do so, to speak for five minutes! That's why I am obliged to speak, when I have not prepared any speech for this occasion! I have a nice paper in my room prepared for the Congress, but the gentlemen have not permitted me to read it! But for this occasion, I have not prepared any speech. So you will excuse the words as coming from my heart in the bad English which I speak.

In the last days, we have heard much about the Eighteenth Amendment, and we all agree to the importance of that great reform; but we have not heard much—only a very little—about the Nineteenth Amendment! And yet I may say that I consider this reform just as important as the Eighteenth Amendment. There is only one thing I do not understand. I do not understand why it should take so long for progressive Americans to give the women the right to vote! I understand it takes a long time in Europe because there we go on the slow trains, so to speak, but here in America where you make more rapid progress, I do not understand why it should take a hundred years to give the women the right to vote! It has always seemed to me that a man who would not give his mother the right to vote,—he was not really the right kind of a man! And it always seemed to me that a country which would not give its women the right to vote was not entitled to be called a civilized country! When, many years ago, we voted for woman suffrage in Denmark,—for in Denmark the women have had the right to vote for many years—but when we voted for that cause, and I was one of the first men who advocated the women's right to vote in Denmark, when we were told that the world would not be better when the women got suffrage, we said, "Very likely it will not be better," but I felt certain in my conviction that it could not be very much worse than it already was! The men have ruled the world a thousand years, and they have ruled

awfully bad! I am sure the women cannot do it worse than the men have done!

We were told in Denmark that when the women got the right to vote, they would vote as fools. But we replied, "Well, the men have voted—the majority of the men have voted—as fools for several hundred years. Why should we not give the women the same right?"

And it was also predicted that when the women got the right to vote, they would not ask for the principles of a candidate, but they would only ask whether a candidate was nice, and the nicest candidate would get the vote! If it would have been true, I would have been very sorry, because I am the least nice of the five candidates in my parliamentary district! That is not true, for many of the women voted for me!

But to speak more in earnest, I would say that I am sure the world will be better when the women get the vote in all countries. I am sure it will. I know what a splendid work the women have done in the United States of America for Prohibition. I feel sure the women will continue that work.

And I am certain they will do what they can to eliminate from public position all the men who are connected with the liquor traffic or who are in favor of the liquor traffic. I am sure that the women will sweep out all the corruption and all the dishonesty we find in politics in every land.

A wise man has said, several years ago, that a politician is a man who is looking for votes to carry an election, but a statesman is one who is looking for an opportunity to better his country and the world. I hope the women of America will weed out the politicians from public positions, and put good statesmen in their places. I congratulate the United States of America upon the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment!

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: It is proper to introduce a lady to the audience. I have great pleasure in introducing one of our vigorous, active, militant, effective workers in this reform, and in the suffrage reform, for I think on that question she has not at all been backward in going forward, Mrs. Deborah Livingston.

RESPONSE BY MRS. DEBORAH LIVINGSTON

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: The speech of the distinguished guest previous makes me think of a story of a few years ago. A very distinguished and active mother accompanied by her small-sized son of seven was attending a convention where the mother was to speak. During the period preceding the hour in which she was to make her address, the lad was curious to know what kind of meeting it was, and why men and women came together for such a purpose. When the mother was introduced, the good presiding officer, out of the generosity

of his great heart, told of the many reforms in which the mother was identified and she looked, as mothers do, down into the face of her lad in the front seat, to see how that lad was taking this description of his mother. On her way home, she found out, as mothers usually do. The lad looked up out of his great soul and said, "Mother, which of all those things that man said you are, do you like the best?" The mother puzzled for a moment, said, "Which things, my son?" He said, "Would you rather be a suffrage woman or a temperance woman, or a missionary woman, or a Sunday-school woman?" And then he paused, and looked again, and said, "Or now, just dead honest, wouldn't you rather be father's sweetheart and my mother?" And of course there could be only one answer from every true mother's heart to that question.

But the extraordinary thing, my friends, is this, that we have come upon a time when, because a woman is interested in suffrage, is interested in government, is interested in the great moral issues of her generation, she is no less a wife and no less a mother. And I think it is because primarily the element of motherhood and the element of wifehood are so strong in the hearts of true women everywhere, that women were forced out into the arena of public service, not only to pray, but to seek to crystallize that prayer in the power of the ballot, to put an end to those things which destroy fatherhood and destroy manhood. And for that reason the great temperance organizations of women came into being and today these organizations are found in every land under the sun. Hand to hand the women of the world have come to see, without respect to what flag they live under, or what tongue they speak, or what secret creed they hold within their breast, that they are, after all, the mothers of the race, and that their problems are common. And because we realized long years ago that there was no great form of concrete sin which struck so deeply at the heart of the life of the home as did this great evil of intemperance, the women of America and the women of the world bound themselves in bonds of holy sisterhood to see that this blighting, blasting curse of drink shall be forever driven from out the land—not only this land, but the lands of the earth.

And so I want to say to my distinguished friend from Denmark that the women of the United States of America have not only asked and gotten the ballot, many of them, primarily that they might use it as a moral weapon, but that perhaps as temperance women in this republic, it is the efficient means for the enforcement of our laws. And I do not think I need to remind either my friends of this land or the gentlemen of other lands that the enforcing power of the average wife and mother is well known by all. We are very willing to introduce that enforcing power into the realm of government.

And so the women of the world strike hands with the men of the world, and they will march together until Prohibition shall be a fact in the constitution of every nation under the sun.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: Since Mrs. Livingston did not give us her Scotch ancestry, I think I am at liberty to introduce a genuine Scotchman at this time, and I have pleasure in calling upon our friend, Mr. Rea, of Glasgow, Scotland, and we are going to hear from another Scot tomorrow night.

RESPONSE BY MR. THOMAS REA

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Our friend over here who spoke first said that he labored under some considerable difficulty, because Mr. Cherrington had come around and given notice when he was at dinner that in half an hour he was to make a speech. If therefore he had cause for complaint, I think, Mr. Chairman, I have a much greater cause, because that intimation you yourselves received a moment ago that a Scotchman was to speak, was the very first intimation I have received of the fact!

I have noticed to-night that the speechmaking has all been with reference to the Nineteenth Amendment. Evidently the Eighteenth Amendment is now past history! And I think any remarks I would make would also be inspired by the Nineteenth Amendment.

Now a Scotchman very seldom says anything or does anything unless there is some good reason for it! It does not always appear on the surface, but generally there is some good reason for anything he does, that is to say, when he is sober! After all, although Scotchmen get the name of taking too much whisky at times, on the whole the Scotchman acts very fairly and squarely. But this year we are having, as I hope Mr. Naismith will be able to tell you to-morrow,—we are going to put into operation, not so quickly perhaps as America has done it, but we are going to put into operation at least in a considerable part of Scotland a local-option law, so that the people themselves will say whether or not they want the drink traffic in their midst. When we get that opportunity, I have no hesitation in saying that it will be used in the direction,—I will say, just as America would like it done.

And we are, and have been, dependent on the women in this matter to an extent which at the present moment I would like to acknowledge from the bottom of my heart. The lady who has just preceded me to-night is one of many, both ladies and gentlemen, we have had from the United States of America, and from Canada. We have had numerous speakers, but Mrs. Knox Livingston, being a Scotchwoman herself, has spoken with peculiar strength and peculiar interest and peculiar success in Scotland. To her, therefore, if you will allow me, Mr. Chairman, I would like to give my special thanks at this moment.

And I will close my remarks merely by expressing the personal feeling we have in coming to this Congress. I have never been at a Congress before, but last year, on the invitation of the Anti-Saloon League, I had the pleasure, along with some other folks from Scotland and England, of coming to the United States, visiting a number of

the States, wet and dry, and I left the United States just a week before war-time Prohibition came in. I watched the papers carefully, when I landed, because we were sure that when Prohibition came New York would be in anarchy, the place would be fired, and I don't know all that would take place; but I do not know that I saw a single notice of any such thing occurring. The same untoward predictions were made when the Temperance Act was passed in 1913. One of the acts that was passed and came into force at the moment was one providing for a later opening of the saloons. The public houses used to open at eight o'clock. The opening hour was made ten o'clock all over the country. That partly interfered with the workers' hours. The daily newspapers, or the most influential, prophesied there would be riots; that the workmen would lay down their tools, and that a great many other things would happen. But nothing untoward occurred. I am sure nothing will happen when we get the local-option law. But everything will be for the good.

I see Mr. Spence over there from Canada, who is responsible for much help to us, and Bishop Cannon; and I can point out others all around the room who have helped us exceedingly; and to these I would like again to give my tribute from Scotland, and to wish them well, and to thank them for what they have done. And I prophesy that in November of this year we can give them a vote which they will appreciate as our thanksgiving in true Scotch fashion, for the interest they have taken in us, and for the help they have given to us in our country.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: We have had several friends from Scandinavia, who have been particularly modest throughout the entire Congress, and we have rarely heard from them. I want at this time to call upon the official delegate from Norway, and I am sure we all will like to hear from Dr. Vogt, of Norway.

RESPONSE BY DR. RAGNAR VOGT

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I can not speak English, save with difficulty. I can not make much of a speech for you. As I came to this country, I had many thoughts about the principle of liberty, and about the principle of the preservation of liberty, which has always interested me very much. And I dare say none of us would like to do anything that would be against the true principle of liberty and its preservation. The question arises, How can the principles of personal liberty and Prohibition be reconciled? I think the expression "personal liberty" is a general phrase, a term without any clear sense. But there is a lot of idea that liberty is personal. I think that liberty is personal, and that it means freedom for the highest forces in human life. I consider, like Dr. Stockard, that alcohol is not poison to any great extent, but I think that alcohol is a

poison to the personality. I believe that is the true point, and that practically all the evil effects of alcohol comes through the influence of alcohol upon the personality. I think that is the psychological aspect, and that is the character of it; and I believe firmly that alcohol has an especial effect upon what we psychologists call personality, but religious people call the human soul; and the liberty of those higher faculties, I think, will be conserved through the abolition of alcoholism.

Of course I can say out of my heart and out of my best thought on the matter, "Here is a work, a great task, to give humanity the liberty of personality." I have found that America is a great country where real liberty will be enforced.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: It is a long distance from Norway to China, but I am going to ask you to travel it, and we will have a few words from Mr. Wei, who is from the Chinese Legation at Washington.

RESPONSE BY MR. W. P. WEI

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I thought I was not going to be asked to speak this evening. I have been wondering why the Toastmaster asked me to speak during the Congress at all. I have spoken twice at this Congress. But I think there must be a good reason, as I remember I spoke three minutes on the opening meeting on the first day, and ten minutes on Thursday. That made it thirteen, all together. I suppose, therefore, that the Toastmaster thought probably thirteen would be an unlucky number, and he would give me a couple of minutes additional this evening.

The Prohibition movement in China is a new one. To show you how new the movement is, I may say that I have been a member of the Intercollegiate Prohibition League only a little over three weeks. And here I am asked to represent the Chinese Government! And when I called at the Department of State to see about this matter, one of the officials asked me whether I didn't have, therefore, a guilty conscience in representing the Government at this conference. Personally I am, to use an American expression, a teetotaler. The Chinese Government is very much in earnest about the results of this Congress, and cabled over instructions asking me to report in detail the results of the meetings, and I think it will take some time to get the reports of the proceedings translated into Chinese. I understand there are to be five or six hundred pages. However, that's the work I have ahead of me.

I just want to say one word in conclusion. I want to thank the American representatives, on behalf of my colleague and myself, for your courtesies to us; and we want to assure you we have greatly

enjoyed this conference, and also we have been greatly benefited by this exchange of views during the last few days.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: And now we are coming back to America. And I have great pleasure in introducing the Rev. Ben H. Spence, the active Secretary of the Dominion Temperance Alliance, of Toronto, Canada.

RESPONSE BY THE REV. BEN H. SPENCE

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: I think I occupy perhaps as unique a position as any one here, being a foreigner and at the same time being an American. But coming as I do from the largest nation in all the Americas—the Dominion of Canada—and coming as a stranger to this conference, and yet one who, for a foreigner, I suppose, knows the temperance workers of the United States as well as most foreigners do, may I say that it has been a growing, increasing pleasure and profit to associate with men and women who are doing things, who are accomplishing things, who are putting things over, as the men and women in this part of America are doing.

What has been said here about doing the impossible applies also to Canada, for we have done that in Canada, as it has been done in the United States. For years we did lead even the United States, and the other nations of the world, along temperance lines. But we have had temporarily to surrender leadership to this great nation. When it takes it into its head to do anything, it goes right on through with it. You know that Canadians have a very high opinion of the Americans.

I am reminded of a story of the Canadian soldier overseas who made a capture of a German, and on the belt of the German he found these words, "*Gott mit uns!*" He asked the German what that meant. The German replied, "That means God with us." "Oh," the Canadian said. "Oh, well, we should worry; we've got the Yanks!" That represents the gratitude and the good feeling that exist between these two nations. And along that international boundary line of nearly four thousand miles there isn't a fortification. There has not been in over a hundred years a hostile shot fired, although lately we have had to have armored patrol boats along the streams to protect your own shores and our shores against the rum-runners.

But we have learned this, we have found it to be the case in our own campaign, that when we worked for local Prohibition, then rounded that out with county Prohibition, and State-wide Prohibition, and nation-wide Prohibition, we found in the first place Prohibition was not safe in any locality where liquor was made and sold in any adjoining locality or province. And we are finding now that Prohibition can not be made safe and effective in any nation so long as liquor is made and sold in any other nation. And we must

enlarge our scope of operations, as we are doing in this world conference, and realize that God has given us on this continent a great opportunity among the nations of the earth in leading this fight.

After all, we Canadians and Americans—who are we? We are none of us Americans, and none of us Canadians. There is not a native American or Canadian in this room to-night. There is not an aboriginal. I think I come as near that as any one. I have an Indian name! But we are of the same stock. We are all of European stock. We are all one. And the ideals that we have here are those that dominate and obtain in the nations of the world, in the older countries, as we call them, of Europe. It may be that in transplanting these new ideals here in this new ground, unsurrounded by the prejudices of the Old World, they have had greater fruition, and yielded a greater crop, but the same stock that has done the thing here exists in the old land; it is not the impossible over there any more than it was the impossible here. And if we have achieved anything here, we owe it to the old lands of Europe. And I say we have a debt to pay to these other nations that we ought to liquidate.

And now, when we see what can be done here, it gives us encouragement to anticipate the great results that will be achieved abroad. We cannot prophesy ahead. There is not a person here to-night who would be bold enough to say to a pessimist of ten years ago, "I told you so!" Who, ten years ago, could have foretold this day in the world's history? Who now dares foretell what can or will be ten years from now? But the present we have. It is all ours. It's all that we have—ours to take and use, this marvelous present, this bewildering present, with all these strange fevers in our blood; and yet this plastic present that we can mold into definite ideals.

The thought of the world is waking
Out of slumber deep and long,
And the race is beginning to understand
How right can master wrong.
The eyes of the world are opening wide,
And great are the truths they see;
And the heart of the world is singing a song:
Its burden is—"Be free!"

And the thought of the world and the wish of the world and the song of the world shall make a force so strong that the fetters forged for a million years will break.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: If Prof. Thunberg, of the University of Lund, Sweden, will give us a few words at this time, I am sure we will be delighted to hear from him.

RESPONSE BY PROF. TORSTEN THUNBERG

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: We are hearing a great deal about the wonderful Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amend-

ments. And we are left to wonder what will be the Twentieth Amendment! I have not found the answer to this question, and perhaps the answer is that when the Nineteenth Amendment is put into full force and effect, there will be no use of another amendment. Then, when the great victory is realized, when the men and women mixing together in this voting matter, all will be so fine and peaceful that there will be no use for a further amendment.

This is the first time that I have crossed the ocean, and this week has been so full of new experiences and new impressions, that it is quite impossible to put it all into a few words. With my limited command of English, I have none that will completely express my thoughts. But there has been such a bewildering succession of events and pleasures and joys, that, may I say, it has been almost painful. We can not bear so much at one time.

First, after getting acquainted with the great American public, one can feel better educated than he was before. I will teach that to my students in Sweden. I will say to them, "You must go at once to America and visit their institutions. It is quite necessary to go to America to be an educated man."

Oh, you learn so much here in America—among other things, smoking and drinking! I have learned also how to pronounce the word "sarsaparilla," that Mr. Bryan told us about the other night.

My greatest profit will be the impression I have got of the real spirit of America, the pure, sincere, human, energetic spirit of America. In the silence beneath the pure white of the dome of your Capitol, during the marvelous pageant of the first day, I have the impression of the voices from the choir invisible of your great heroes, a Washington, a Lincoln. And from Mount Vernon I have also got the impression of a spirit which will be the blessing of the whole world.

My sincere thanks.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: On account of the peculiar character of the work with which she has been so long identified, I believe that our friends from abroad will excuse us if we ask another American speaker to appear, and I want to introduce at this time Miss Cora Frances Stoddard, Secretary of the Scientific Temperance Federation, Boston.

RESPONSE BY MISS CORA FRANCES STODDARD

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: It has been a very happy week, I am sure, for us here in America to have had you from so many nations with us. We have looked forward a long time to your coming. It has been said in Holy Writ that "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." We had begun almost to think that we were never

going to see you. But you have come; you have been here; you *are* here! And we are glad that it is so.

I have been wondering a little all this week, during the discussions of our Congress, during the speeches that have been made on American temperance conditions, whether it is possible that what is said to be an American characteristic was cropping out. We have been told that the United States is a nation of boasters. Now I do hope you do not think that that is what we have been doing about Prohibition in the United States. We have not meant to do it. But you know when a child gets a new toy or a new possession, which it prizes very much and for which it has striven very long, that is the thing that is uppermost in his mind. And necessarily Prohibition is the thing that is uppermost in our minds, with all the new problems it presents to us; because the problems are new, we have not had national Prohibition before; the conditions are a little different, in most respects, from State Prohibition. And so, of course, naturally that thing is uppermost with us. I do not think we have brought it before you in a spirit of boasting, but simply for the reason that it is the thing that is uppermost with us.

I hope that you feel, too, that we understand more or less intimately the conditions in your countries. We are glad for the pictures that you have brought us of those conditions this week, that have helped us to understand just what they are now.

But if you seem to be at a different stage from that at which we have arrived, just remember that we have been through all those stages. There is no stage of the Prohibition movement in any country of the world, I think, to-day, that America has not seen. We can look back to more than a hundred years ago at the problems of the use of liquor by all sorts of people. We began first by securing local option in certain localities, then we went to total abstinence in some of the States, and later to total abstinence in an increasing number of the States, and with regard to all forms of liquor, and then proceeded to control the liquor traffic, and by and by we came to the idea of Prohibition. And it has been for a great many years that we have been trying to achieve Prohibition. And so, if in other countries you are dealing with the problem in other stages, if you can not jump at once to the stage which we believe is the ultimately sensible stage, be assured that we understand that you must go each in your own way toward the goal which you desire.

Though as our friend Mr. Spence has said, we are living in a time of international interest, we are learning that no nation can live to itself, that our problems are your problems and that your problems are our problems. And so, as we separate in these last hours of the Congress—which I am sure we all regret are the last hours—I feel confident that we shall all go to our own homes and our own tasks with the feeling that these days have given us a greater sense of comradeship, that it has been a good augury for the future, that we

have come together for these constructive purposes, for the uplift of humanity, and we are each going back to our own tasks with a better knowledge of each other's problems, with a greater sense of kinship and companionship in our struggle toward the great end for the whole world. I thank you.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I am sure we will all be glad to have a few words from our genial friend from Paris, Pastor Gallienne.

RESPONSE BY PASTOR G. GALLIENNE

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I feel like a certain rickety old fellow who lives at one end of my street, who was sitting out in front of his shabby little store one day. A chair-mender came along, singing out, "Chairs to mend! Chairs! Broken chairs! Ready to mend!" And the poor old rickety man called back to him, "And so am I!" Well, after so many fine speeches I can only say, "And so am I."

I am very thankful, my friends, for your kind hospitality here. We have been going about your streets and enjoying your parks and your magnificent buildings, and all the while I was obliged to remind myself of the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet! Thou shalt not covet!"—your big temperance forces that have done such splendid things in your land. You have attained a great victory. And now we are going back to our lands, where battles have been fought, long battles and bloody battles, and the battle for temperance has been, I can not say as bloody a battle, but the most difficult battle to win. We could not do it alone. We have not been able to. Nobody has been able to win the war alone. We are bound to ask for help. And so to-night we are asking—all the foreign delegates of Europe are asking your help.

I wish we could take back to Paris all the big organizations that are at work in Washington. I wish I could take away with me some of the woman speakers who have been so eloquently and strongly speaking, not only to-night, but for many long years in the past. Yes, we need your kind help and sympathy.

And before sitting down I should like you to remember that, if the battle is to be won, it will be only with the help of those who give us our largest visions, and on those visions of Prohibition not for America alone, but for the world—the whole world, by 1925. Well, I say this is marching onward by faith; and we need faith now; and we come here and we are taking back a great amount of faith to go on with our work in France.

To America, I wish on behalf of all the forces that are working in France, to thank you most heartily for what you have done already, and for what you are going to do in the future.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I am sure we would like to have a word from our genial friend from Japan, Dr. Yamaguchi.

RESPONSE BY DR. YAMAGUCHI, OF JAPAN

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: When I was quite young I saw a beautiful young lady, now a bride, so attractive and so talented, that I was very much struck. And the feeling of that night is something I never forget, even to this old age. That same feeling is something I am experiencing to-night. How much I envy to be one of you! Japan, as you know, is trying hard, but we are so behind. We are marching on, but so many things have combined to prevent our progress along the lines of Prohibition. I feel just as I did on my wedding night, when I felt that now I have to work harder to build up my business, so I will be able to provide for such a beautiful woman, my bride! And so I am determined to do my best, that in time we may be able to welcome Prohibition in Japan.

The Japanese, as you know, are said to be great imitators, and I think in this connection the Japanese will show greater powers of imitation of your country on the question of Prohibition. When they learn more of the great work, the Japanese will show you without doubt that they will imitate quickly and certainly the splendid things along the lines of Prohibition that you have accomplished in this country, and we feel that in that imitation we will have a great people to emulate. And I am sure you will rejoice when the time comes in Japan that we have national Prohibition, and I sincerely beg of you that you remember Japan in your earnest prayers.

I thank you very much for your courtesy and kindness, and a great many things which you have done. I thank you most heartily on behalf of my country, Japan.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I doubt not that everybody present feels, as does your toastmaster, that it is too bad indeed that we shall not be able to hear from all of our friends from abroad and many of our other friends in this country; but we have heard from Europe, we have heard from upper North America; we have heard from Asia, and I want you to hear a voice from South America. I am going to call on Señor Tancredo Pinochet, of Chile.

RESPONSE BY SENOR TANCREDO PINOCHET

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies and Gentlemen: One of the delegates from the Scandinavian countries said that "this country would not need a Twentieth Amendment." I think that the country does need one, and I dare make a suggestion that that amendment should be that no foreigner should be asked to speak in an audience like this

without being told beforehand. I happened to come to Washington just this morning, and the first thing when I came in they called me to the platform, and I had to speak without one minute of warning. And now again! But in spite of all I am glad to be here, because I think I may say from the very bottom, of my heart, speaking not only in my name but trying to speak also in the name of my country—and I am even going far beyond that in trying to speak in the name of the whole of Latin America—that you are teaching us the most important lesson that you could ever teach another country.

And we caught also a reflected message from the ringing of your Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, that we have also got to be rid of a government that would be our master; and so we got *our* liberty, and we perfected our constitution, copying them from yours.

But it seems to me that the lesson that you are teaching us now is just as important, if not much more important, than the lesson you gave us when we obtained our political independence, because now it is not a question of political independence, it is a question of being born, of being awakened, of our conscience sleeping, and now we are really being born again. You can not fully understand me because you do not know the conditions of our countries. But it is a fact that I myself have put my ear on the very heart of the people in my country. I have worked as a laborer there. I went disguised as a laborer to work on the farm of the President of the republic. I worked for fifteen days as a laborer, just to see what the problem was, and to hear the cry of the people down there. So we know that we need Prohibition.

And furthermore, we have just one place in Chile—it is a plant run by the corporate interests of this country—that is the only place in Chile where we have got Prohibition. There are five thousand men working there, and they are the very happiest in my country.

And there is another plant further north where the American interests want to have Prohibition, and they have not been able to enforce it yet, not because they would not, but because they could not. In the place where we have Prohibition in Chile, it is so high up in the mountains that they can not very well stop it from coming in, and in the other place they have a saloon just outside of their plant.

Now, you are teaching us this lesson with what you are doing here, and with what you are actually doing there, and in fact that is why I am glad to say that we are going to owe America really for the second independence of our country. I thank you.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I know you will all agree that Dr. Saleeby should say a word now. He does not need any introduction to this Congress. Dr. Saleeby, of England.

RESPONSE BY DR. C. W. SALEEBY, F. R. S. E.

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen: It is frightfully late, and I must not detain you with any extended remarks. I will merely say that we are all deeply grateful to your officers and the members of the American Committee for what you have done for us delegates from abroad. We have been in attendance upon some great occasions before, but this is colossal. It's tremendous. It has world-wide significance. And its eternal significance almost overwhelms us. We are deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, and the members of the American delegation, for all your courtesies and kindness to us; and for this gracious occasion, when we have been privileged to meet around a feast of good things and to hear these pleasant and inspiring words, we are particularly thankful to you.

Going about your wonderful capital, we are told that such and such is a shaft to Washington, and another to Lincoln, etc. These monuments are monuments of great height and expanse, but they are ridiculously inadequate when you realize what a nation those men have helped to make. We have honored the names of some of your great men in our public inscriptions in Great Britain, but for their real monuments we will look around us in this wonderful country.

We have been talking this week a great deal about how Prohibition will make America a great country. But what a wonderful land you already have to make such a splendid start in nation-wide Prohibition! What a conception of real liberty, what a conception of patriotism, to deny itself something that has been the enemy and the bane of mankind all over the world, wherever there is any record, since time began. Why, your country has made itself so great that it proposes to make itself even greater by means of Prohibition! That's the really astonishing thing. It's the causes that led to Prohibition as much as the results that are remarkable.

One of the things that are said in my country about yours is that there has been a most deplorable result of nation-wide Prohibition in America; that since Prohibition came in one of the most delightful arts of civilized life has disappeared under the influence of your fanatics. Well, I think it will be agreed here to-night that the art of oratory is very much alive. And when I consider how many of the speakers this evening have not been speaking in their native tongues, and when I think of the excellent English that our friends from foreign countries use, I really feel very guilty that we English-speaking people are unable to emulate them by speaking also in tongues other than our own. The spirit of oratory indeed is not dead under a dry régime, and a very high standard has been set here this evening. We have to persuade the world that we are not "kill-joys," that we know how to have a good time, that we have solved the problem that they say can not be solved—how to be happy, though sober!

A distinguished friend of mine was a little bit anxious lest the problem of being really happy though sober would fail to be solved in the future under absolute Prohibition; and that was really his trouble, when he misinterpreted his own results this morning. We had a Scotchman on the steamer coming across, a man of marvelous education. A wonderful history these Scotch people have of learning on all matters except one. They spend their money with judgment and pre-vision, but on the matter of whisky nine Scotchmen out of ten are babes and fatuous simpletons. Scotchmen are as wise as you like in other matters—but I forget what I was going to say. Oh, yes—a Scotchman will drink real champagne in the evening, and have a real pain in the morning. Some time the whole thing is going to give him a noxious pain, and he will wipe the evil from his country.

We have had the real cream of life in your beautiful capital this week, without any boasting of the membership of the Congress. It's a demonstration that is worthy of the note of all men. And you have demonstrated to the world that you Americans know how to be joyful and happy, without resorting to alcoholic intoxicants and other forms of sham happiness. (Dr. Saleeby concluded by reading a poem by Walt Whitman.)

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I presume it is getting around toward the time when we might well close. There have been many nice things said about America and about the American Committee, one of whom I have been. I have had to be before the Congress a great deal. It has been a pleasure, but it has brought its trials and—its perspiration! I do not think it is "up to me," to use an American expression which I think you all understand, to let the impression go forward that any of us or any number of us, except all of us, have done what we have meant to do in a very short space of time, in arranging for this Congress. I have been associated with a very loyal bunch of people in this work. Brother Cherrington is going to have a chance to talk to you to-morrow. He asked me not to call upon him to-night. He is inherently modest anyway! Father O'Callaghan, however, is the third member of the sub-committee which was charged by the Executive Committee with the detailed arrangements for plans for the Congress, and I am going to ask Father O'Callaghan, on behalf of the sub-committee and of the full committee, to say a few words at his time.

RESPONSE BY THE VERY REV. P. J. O'CALLAGHAN, C. S. P.

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: "That's the unkindest cut of all!" I hadn't honestly any idea of speaking for the Committee to-night, but it certainly is a very great honor to speak for the Committee, as it has been a very great honor to work with the Committee. We have been together a great deal. Most of the Committee traveled to Europe twice, and so we were well acquainted with one another.

And we were all stirred by a common love for the great cause of temperance, and we welcomed the opportunity that was given to us by our great leader, and one that our nation calls the great Commoner, to serve on this Committee. Dr. Dinwiddie has told of our many labors. We have had a great deal to do, but it has been a labor of love, and it has been crowned and blessed with such words of appreciation that we are entirely and more than repaid for all any one or all together have done.

I am sure that it is a very great honor for us to express our thanks to those who have been so lavish in their praise, who have been so generous in their expressions of appreciation for the hospitality that we were enabled to offer in the name of our country.

By our service in this cause we have been made not only proud of the fact that we have been associated with it for many years, through which many of us have had to bear the stigma or at least the attempted stigma of those who would not understand, who counted us as fanatics, to whom we had to say that only the future shall tell whether we were or have been fanatics or farseeing. And we have rejoiced that we were privileged to see this day.

And we have been very proud of our country. We recognize and talk about our country gladly, because it is our country that you have praised, and are glad to tell you that we think our country is worthy of your admiration. We are sensible, those of us who have been born and bred here, that American patriotism is an idealism, that it is not a love of any particular corner of the earth, though it includes that; it is not a mere love of the home where we were raised; it is not a love of birthplace; but it is a love of those ideals that are in our Constitution, and in our sense of what our country stands for, and in our Constitution, because our Constitution is not a Magna Charta, a concession of ancient traditions to us, but a living thing that has thus far expressed itself up to the Nineteenth Amendment, and that is admitted as attributing to the sovereign people of this age the same authority that was vested in those that wrote the first draft of that Constitution. And we are glad to think that you have paid tribute to our country in glorifying us, for adding these amendments to our Constitution.

In the name of the Committee we therefore thank all who have honored our country by coming, and we are deeply grateful for the many words that have been uttered in praise of this land of progress.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: I am going to take a liberty which I think the Committee will thoroughly approve. We cannot have long speeches. We have not had long speeches to-night. I do not know whether they have come to be afraid of the Chair or not. I did not reveal the fact that I did not have a gavel here to-night, but we have done admirably, and we have gotten along really well. But I think the Committee will say that we can have a word

from several of those who, while not members of the Committee, have nevertheless been the most loyal sort of helpers of the Committee, and without whom the Committee's work had not been possible. I never did believe, and I do not believe yet, that generals alone win battles. And I believe in letting people know that we appreciate the colonels and the majors and the captains in line of service. The Committee has had the services of several whose labors have been invaluable. You have had this exhibition on the tenth floor of the Raleigh Hotel, which was put over, and many other things connected with arrangements for the Congress were put over, by the young man I am going to introduce now, to whom in this way I want to offer a proper meed of praise, Mr. T. Q. Beesley, the assistant to the General Committee.

RESPONSE BY MR. T. Q. BEESLEY

Mr. Toastmaster, Ladies, and Gentlemen.: I can say, I think with all honesty, that there is no need of public praise to any of us who have had the privilege of assisting in any way toward the success of this Congress. There is such a thing as the joy of being permitted to do a thing in which your heart is interested, and with which your soul is deeply moved. There is such a thing as a satisfaction in doing a job to the best of your ability, and with all the strength and force and devotion that you can muster.

For my own part, and I am sure that my faithful co-workers outside of the committee proper agree with me in this, the satisfaction that we have had in contributing in any way toward making the world to realize where America stood, and where other nations can stand on this issue, was praise enough and glory enough, and satisfaction enough.

I want to say just a word on one aspect of the Congress that appeals to me very much indeed. I have emphasized it on the two occasions in which I have been associated with you publicly, the reception on Tuesday night, and this occasion to-night, emphasized it by wearing the uniform that I wore during the war. Those of us who had the privilege of being associated with the Red Cross, whether at headquarters or in the hospitals, or with the troops, or with the sailors at sea—and by some strange grace I had all four of those experiences—come to realize that, regardless of differences of color, regardless of differences of condition, regardless of differences of nationality and creed, there is at the bottom a fundamental factor between all peoples and all nations—the bond of a common desire for justice and decency and moral truth. We found in the Red Cross that there was one protecting thing which every man and every woman had, no matter between what contending forces he or she might find himself or herself—the protecting, all-embracing force of mercy, humanity and justice. Where you have those three, where

you are working for your fellow man under the guidance of those three, there is no force that dare lay a hand on you and no force that can stop you. That, it seems to me, should be one of the great encouragements to those who are fighting alcoholism throughout the world. Not only that, but it should be an encouragement to come closer to each other. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the international aspect of the Congress, for thirty-one nations have sent official delegations. But it is necessary, I think, to keep before the Congress, always burning bright, the light of the knowledge that with a united moral principle, and working together for a united moral principle, there is nothing that can stop the United States and the world from moving forward.

I appeal to you to exercise in all your congresses more and more, by every outward symbol and every inward device that you can fashion, the international aspect. It's the only aspect on which this Congress can ultimately complete its work of making the world free from alcoholism.

And one last note which I hope will not be a jarring note in comparison with what I have just said—I do not want Dr. Saleeby to go back to England without meeting some one who has read Walt Whitman. Dr. Saleeby, permit me to introduce myself. You Englishmen have the habit of coming over here and discovering our poets for us. You discover them as you discover the Woolworth Building. We pass it a thousand times a day on Broadway and do not recognize it. We need to be taught to recognize our own things. I think we have discovered ourselves in this Congress. I think we have discovered one thing more, that at the bottom of a movement like the League of Nations there is a fundamental reaching up for the common truth, the truth of brotherhood, the truth that one of your great English poets set forth in a phrase that some day will be fully realized in the principles of morality, the well-known phrase of the famous Tennyson—"The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: Now I still think we are going to be through by midnight. I know you want to hear a word from a very efficient member of the Committee who has directed the activities of the women, the loyal, faithful, indefatigable Legislative Superintendent of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs. Lenna Yost.

RESPONSE BY MRS. LENNA YOST

Mr. Toastmaster and Friends: Since no one has boasted of what we have done, may I say the fact that our Government has been host and hostess, since the Nineteenth Amendment, to this great International Congress, to our distinguished guests from other lands, has

made me very happy. We have longed for your coming; we wanted you to see what we have done. We wanted you to know what we want you to do. You have been an inspiration to the United States, as has been testified by the representatives from every State in this Union. We are sorry to see you go, but we say goodby and hope you will come again.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: The regular work of the Committee, the direction of the necessary and splendid helpful activities of the women altogether would not accomplish much if we did not have a pocket-book in this country, some way, some how, with which to pay the bills. Father O'Callaghan has an assistant in that line, and the Committee has an office director, whom I want to introduce to you, who for over twenty years has been laboring faithfully, industriously, efficiently, in behalf of national Prohibition. I know, for most of that time she has been my own secretary. She has temporarily been loaned to this Congress Committee in order to help put this work over at this time. Miss Laura R. Church.

RESPONSE BY MISS LAURA R. CHURCH

Mr. Toastmaster, our honored guests, ladies and gentlemen: This is indeed unexpected! I had no idea the Chairman would call on me at all. It is very pleasant, though, to look at you all collectively. Somehow or other, in these busy days this week, I have not been in very many of the sessions. I have seen you individually. Some of you have wanted to see me awfully bad at times, and perhaps could not find me quite as quickly as you wanted to; and sometimes, when I have gone to get to some one who was expecting me quickly, that I have not had time to stop and chat as I would have liked, and as perhaps you may have expected.

It has been a very great joy, though, to be in what some of us have said to be the treasury of the Congress. It has been a very great pleasure. The pleasure of service has been very great to us. We have been delighted to have you here, to have met you, to have done any little thing for you that we could do. We hope you will come soon again and hold another Congress, and nothing would make me happier, and I am sure the rest of the office force, than to be just able to do all over again the things that we have done; and we could do them much better another time. I hope you will come soon again.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: We are very glad that you have been here. The Chair has already expressed himself along this line. The pleasure has been ours. We wish you God-speed. We wish you a pleasant time during the remainder of your sojourn in the United States, a safe journey home, when you must go, and an early return.

and if God so wills, a success in your line of service wherever you are. We bid you good-night, and we will see you to-morrow.

DR. A. J. COOK: Just as our meeting is adjourned, may I not say a word on behalf of the delegates in appreciation of the splendid leadership and courtesies of our Chairman throughout the week and of our toastmaster of this evening, Dr. Dinwiddie. We have watched your tired expression, Doctor, and have marveled at your wonderful power of geniality and sensible power of control which you have exercised, and we have admired from afar, and wondered where all the power came from. We all want, I am sure, Mr. Chairman, to thank you for the way in which you have presided.

The banqueters arose and sang, "For he's a jolly good fellow," whereupon three rousing cheers were given for Dr. Dinwiddie.

THE TOASTMASTER, DR. DINWIDDIE: you are very kind. I certainly thank you all.

DR. CHARLES SCANLON at this point stated that he felt that he could reply to Mr. Cook's wonderment as to where Dr. Dinwiddie derived all his power for the tasks he accomplishes. He thereupon asked that the mother of the Chairman of the Congress, Mrs. Dinwiddie, should rise in her place, in order that the delegates might see her as the "source of the power" of her son, Dr. Dinwiddie, the Chairman of the Congress.

[Mrs. Dinwiddie rose, and the delegates all rose in tribute to Mrs. Dinwiddie.]

DR. SCANLON thereupon called attention also to the presence of the wife of the Chairman, who also deserved her share of the honors. Dr. Scanlon said: "These are the sources of power behind the Chairman!"

The meeting then dispersed.

AFTERNOON SESSION

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1920

The Sunday afternoon session was convened at the Central High School, Dr. Dinwiddie, presiding.

THE REV. CHARLES SCANLON, D.D., offered the invocation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have in my hand the program as far as given to me by Mrs. Yost, Secretary of the Advisory Committee to the American Executive Committee of the Congress. Now it may be that other organizations have appointed representatives to speak for them briefly this afternoon, and that we have not received the notice, and I am saying this now so that no organization will be intentionally omitted. If you are not in the list,—if there is an organization that is to be officially represented by some speaker this afternoon, and the name is not read, will you please immediately send it to the platform.

[Mr. Charles S. Wengerd led the singing, with Miss Edith Athey at the pipe organ. The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Onward, Christian Soldiers" were sung.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Although editor of a paper and manager of a large publishing plant, Mr. Cherrington is a very modest man, and says very little about himself. His name goes into his papers very much less frequently than the names of others identified with the reform. But those of us who know him know that Mr. Cherrington has had a very large part in the progress and success of the movement against the saloon in the United States; and those of us who know him most intimately know he is a valuable and valued and trusted helper in all of these things; and I want you to remain this afternoon in this Congress meeting under the chairmanship of the secretary of our committee, whom I have the pleasure of introducing, Mr. Ernest H. Cherrington.

[Mr. Cherrington thereupon assumed the chair.]

MR. CHERRINGTON: The words of the permanent chairman are very gracious,—I could say extravagant. As I understand it, the afternoon's program has to do entirely with the representatives of temperance organizations and church committees.

CAPTAIN RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON: Before the program is definitely decided, I request three minutes or five in which to make an announcement.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: All right Captain. Will you make it now?

CAPTAIN HOBSON: I shall be very glad to.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: We are all aware that this Congress marks a new era in the reform of the world. The suggestion I am making here has for its object the opening up of the hearts and resources of the American people in a new and larger way to the whole world movement. Organizations have particular functions and their work to do. But all agree in the educational road to the final goal. And this has for its purpose the enabling of the great cause in the world to tap the resources of America, in harmony, all organizations coöperating, so that there will be no new organization created. It will draw on the funds of no organization, just merely opening the way for the world to reach the heart and the purse strings of America. The suggestion is an American Anti-Alcoholism Education Fund to be raised under federated auspices. The conception is the National Temperance Council to be allotted by the same—by this council, or whatever federated organization is created, to the foreign lands for educational purposes only, to be extended in the foreign lands by some form of federated council or agency, each land working out its own channels of expenditure, to be raised by meetings, say, yearly,—perhaps in April or May, when the organizations themselves, are least busy in this country; all organizations, church boards, etc. coöperating to make the meetings great and successful, organizations from abroad sending speakers to join with American speakers, the practical, tangible agency a ten-year pledge-card, the expenses to be met out of the first funds raised. As a practical lecturer, I know that the cash collections would more than cover all expenses, and I am confident that the heart of America would open up with no division at all in its response. All good people agree on that road, and no new organization being created, and drawing on the funds of no organization, it will deepen the interest of the American people in this great new field, and at the same time permit them to draw on the resources of the nation.

Mr. Chairman, of course no legislative action can be taken on this occasion or in this Congress. This is only a suggestion about which the constructive thought, particularly of the committee of the organizations in America, may begin to revolve and work out, I hope and trust, by next Spring, perhaps, the means and the agencies needed to found this fund.

Now I am a practical man in these matters. I believe a single lecturer could easily raise a million a year. That's a very conservative estimate. I believe if this is properly done, we could build a mighty fund that would reduce enormously the time period necessary to make the whole world dry.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON:—The first number on the program this afternoon is an address by the Rev. Lyman V. Rutledge, of Boston, who is the representative of the Unitarian Temperance Society, but he does not seem to be present. I see a gentleman sitting here below at my right, who is not a novice at any sort of moral reform,—the Rev. Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, of the International Reform Bureau. Dr. Crafts is recognized for five minutes.

REMARKS BY DR. WILBUR F. CRAFTS
REPRESENTING THE INTERNATIONAL REFORM BUREAU

Mr. Chairman and fellow helpers to the truth: We meet as allies at a camp fire. In street campaigning for war Prohibition, the International Reform Bureau decorated its auto with flags of the 27 allies that won the World War. All the Allies helped. Seven of them had an essential part, namely, Serbia, Belgium, France, Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States. We cannot conceive that any one would speak of the World War as wholly won by France and Britain.

That strangers may not inaccurately and unfairly ascribe Prohibition victories in the United States wholly to the two chief Allies, some of their own leaders have arranged that this whole session shall be a roll call and war council of the 41 national organizations that fought as Allies in securing national Prohibition.

All of these Allies have helped to win the Prohibition victories, and there is glory enough for all. As there were seven national Allies in the World War that were privileged to render preeminent service, seven Prohibition Allies were more active than others in our final drive for national Prohibition; and at least four of them can be shown to have taken an absolutely essential part. One of these is the International Reform Bureau, which is content to be the little Belgium in this holy war. It is in no sense a rival of other organizations. Indeed its board of directors includes leaders from nearly all of the 41 Allies mobilized here to-day, together with 15 Prohibition leaders of Congress.

The Reform Bureau is a bureau of lectures and literature, for enactment and enforcement of laws against all moral evils, especially the big five: intoxicants, sex abuses, gambling, pugilism, and commercialization of Sunday. *But our chief objective during the whole 25 years of our history has been national Prohibition*, which has been won by three score anti-alcohol votes in Congress, in three stages: (1) Prohibition of liquor selling in Government buildings, which the Reform Bureau initiated. (2) Prohibition of interstate shipment of liquors to "speak-easies." (3) National Constitutional Prohibition. In both the second and third stages a national convention of Prohibition forces appointed a commission to draft the law, also a Washington lobby of three to promote them, and on all these the Reform Bureau was represented. (4) War Prohibition, in which the Reform Bureau's part was decisive, as shown in a signed statement of Senator Norris, that after the hearings in June, 1918,

before Senate Committee of Agriculture and Forestry, a bill was favorably reported in which the making of malt liquors was prohibited after three months, to conserve grain; the *sale* of distilled liquors was prohibited after one year, and no restrictions were put on the *sale* of wine. Whereupon he says that the Superintendent of the Reform Bureau immediately came to him to urge that such a bill would not be regarded as adequate by the people who had thought on war Prohibition. He had received a similar intimation from people in his own State whose opinions he valued, and so consented to make an effort to report a stronger bill, on which he collaborated with the representative of the Reform Bureau. The bill prohibited the *making* of any kind of liquors after Nov. 1, 1918, and the *sale* of any after Jan. 1, 1919, for the period of the war and demobilization. Exportation was also forbidden. The bill was immediately taken up by the Committee and reported as drawn, except that the Committee struck out demobilization and prohibition of export. When the President interposed a request that date of Prohibition should be postponed for a year, this bill was revised by Senator Sheppard, with demobilization restored, and date of prohibition of *sale* of all intoxicating liquors was set at July 1, 1919, and it was so passed.

This certified statement means that a bill reported by Senate Committee on June 27, 1918, which would have allowed whisky-selling for a year and wine-selling indefinitely, cutting off beer-making nine months earlier, was set aside in less than a week through interviews of the Reform Bureau's representative with members of the Committee, and full war Prohibition as finally passed, except in two weakened provisions, was reported on July 3, with the result that 16 wet States, containing two fifths of the nation's population, were put under Prohibition six and a half months before Constitutional Prohibition took effect.

If an organization which you represent had worked night and day for a year and a quarter to achieve that, and almost everybody carelessly added it to the laurels of other organizations, would you think it strange, good people, did not take more pains to be accurate and fair.

War Prohibition is but one of nine legislative Prohibition victories in which the Reform Bureau had an initiative and essential part. One of these was the Johnson Anti-Canteen law; another, the Bowersock Prohibition law for immigrant stations; another, the Gallinger Prohibition law for Old Soldiers' Homes. Others were prohibitions of sale of liquors and opium by Americans to native races. Our allies will rejoice with us that we have had these opportunities for patriotic service.

As to our program for present and future, three Prohibition auto teams have already gone back from a short furlough at this Congress to help elect dry Congressional candidates: the Nicholls-Reid Auto Team in Massachusetts; the Watson-Ackerly Team in New Jersey, Connecticut, and New York; and the Empringham-Ackerly Team in Pennsylvania. They represent the argument of loyalty to the Prohibition amendment in its true intent by music and speaking and by giving away a thousand illustrated Auto Heralds daily, in which the antibeer argument is printed

in English, Italian and German. All this is done to win voters on the streets, many of them immigrants. To convert the other "neglected classes," the university men—only one American University professor of eminence having been enlisted for Prohibition—we are giving the scholarly antialcohol books of Ernest Gordon, with the help of other societies, to colleges and public libraries, also books of Superintendent Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts.

The churches and business men have won Prohibition. We need re-enforcement from colleges and industrial classes for the final enforcement battle. In the words of the poet-laureate of the W. C. T. U.:

Did they finish the fight that day
When the Liberty Bell was rung?
Did they silence the noise of war
When Liberty's triumph was sung?
Was freedom made sovereign indeed
When the old bell pealed to the world
That the reign of oppression had ceased,
And the banner of freedom unfurled?
A battle has waged since the world was new,
The Battle is On, God Calleth for You.

I thank you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: I suppose you all know that the first official declaration for national Constitutional Prohibition by any temperance organization in this country was made in 1856 by the Sons of Temperance. We have this afternoon a most worthy patriarch of the national division of the Sons of Temperance, Mr. Hohenthal, of Connecticut, and we will be glad to hear from him for five minutes.

REMARKS BY MR. E. L. G. HOHENTHAL
OF MANCHESTER, CONNECTICUT
REPRESENTING THE SONS OF TEMPERANCE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Seventy-eight years ago next Wednesday saw the birth of this organization in North America, the jurisdiction of which reaches from the North Pole to the Panama Canal. That's the territory I am supposed to look after. It has now approximately five hundred to six hundred thousand members, scattered in Great Britain, Australia, New South Wales, the Dominion of Canada, the United States, and the islands of the sea. In that organization with that number of members are one hundred and fifty thousand children under sixteen years of age, who are receiving definite scientific instruction, monthly at least, and oftener in many localities. It has stood for Constitutional Prohibition from the date that the chairman mentioned,—national and erstwhile. Its pledge can never be altered. The fathers of the organization were wise enough to foresee the light wine and beer theory, and so in its original form the pledge has stood, and it is that "I

will neither make, buy, sell, nor use, as a beverage, any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or whisky." No member of our organization can drink one-half of one per cent cider or beer. Anything that has an alcoholic content in it to our knowledge is barred.

In view of some of the successes that have come upon the North American continent, we propose to follow Mr. Bryan's suggestion last night to educate the children, because of the influx of the foreign born, and those of foreign parentage, and many of homes continue to make their home brew under our national Prohibition law, which is permitted. I am quite in agreement with Dr. Rosewater who said that if alcohol is dangerous sold in a saloon, it is equally dangerous in a home. Hence, scientific instruction that alcohol is a dangerous substance to meddle with needs to be emphasized through our public school system, and Mrs. Hunt's work needs to be more effectually carried on than ever before.

Second, law enforcement can be carried on through the organization with less revulsion of feeling or opposition than in an organization that is named a law enforcement organization.

These two principal purposes will be emphasized in the North American jurisdiction.

Now our friends in Great Britain are actively at work. It was my good fortune to be present at their national division session, and they have continued their work along the health and sick benefit insurance features, which they have never given up from the day that they were organized in 1855. Seven millions of money at their disposal makes them one of the great organizations of the British Empire to carry on the work of total abstinence and Prohibition.

I am glad to have the opportunity of saying this word this afternoon, and I am honored by that opportunity by reason of the office which I have been elected to hold again for the next two years.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: We have with us this afternoon the Supreme President of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Knights of Father Mathew--Miss Sallie Hickson. Let me say, while Miss Hickson is coming to the platform, that just about seventy years ago,—seventy-one years ago, in fact, in this city of Washington, the greatest honor that has been shown by the Government of the United States to the representative of any temperance organization was given to Father Mathew, when the halls of Congress were thrown open to him, and he was invited to sit in the United States Senate. That was in 1849, and the Father Mathew Knights and the Auxiliary of the Knights of Father Mathew have been doing business for the temperance cause in this country ever since. We are glad to hear from Miss Hickson.

Miss SALLIE HICKSON, Supreme President of the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Knights of Father Mathew, read a short paper on the work of the Auxiliary.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: As you all know, one of the strongest temperance boards or temperance committees—church temperance committees,—is the Presbyterian Board of which Dr. Scanlon is the Secretary. Miss Aldrich, representing that Board, will speak to us briefly this afternoon.

REMARKS BY MISS ALDRICH

REPRESENTING THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF TEMPERANCE

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen: You heard Mr. Bryan tell from this platform the other night that the first resolution from the Presbyterian Church relative to temperance was that the Presbyterian ministers were not to get drunk in public! But the Presbyterian Board of Temperance has progressed so far beyond that day that you do not need to worry at all about the Presbyterian Church any more, for you will find us always in the bone-dry column, for a bone-dry United States of America, and for the enforcement of our own laws, and reaching out to help our foreign friends, our friends from across the sea, in every movement, every advanced movement, that they make toward that same end.

We know for our own land, as has been expressed for us, by those who have come into this International Congress, that nothing is more vital than the enforcement of our law; and not only to gain in our Congress and our legislatures dry candidates that the present emergency may be met, but we are already reaching further than that, continuing the scientific temperance instruction of the children, and deeper even than that, trying in our United States of America to plant a new,—if I may express it so in this age, when law enforcement has become so difficult,—a new reverence for law in the hearts of the children of the land.

But we are not only striving for these things in our own land, but before even the call came from abroad relative to our missionaries, our mission countries, such as we heard the other day on the platform from Japan, when their representative declared that our brewers and distillers should not be permitted to cross the ocean and establish themselves in Japan and China, and overthrow the work of those lands,—even before their representatives could reach us, already we are agitating that it was not fair for the brewers of this land to go from our land as outlaws, and plant themselves under the American flag in other lands. We will not only continue the effort that we have already made to stop this going abroad of our brewers, but we will treble our efforts that this illicit traffic which we have outlawed shall not spread itself out and become a menace to other countries.

We have been working in connection with other organizations in the past, in Chile, Brazil, Guatemala, Costa Rica, three places in China, three in India, Siam, Korea, in a number of places in Europe, trying in every possible way to assist our friends abroad; so I can say only that we

shall continue the work which we are already doing, reaching out to make stable Prohibition in our own land, and establishing it so deeply, true to its purpose that we shall never consent and shall always work steadfastly against every effort to increase the alcoholic content of soft drinks, and that we will reach out with our foreign friends, those who have come to us with the plea from abroad to do more and more, that you and the children that follow after you may enjoy the same privileges that are coming to the United States under the new régime of Prohibition that is ours. I thank you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: Miss Aldrich speaks of the great advance that has been made along temperance lines in the last century, and Mr. Bryan spoke of the same thing. Some time ago here in the Congressional Library I ran across the constitution and by-laws of what is recognized as the first temperance organization in this country,—the Billy Clark society, which was organized in 1908; and the by-laws of that society provide simply this, that members of the society shall not drink to excess except at a public dinner; that any member of the society who drinks to excess except at a public dinner, shall be fined twenty-five cents! And that if he drinks so to excess that he has to be carried to his home he shall be fined fifty cents! That was the beginning of temperance agitation in this country one hundred and twelve years ago. I want to introduce now a representative of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the M. E. Church, the Research Secretary of that Board,—Mr. Deets Pickett.

RESPONSE BY MR. DEETS PICKETT

RESEARCH SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF TEMPERANCE, PROHIBITION AND PUBLIC MORALS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: We have so far progressed in this last hundred years that the secretaries of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church are not even now allowed to get drunk in private! The Methodist Church, doubtless all of you know, unless perhaps there is some one here from such country in which the Methodist Church is not now represented, is not an American Church. In theory and largely in fact, it is a world church. It has in this country about twenty thousand pastors and about ten million adherents. You will find it represented by great piles of stone in our great cities and by little shacks in the desert country, and it is equally honored in both places.

The Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church was established as one of the seven communicational boards. The communicationalism of our church is very strong. They wanted a board that should be intimately and officially related to the management of the Church under the presidency of a bishop and under the executive authority of a gen-

eral secretary named by the Church's highest governing body; in this case it is Dr. Clarence True Wilson, whom I represent here today.

Now the work of that board is, of course, of a somewhat peculiar nature. It has represented the Church at hearings before Congress, but its work is not really legislative; its work is limited to some extent by the dignity and the proper usages of church influence. It has principally occupied itself with educational work, particularly with the preparation and the circulation of literature, which, in the name of our church, we would call, without fear of contradiction, authoritative literature. And today we are issuing millions of pages of that kind of literature, based upon exact, careful research made in person by the Board's representatives.

Its work also extends into other lands, and will increasingly extend into other lands. Not only have we some jurisdiction over matters that are not particularly the concern of this Congress, but we feel it our high privilege to see that everywhere the Methodist Church is represented there shall be one man who shall devote his entire time on salary and expenses provided by the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the education of the people in the facts with regard to alcoholism and in the facts in regard to the Prohibition experiment that is being made in the United States, and in British colonies and elsewhere in the world. I do not think that I am unsafe in saying that the time will come, and we intend to advance that time as rapidly as possible, when we will have a representative in every country where the Methodist Church is established.

We are also trying to place representatives in some countries where the Methodist Church is not established, or is weak. For instance, we have at the present time two representatives in France who are under the direction of a man named by the Methodist Church authorities, so that an effort is made to avoid seeming in any way to come in as an outsider, or seeming in any way to disregard the experience and the feelings of our temperance co-workers in the lands we are trying to help.

I want to say particularly to those from other countries who may be present that I think you can count upon the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church providing you with any literature that you may think valuable, translated or otherwise, in your countries, and in practically any quantities; and I think you will be perfectly safe in making any suggestions as to local representation of our work in your lands, either in cooperation with your own bodies, or under the authority of our church officials in those countries.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: The next number on the program is a gentleman that you have seen once or twice in connection with the program of this Congress, the representative of the Temperance Committee of the United Lutheran Church, Dr. Edward C. Dinwiddie, who is the general secretary.

RESPONSE BY THE REV. EDWIN C. DINWIDDIE, D.D.,
REPRESENTING THE UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I take it upon myself to inflict myself in this way upon you, because I felt I did not want my communion to be unrepresented upon an occasion of this kind. We have had a distinct committee on temperance since 1899 in the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. I will say that almost from the beginning of the temperance agitation in this country, my particular branch of the Lutheran Church has stood four-square upon the principle of total abstinence and the abolition and suppression of the legalized liquor traffic. Our church has had very much to contend with along this line also, and its difficulties have sometimes been misunderstood and unappreciated because of the fact that we have had so large a membership of foreign—and particularly, in sections, of Germanic origin; but nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that we had four distinct German synods, I think I am safe in saying that we have passed the strongest sort of total abstinence and Prohibition resolutions, year after year, by a unanimous vote in the general body. If our German brethren did not believe in the resolutions entirely, they at least were generous enough to keep still and let them go through with practical unanimity.

Two years ago, after an effort we had been making for some years, we succeeded in uniting three branches of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches—the General Synod, the parent body, but not the largest, the General Council, almost twice as large as the General Synod, and composed of a number of foreign synods—foreign-speaking synods, and the United Synod of the South; so that today the membership of the United Lutheran Church of America is practically one million, or two-fifths of the membership of all the various branches of the Lutheran churches in America. Our Norwegian friends had just succeeded, a year or two before, in uniting three separate branches of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, so that with these unions we have two general bodies now where we used to have six. It is the hope of Lutherans generally in the country that, with a few more unions of this kind, we can get into a very much smaller number of bodies the sixteen or seventeen different brands of Lutherans which we have in general bodies today; and since the union we have established again a standing committee on temperance that stands thoroughly and vigorously behind the Eighteenth Amendment, and for the enforcement of the law.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: The next number on the program is the President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. I take great pleasure in introducing Miss Gordon.

RESPONSE BY MISS ANNA GORDON

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Mr. Chairman and Friends: In the official program of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, we plan to do everything, and go everywhere in our antialcoholism fight in this country and abroad, just so long as the work can be characterized by one of our favorite mottoes, "Womanliness first—afterward what you will!" And we are organized in twenty thousand localities in the United States. These local units in a State are organized in county units, meeting once a year in county conventions, and meeting in county institutes, to understand the program of the world and the nation and the State; and all the counties in the State are federated in a State Woman's Christian Temperance Union in all our forty-eight States; and then our forty-eight States and one or two over, because they are big States and are divided, are federated in a National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

We feel that in our country the greatest contribution we can make to the antialcoholism sentiment of the world in an educational and law enforcement campaign here, is for all these blessed women, enfranchised by the Nineteenth Amendment, to work so wonderfully this year that they shall help uphold our law.

And we are helping to rear the children so that not only do they get the scientific temperance instruction in the schools and in the Sunday-schools, but they feel they are really helping to uphold the Prohibition law and are helping to bring about its best possible enforcement.

And may I say, they understand how to do this. I just turn back in thought to Illinois, and the local option fights long ago, when we were working on the nation-wide Prohibition problem, and I went to Bloomington, Illinois, to speak for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and they were in a campaign for Prohibition in that township; and I was met at the station by a great regiment of boys and girls, young campaigners for Prohibition; and they told me, as I heard their rallying cry, that a young boy wrote it. We women at the head of it had the sense to say, "Boys, you write our rallying cries. You know how to express the economic argument in this campaign!" And here was the rallying cry they gave in front of every one of the saloons of the town on the way to my hotel. They stopped, and all got together, as the college boys do, and at the direction of their leader, they gave their rallying yells in front of all the saloons in Bloomington! They showed that they understood the business before them.

And now we are almost fifty years old. As a national organization we are going on with our program for the boys and the girls and the young people, and rallying them as guards for our prohibitory law for our educational campaign. We also are raising a fund of a

million dollars to give during our jubilee year as a thank offering to God for nation-wide Prohibition, and we are helping the child welfare work with that money. We are helping the great work in the public schools, upholding the law and keeping up the sentiment through others, and so on. We are working for publicity, Americanization, health, social morality, women's care in industry, and world Prohibition, asking our friends overseas where we can best put in a little money to help in their great educational campaign, for which we feel such a mighty sympathy.

We are just trying, dear friends, we are half way, and we couldn't tell it all if we had all the afternoon for one organization, we are trying to make the world whiter for women and more homelike for humanity.

And we have a band of children representing the countries where our Woman's Christian Temperance Union is organized. I do not know whether you will recognize all of these costumes. Some of them are not on quite correctly, but the children are all right, and the costumes are all right, and they are going to sing a song for us.

[Whereupon, a group of children, dressed in the costumes of children of foreign lands, appeared on the platform, and sang, "In 1920 there is Prohibition plenty," and "When Columbia drove the drink away."]

MISS GORDON: Mr. Chairman: May I have the pleasure of publicly thanking Mrs. Pollock, of the District of Columbia, and her assistants, and our Miss Lindsay, of the National Department of Exhibits, for the help they have rendered for this program of the children?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: The Committee on Temperance and Social Service of the Southern Baptist Convention is represented by the Chairman, Dr. A. J. Barton, of Louisiana. Dr. Barton.

RESPONSE BY THE REV. A. J. BARTON, D. D.

OF LOUISIANA, REPRESENTING THE COMMITTEE ON TEMPERANCE AND
SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CHURCH

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Members of the Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen: I observe that my co-laborer, Dr. Wilcox, of the Social Service Department of the Northern Baptist Convention is not present. I hope, therefore, I may not be considered out of place if I ask you to consider me as speaking somewhat broadly as representing the whole Baptist family, North and South. Perhaps I ought to say, having said that word, perhaps I ought to say that Baptists are unlike all other religious people in this country; they are a peculiar lot. Now there are no Northern Baptists and Southern Baptists. In one

sense a man is a Southern Baptist simply because he lives in the South, and he is a Northern Baptist simply because he lives in the North. Our Baptist people are a great aggressive people in their devotion to the ideals of temperance and Prohibition, and the ideals of the whole social service program. They have labored under some disadvantages. One disadvantage under which they have labored was that some wag away back a long while ago started a canard about the Baptist saying that they were fond of liquor. Now, he did that because they, of all the people, abstained from liquor, and he was a typical humorist from London. But somebody misunderstood him and took him seriously, and they have been telling stories about the Baptists ever since.

I remember when I was a boy I heard a story about a Baptist minister who went home with a Baptist deacon for dinner, and the deacon had a fine watermelon for dinner. The deacon, however, had some mischievous boys. One of these boys surreptitiously cut open the watermelon before meal-time and injected some rum within. The good deacon served the melon and gave a generous slice to the minister. Taking a piece for himself, he discovered what was on the interior of the melon. He was scandalized. He looked over across the table at the minister, to make his apology, and what was his amazement to observe that the minister was surreptitiously placing some of the seeds from the melon in his pocket!

The Baptists have been at another disadvantage, and that is that they are so thoroughly committed to the spirituality of religion and to the spiritual program of Christianity that sometimes they have not gone as far as they might have gone in the work of social service and related questions, which border on civic and political matters, because they put great emphasis always and everywhere upon the absolute separation of church and State. It has not been so very many years ago since in the Southern Baptist Convention which is the largest and the most representative religious convention in America, which had present in this city last spring 8,400 registered delegates or messengers, and there were several thousand that did not register, representing a constituency of white Baptists of more than three million in the South, and representing sympathetically a negro constituency of nearly three million, I say that it has not been so very many years since in that convention, one of the greatest Americans that ever lived, presiding over the convention, ruled out of order a simple resolution on temperance because he did not think that was a matter that had a place in a religious convention, not that he was not temperate. He was a temperance man and stood for the absolute suppression of the liquor traffic, but he did not think it belonged in a religious convention. But as we have gone along, we have learned better about things like that, and for many years the convention has kept on its regular register of temperance committees an active social service committee. I have had the distinguished

honor of being the chairman of that committee almost since its organization. I have written, I believe, every report that has ever been submitted to the convention, except two, and I think I may modestly claim that no religious body in America has taken any more advanced and aggressive position for the temperance reform and for Prohibition and all related subjects than the Southern Baptist Convention. We have considered for the most part that it was better for us to give our time and energy to coöperation through the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League rather than to maintain a work separately financed; and in that we have challenged and disproved a statement which is sometimes made about the Baptists, that they are illiberal and non-coöperative. They are the most coöperative people in the world and they do not desire to maintain separate organizations if they can find an organization representing all their Christian brethren through which they can work. They feel in matters of this kind, as Kipling does, when he says:

O, East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet;
'Till presently earth, sky and sea
Shall stand before God's great judgment seat.

But there is neither East nor West, nor depth nor breadth when two strong men stand face to face. They have come from the ends of the earth. And the Baptist spirit is that wherever I can find a brother in the world who agrees with me in the common task to be done, I unite hand and heart with him, and march forward with him in the doing of that common task.

Last May in this city our Commission on Social Service took up a number of other lines of activity. Among other things we submitted a special report on marriage and divorce, having had the subject under advisement for two years, and having compiled data, and I believe if you will read the report that you will see that we take an advanced ground on that subject. We stand heart to heart and shoulder to shoulder and hand to hand with the united temperance and Prohibition forces for every moral reform until indeed "the world shall be made safe for democracy," and until democracy shall be made safe for the world; and if I may add to that, until the world may be made safe for practical applied Christianity, and until Christianity, taken from the cloister and put upon the practical basis, shall be made safe for the world, and the one hope of suffering and sinning humanity.

I greet you in the name of the whole Baptist family, North and South, one of the largest religious communions of America, and one whom I believe is as sincerely devoted to this reform in which I greet you as any of their fellow Christians. We are very glad to unite hand and hand with you in these common tasks in the Kingdom of our common Lord.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON. Before introducing another representative from the South, I am reminded by Dr. Barton's words that not only have the churches of the South made great progress in recent years, but great progress has been made in connection with legislation in the several Southern States. In 1774 the movement for temperance legislation started in the South, and the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina passed that year the same law in each colony, and that law provided simply this, that ministers of the gospel shall not drink to excess or spend their time in riotous conduct, playing at games of chance to the neglect of their duties as ministers! I now have the pleasure of introducing Bishop James Cannon, Jr., who represents the Southern Methodist Church as the chairman of the Committee on Temperance and Social Service.

REMARKS BY BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR.,

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON TEMPERANCE AND SOCIAL SERVICE,
OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I was very much surprised at Mr. Bryan the other night, and I am equally surprised at the Chairman this afternoon. I had supposed that both of those gentlemen, in talking about the Methodist Church and its activities in temperance reform, and its relation to temperance reform, would remember that nearly two hundred years ago the founder of Methodism wrote in the constitution of the Methodist Church in the general rules this, that members of the authorities must do no harm, such as the buying or selling of spirituous liquors for beverage purposes or the use of the same except in cases of extreme necessity. With that remarkable foresight which characterized John Wesley, he recognized the inherent antagonism between the liquor traffic and the Church of Jesus Christ, and two hundred years ago, nearly, in 1739, he put in the constitution of that church, the general rule which is a part of the constitution today of your church. As I remember, at the last general conference it was put in the constitution so that every Methodist is bound, and has been bound ever since the American church was established in 1784 in this country by those general rules, and I think it is not unfair for anybody else to say that the fact that that rule has been read either monthly or quarterly for over a hundred years in every congregation in Methodism, has held aloft a standard of conduct for Methodist people which has been as a great leaven, leavening the lump of our American life. I say Mr. Bryan did not seem to know there was a Methodist Discipline to find that in; and Mr. Cherrington, I suppose, although he introduced me right after that, will remember that that was passed with reference—with all due respect to my Episcopal brethren—largely with reference to the brethren of the Established Church in Virginia at that time.

I am going to emphasize one other fact which Dr. Barton touched

upon. Dr. Crafts spoke of the "Great Seven." I do not know whether he included the Methodist Church South in that "Great Seven" or not, but I do not think he did, but we think that we are one of the "Great Seven," and perhaps the third of the "Great Seven!" The Methodist Episcopal Church, the Southern Baptist Church, and then the Methodist Episcopal Church South—they are the three greatest of the temperance organizations in the United States. But in the South, as Dr. Barton says, after deliberation, not accidentally, but after the most careful deliberation, both of the great leading denominations of the South decided that it was better for the advancement of Prohibition in our country, regardless of what it might be in the North—better for us to join our forces under the leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League of America; and I rather think that if you were to remove from those two organizations in the South the Southern Baptists and the Southern Methodists, there would hardly be a skeleton left of either of those organizations. And we think it has worked splendidly, for we believe that the South has really led, after Kansas and Maine; the Prohibition victories in this country have monotonously almost, for quite a while, been south of Mason and Dixon Line. And the leadership in this matter has been largely—and I want to emphasize it for our foreign delegates—has been largely because of the church of Jesus Christ, through those two great denominations, ably helped by the Southern Presbyterians and workers in other bodies; and those two great churches have stood four-square, in their pulpits and in their church bodies, by resolution, by every form of activity, except an organization for active legislative work, have stood squarely for the Prohibition movement in our country. And we rejoice today to say to you that we believe that the Christian sentiment of the Southern people is by an overwhelming majority in favor of our prohibitory law, and that there is no chance, not the slightest, that there will be any backward step among our people, because there is no chance, not the slightest, that the ministry and the membership of the great churches of our Southern country, will ever go backward in this matter.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: We have the representative of the Committee on Native Races, and the Liquor Traffic, of the Northern Baptist Convention, the Rev. Hervey Wood, D. D. We will be glad to hear from him at this time.

REMARKS OF THE REV. HERVEY WOOD, D. D.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMITTEE ON NATIVE RACES AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC, OF THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I am glad you brought the fact out that the Northern Convention, sir, is in harmony with this work. A message was carried to the general meetings here saying that we

were. I happen to be a Baptist minister when I am at home, and I know that the Baptist Church is as square as a brick on the temperance question in the North as well as in the South.

I am not going to take a great deal of your time this afternoon. I have not brought any manuscript to read. I might tell you of one bitter experience I had in reading manuscript. It will be fifty-four years on the first Sunday in November that I made my first attempt to preach. It was in the North of England and I had written out my sermon. When I got to the church, there was a spiral staircase and a pulpit on the top. Just as I arrived in the pulpit, the choir filed in, and I noticed to my left was a man with no more hair on his head than a wax floor. I gave out my text,—“What think ye of Christ?” Just as I began to warm into my sermon, however, I made a vigorous gesture and hit the manuscript before me, which flew down from the pulpit and hit the bald headed man squarely on the head! After the meeting was over, I sought out the gentleman and apologized for the accident. He smiled and said, “Oh, that’s all right, brother; never mind that; there was nothing in it anyway!” And that let me down easily!

Now I am quite glad to report to you today another organization that is world-wide. When the speaker was a very small boy in the old country, over sixty years ago, an old native chieftain used to come to England, begging that the English people would stop sending liquor to Africa—Khama, by name. He became so persistent that the churches of Europe got together in London in 1887, thirty-three years ago, and formed what they called the United Native Races’ Anti-Liquor Traffic Committee. One of the strangest things to me has been this, that the great missionary country of America was not in the organization.

I remember in 1900 and I think some of the brethren will recall it, that John G. Paten, of the New Hebrides, and Dr. Hartford of London, came here as delegates to the Council in New York, and they told their story, and they asked that we go in with them on the work. Well, we did the next best thing; we did what we always do,—we put a bill in Congress, and it’s there yet! There was no organization formed to push it. The result was that what was everybody’s business was nobody’s business.

DR. WILBUR F. CRAFTS: That bill passed the next year, 1901.

DR. WOOD: It did? Well, I am glad to hear it. When I was in London in 1902, the Archbishop of Canada sent for me and asked if I would do some work in connection with their organization. I was then employed by the National Temperance Society. Now, a little over four years ago, our Christian churches of New York, our missionary societies, got together and organized what they called the American branch of the Native Races’ Anti-Liquor Traffic Committee. Its objects are two-fold: First of all, legislation. We are seeking to secure legislation that will stop the shipping of liquor to missionary fields. We are very

anxious to protect Africa, and if you knew all the facts that I have in my possession you would not be at all surprised at it. Then we are doing another thing. We are doing educational work. Will you pardon a personal allusion? Forty-two years ago, the National Temperance Society employed the speaker to get its text-book into the public schools. We did not call it a temperance text-book; we called it "Physiology and Hygiene." And the National Society paid Dr. Richardson, of London, a thousand dollars for writing the text-book. Now, your humble servant spent four years in getting the text-book introduced into the public schools.

We are doing the same things, if you please, in the foreign mission field. We are not only working on legislative lines, but we are sending out literature all over the world.

I think it was four years ago last June I got a letter from Dr. Patterson of China, asking for literature on the temperance question. I sent him out everything I could lay hands on, scientific, temperance and everything—text-books, Sir Victor Horsley's "Alcohol and the Human Body", and Sir Joseph Croker's text-book on "Shall I Drink?" and illustrations showing the organs of the body and how they are affected by alcohol. The result has been that in China we have an organization of 650 leading men and women. We have got the text-books introduced into China in the public schools. We have got them into St. John's University in Shanghai. We have got them in India. We are busy at work in India, and we are doing the same work in Africa, and all over the globe. We are sending funds out and we ask your prayers and coöperation in saving the people. We have got to have an intelligent people, and we are supplying the missionaries with all the ammunition they want on the temperance question. I thank you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: Now we are going to hear from the Prohibition party, that for fifty years has held the standard of Prohibition in every campaign—presidential campaign in this country. I am glad to have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. D. Leigh Colvin, of the Prohibition Party.

REMARKS OF DR. D. LEIGH COLVIN

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Prohibition is a matter for governmental solution. One of the greatest problems is how to apply the public sentiment of a nation to the government in such a way as to make that public sentiment controlling both in legislation and in administration, particularly under our governmental system, where we have made prominent the separation of powers between the legislative and judicial and executive departments of the government. And other features of our national government are to be taken into consideration, including the method of electing the President, particularly our method

of the State electoral system, on which the point is to get the majority of the electoral votes of the States of the country in which the States vote by units; and then our political party system. All of these are involved in this question, and the liquor traffic has for years debauched and degraded such a large percentage of the voters in many of our states. And then it has been the one interest which has been able to control both money in large quantities and votes in large numbers. And one of the reasons why it has wielded such power is because it has wielded the balance of power between the two political parties, and the two political parties, having been largely solidified, that is, a great majority of the voting for the two great parties and the wet votes going from one party to another, they wielded an influence far out of proportion to their numbers.

Between 1907 and 1916 all but two of the States were one-party States, or initiative and referendum States, and Idaho, of those, was a State in which a particular problem existed, and so our problem is to get political parties committed to this question to bring about its enforcement. We have got laws, but our main problem, and what the Prohibition Party has emphasized, has been first, the importance of legislation,—and our party has stood for national Prohibition for half a century; and the other thing is the importance of administration to enforce the law.

I was recently in Wyoming, which gave the largest percentage of Prohibition votes in support of the principle of Prohibition, and yet I was informed the majority party is wet in that State. And so the Prohibition Party has been urging and insisting that we need a political party that is not dependent upon the liquor traffic for votes, which can maintain power in the country by union of their forces, who are in favor of Prohibition, and will not fear if the liquor traffic swings the votes to an opposite party. And it has emphasized the importance of a political party united for the establishment of the Prohibition principle not only in legislation, but also in administration.

Our first platform stated in 1872—"There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote. Any party not committed against the traffic will engage in this competition, and court the favor of the criminal classes, and drive away the purity of the ballot."

And then in its platform this year, it repeats it, and says notwithstanding the traffic is now outlawed by the Constitution, this describes the attitude of the larger political parties; and so this year we thought with Prohibition in the Constitution all parties should naturally put a Prohibition plank in their platforms; and I will say that the National Committee of the Prohibition Party spent thousands of dollars getting the people of this country to petition to put Prohibition planks in the platforms of the larger parties, and to nominate candidates in sympathy therewith. We were willing to commit party suicide if the cause could be advanced. Neither of them did so, however, and in both cases they

nominated the wettest man in their respective parties, with the exception of Governor Edwards, of New Jersey, who was not seriously considered. And the Prohibition Party was compelled to emphasize that there should be an organization which stood for prohibition in law and in administration. We wanted that the presidency of the United States, the greatest office in the whole world, should be arrayed on the side of Prohibition, not that our men should be nominated by political parties which were competing for the liquor vote. And the Prohibition Party now is going forward, and will continue to go forward to make a crusade to arouse the nation to the importance of Prohibition supported by a president and supported by an administration in sympathy with Prohibition. And we are calling attention to the fact that a vote this year will count as never before as an expression of a conviction upon this question, that our Government shall be arrayed in all its departments on the side of Prohibition, and that the people may show by their votes that they will not permit the liquor traffic to nullify our Constitution. I thank you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: Now we are going to get though on time. We are a little ahead of schedule. We have been trying to get an opportunity in these meetings to hear a song from a sweet Spanish singer, a Mexican. Mr. Velasco has consented to sing for us and we will have that song in Spanish now.

[Whereupon Señor Velasco, the Mexican delegate, sang the "Holy City" in Spanish.]

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: We hope to have another opportunity by and by of hearing Mr. Velasco before this meeting closes tonight. I want to introduce now Mr. Mark R. Shaw, General Secretary of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

ADDRESS BY MR. MARK R. SHAW

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE INTERCOLLEGIATE PROHIBITION ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman and friends: "Training for service, and then service" expresses in brief the purpose of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association. Some twenty years ago, two young men, just graduating from college in Ohio, looked out over the colleges of this country, and seeing some hundred thousand young men and women coming out of colleges each year, to mold public sentiment and take places of leadership, had a vision of bringing into a coherent and aggressive mass this wonderful group of young people, and of training those young men and women for consecrated leadership and service in this great reform. That was the beginning of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, and during these twenty years it has been working in three hundred colleges in this country to train the college men and women, those who are going out to be preachers and professional men and women and business men and women in this country, for leadership, that the college men might take

the part they ought to take in this reform, that the young men and women who have had the opportunity of an education might also feel their responsibility to society.

The method has been to get the college men and women to secure the facts. First, unique as it may seem, the association has never required a total-abstinence pledge. It has said to the college men and women: "Study the facts, the moral facts, the scientific facts, the sociological facts, the economic facts, the governmental facts, on the alcohol question. Make your decision, not on previous prejudice, but on knowledge of the question, and then give yourself to service to solve this problem as you see fit."

One hundred per cent of its members have stood for total abstinence, because the facts lead to no other conclusion.

In this work of getting the facts we have used two or three different methods. The first was the public speaking contests, encouraging the students to study the question, and then write their own original oration on it,—some aspect of the alcoholism question. We have had the local, the State, the interstate and the national contests, enlisting as many as seven hundred different students in one year, and ten thousand different students in twenty years have written their addresses on some aspect of the alcoholism problem.

In addition to that we have secured in the curriculum in over one hundred of our institutions a course receiving college credit, on the alcoholism problem, taught by the professor of economics or of sociology.

In addition to that we have had in one hundred other classes, voluntary study classes, where the students were credited with studying this problem. But these classes and contests have not been incidents themselves, but merely the means to an end; and even while in college the students have elected to take the study from the textbook and laboratory work in connection. The laboratory is taken, first, in the form of working against drinking customs in the college, and in more than one institution the association has been the means of leading the unanimous vote against drinking customs, and in many cases doing away with the use of liquor in college, especially in our eastern universities. As an example, I might say that at a gathering of university men from coast to coast in an eastern city the question was up for the abolition of drinking at reunions, and one of the professors said he did not believe it was in harmony with the long established tradition to do away with this feature of the entertainment, whereupon, a man from a progressive western university said: "We found out at our university, whether the alumni will or no, the undergraduates will not stand for it!"

But not content only to work in the university, the students, while still in college, have had a very different part in the various campaigns in the country, in State-wide campaigns and international campaigns. In one year as many as 1730 students, during their col-

lege work, had a definite active service in the State campaigns in 1916 in the State of Ohio, that has been the battleground of the question over and over again. In one year we had over one thousand men and women at work to put Ohio dry that fall. That is the work we have done while in college.

What have been the results since coming out of college? Already several of the leaders of the movement have assumed national prominence. The president of the National Temperance Council is himself a very definite production of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

But not only have we already furnished several of the national leaders. The creed of our work has been that there are today throughout the United States 125,000 men and women, who, during their college days, were trained for definite service on this question, and the way that works out may be given by an example: During the ratification fight in Massachusetts, the general secretary of our association, not being as well acquainted in the East as I was, said, "We can not expect Massachusetts to ratify." I said, "Yes, it will." But he did not think so. During that ratification fight in Massachusetts, one legislator who was very wet, who was expected to vote wet, found himself confronted by the situation—a pastor in his community came to him one evening and sat down in the library and said, "We want you to vote for ratification." He said he could not do it. He said, "Here are cards signed by a majority of your voters insisting that you vote for ratification, and if you don't, you know what will happen to you at the time of your next trial for re-election!" He voted for ratification. That young pastor three years before had been an Intercollegiate Prohibition Association man in an Ohio college, and when the opportunity came, he was trained and ready for service.

So much for the work, the method, and the results of the Intercollegiate Association.

What of the future? We are glad to have had a part in this work which we are celebrating today. As we look back, we are glad that we have been one of the forty-one, if not one of the seven, organizations that have helped to bring about absolute Prohibition in our beloved country. But we realize that we must have not only constitutional Prohibition, but in the constitution of every citizen must be rooted the principle of Prohibition. Our work is not through. And then, even after we have won our victory here, we have a larger work to do. As the world is larger than the United States, we have an obligation to our fellow countries, and especially do we have that obligation because in many cases we have shipped liquor into those countries and are responsible to a degree for conditions there.

And so today we are looking out to be of what service we can, not only in continuing the fundamental educational work in this country, but to help as best we can to bring our message to the stu-

dents of the other countries of the world, that they, too, may train themselves for intelligent service in getting a dry world.

Our slogan today is, "Let us take off our hats to the past, but our eyes are to the future!"

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: The Anti Saloon League of America will be represented by Dr. Wayne B. Wheeler, the national Attorney of the League.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. WAYNE B. WHEELER, LL. D.

GENERAL COUNSEL AND HEAD OF THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT OF
ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Congress: The Anti-Saloon League of America came into the kingdom twenty-seven years ago to unite, organize and utilize all of the Anti-Saloon League forces of the nation. In order to do this it was and is omni-partizan. About an equal number of Prohibitionists are found in the dominant political parties in this country. Almost the same number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress support Prohibition measures. The league is inter-denominational. Practically all of the churches give their moral and financial support to the League. In this way it has been possible to keep more than one thousand experts and efficient workers at the task from one year's end to the other. The League has been characterized as "The Church in Action Against the Saloon." Without that loyal support the liquor traffic would still be flourishing in this nation.

METHODS OF OPERATION

The plan of operation has been to: (1) Build a public sentiment powerful enough to accomplish results.

(2) Crystallize that sentiment into Prohibition legislation either by direct action through legislative bodies, or by referendum votes.

(3) Build the law enforcement machinery so that we can secure the full fruits of our victory.

We soon learned that men in public life, as a rule, would rather do right than wrong. The liquor interests in the past have been so well organized that they prevented public officials from standing right on this question, even though the majority of the people were ready for advanced Prohibition measures and for their enforcement. It was our task to see to it that courageous public officials who stood right on this question were sustained, and that those who were wrong should be relieved of further responsibility in future primaries and elections. To do this we had to ask patriotic voters to vote for a good man on an opposite party ticket rather than a bad one on their own. In this way we proved that it was not only as safe to do right as wrong, but that it was much safer. From that

time on, Prohibition legislation made progress. Of course, when we asked dry Democrats to support a dry Republican, wet Democrats called us "A Republican Aid Society;" when we asked dry Republicans to vote for a dry Democrat, we were characterized by the wets as "A Democratic Side Show." We have persistently carried out the program, however, to make it safe for men in responsible public positions to do their duty, and by the application of this omni-partizan method this national Prohibition victory has been won.

In securing the legislation, we began with the small units of government, because this was the point of least resistance. We asked legislative bodies to give the people the opportunity to vote out saloons wherever a majority wanted that done. By this method we increased the local dry units from townships to municipalities, to the county, then to the State, and finally to the entire nation. We were aided in doing this by the liquor interests who constantly tried to defy the law and repeal it in the dry units where the people by majority vote had adopted it.

LEGAL PRINCIPLES INVOLVED

The United States won national Prohibition by the application of two well-established legal principles: (1) It is now well established in the United States that the people have an inherent right to better their conditions in any unit of government, small or large, when they proceed in a legal and orderly manner and in harmony with the Constitution. This right to protect one's morals, health and safety was an inherent right of the individual before government was established. After the government was established, it was called the police power of the States. Inasmuch as the Federal Government is one of delegated powers, in order to give the United States the right to prohibit the beverage liquor traffic, we were compelled to amend the Constitution of the United States by securing a two-thirds vote of each branch of Congress, to submit the question and favorable action to the legislatures of three fourths of the states. This method is the most difficult of any provided by the great nations of the world.

FIGHT WON WITH THE ODDS AGAINST PROHIBITION

National Prohibition was won with the odds all against us. The procedure was difficult. The liquor traffic was well organized and lavishly financed. In order to reveal the corrupt methods of our opponents, in the midst of this fight we secured an official investigation of their corrupt and unpatriotic practises through a sub-committee of the Judiciary of the United States Senate. More than six thousand pages of sworn testimony were taken.

THE WORK NOT YET DONE

While the Eighteenth Amendment is a fixture in the Constitution, it may be nullified in one of two ways: (1) By the executive and judicial officers. (2) By legislative officials. The President of the United States chooses the Attorney General, who has charge of

the prosecution of liquor cases under Federal laws. The President chooses the member of the Cabinet, who in turn appoints the head of the law-enforcement division, which in turn enforces national Prohibition. He also appoints the judges on the bench. Practically all of the judges now on the bench are doing their duty fearlessly. Some of them are hamstringing law enforcement by imposing ridiculously low fines and construing the law in a way which makes it practically impossible to enforce. The second method of nullifying national Prohibition is for Congress and the State Legislature to so weaken the law-enforcement code as to make it non-enforceable.

A great victory has been won, but the task is not completed. The following is our program for the future as an Anti-Saloon League of America:

We must, first of all, defend the law in the courts, to see to it that it is sustained and fairly construed. As head of the legal as well as the Legislative Department, this has been my special task. Thus far the courts of the States and the United States Supreme Court have sustained the Prohibition laws for which we have worked and given a fair construction to their meaning. We have no reason to believe that the courts, which have stood as a great bulwark against lawlessness and for law and order will take any backward step from the high standards which they have set on this question.

Our next great task is to sustain the National Prohibition law in effective form. More than one hundred Congressmen who voted for an effective National Prohibition law were opposed in the primaries by candidates favorable to a beer and wine exemption under the Prohibition law. The Anti-Saloon League and the allied temperance forces have gone into these districts and sustained practically all of the men who stood right. We were fighting on the defensive for the first time, and in many ways it was a more difficult task than to fight on the aggressive. The standard in the National Prohibition code defining intoxicating liquor to include alcoholic beverages containing one half of 1 per cent of alcohol by volume is the storm-center of the contest. We have won our fights for this standard in the courts, before legislative bodies, and on referendum votes, not on the theory that this amount of alcohol will visibly intoxicate those who drink it, but because this standard is necessary for law enforcement. In the war Prohibition act, because a less effective wording was used to define the term, the court held that, if we were to secure convictions, we must prove that the liquor in question was actually intoxicating. Fortunately, before this decision was rendered, we had defined the term definitely under the National Prohibition code, and the liquor interests got no benefit from the decision.

It is sometimes questioned why we did not write into our Constitution a prohibition of all alcoholic beverages. The reason for it is manifest. This would have prohibited all well-recognized soft drinks that have the slightest trace of alcohol in them. It would have been

impossible to secure even the submission or the ratification of such a constitutional amendment by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. Those who contend that National Prohibition should prohibit all alcoholic beverages or none would have been the means of defeating National Prohibition if their theory had been adopted.

The Anti-Saloon League and most other temperance organizations are committed to several important measures which are to come before the next Congress. The united temperance forces will ask Congress to prohibit American citizens from engaging in the beverage liquor traffic in China and in other nations where our treaty relations permit us to enact such laws. We will present a solid front for the passage of the bill to prohibit peyote, or dry whisky, which is used especially among the Indians as a substitute for liquor. Several other legislative problems, such as the taking over by the Government of the liquors in bond and disposing of them for non-beverage purposes, the placing of Federal liquor inspectors under civil service, the defining of misconduct in office of Federal officials, and other questions will have to be met and solved by the next Congress or some Congress that succeeds it.

The Anti-Saloon League, through its far-seeing originator and founder, Dr. Howard Hyde Russell, early saw the necessity of educating an army of total abstainers to uphold Prohibition. He outlined the plan of the Lincoln Lee Legion to enlist and enroll especially the young to the total-abstinence standard. Practically five million have signed this pledge and we are increasing that number every year at the annual rally day for securing new recruits in the total-abstinence army.

Our fight for Prohibition in the United States has resolved itself into a question of law and order. We have demonstrated that the law enacted is necessary in order to have effective law enforcement. Those who stand for its repeal or modification by weakening amendments are encouraging lawlessness. If a few outlawed liquor dealers can successfully defy the Eighteenth Amendment, it will be used as a precedent by those opposed to other laws, and soon the Government itself will be in jeopardy. When law and its enforcement are gone all is gone in orderly government. When the American people meet this issue, there will be no uncertainty in their verdict, because they know that the enforcement of law is the foundation of all of our prosperity and our hope for maintaining a great and patriotic nation.

The Anti-Saloon League program is not a selfish one. We want to help the other nations of the world in any way we can in order that they may enjoy the same freedom and blessings which we have. We do not propose to tell other nations what to do, but rather bear testimony of the good results which this policy of government is bringing to this nation. When the truth is told honestly, fearlessly

and persistently. it will destroy the liquor traffic in any nation in the world.

Never has there been such an opportunity for deep-convictioned, broad-visioned, patriotic men and women to serve their fellow men throughout the world as we now face, and the people of this nation will respond to that opportunity.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: This meeting will not be complete without a representation from the Independent Order of Good Templars, which for almost seventy years has been doing effective temperance work in various parts of the country. The Chairman of the Congress, I think, is the highest officer present of that organization. I will ask him to represent that organization, or call on some one to do so.

DR. E. C. DINWIDDIE: Is Mr. Shumaker in the audience? Mr. Shumaker is the national counselor. If not, is Miss Church in the audience? Miss Church is the superintendent of Temperance Education. Miss Church, will you respond in a moment or two for Good Templary?

RESPONSE BY MISS LAURA CHURCH

REPRESENTING THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF GOOD TEMPLARS

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. I hardly know what to say without preparation, but I could not resist the opportunity to say something for the order that has meant so much to so many. It is perhaps one of the oldest of the orders. I often think today, and if I had the eloquence of our dear friend, Mr. Woolley, sitting in the back part of the audience, I would paint for you a picture, I would make you see an Illinois mother, one of the old, old type of Illinois mothers, sitting today, quietly knitting, resting from her labors. Then I would paint her hands; I would show you the hands scarred and seamed with the hardest of work, for Templary came into being, and Good Templary did its work when the going was mighty hard, when the others who were active did not have the ready ear of the public, when the churches were not open, the preachers were not coöperative, and when the going was mighty hard.

We speak of Good Templary usually in the past tense, regarding her activities. Well, this mother has reared her family, and the family, the boys and girls, have gone out and are doing the work in the world today, for if you will take almost any public assembly of Prohibition workers and call the roll of Good Templars, those who had ever belonged, I fancy half or more than half the audience would rise. But the dear old lady is resting now, but if danger threatened, if the children revolted, believe me she would prove mighty active!

The Good Templar platform was written so many years ago, but

it has the planks that today are just as effective as the most advanced statement that could be written without the change of a single word. The platform is up to date, and in advance in every single respect.

The present most conspicuous work, I think, is the legislative end and the educational work. I say that because at the last three sessions of the National Lodge these two departments were emphasized.

And I wish I had with me one of the diplomas of the educational course, a very beautiful diploma given to every graduate of the course. There are not so many, but we intend this year to enlist the hearts of the other organizations, and see if we can not advance the cause in numbers.

It offers the most complete up-to-date course of preparation for service through study.

I wish that some one who has been in the work longer than I in the Good Templar order could tell you more effectively what the order has done, and what the order is and has been; but I just wanted to pay my tribute.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: The Committee on Promotion of Temperance Legislation in Congress is represented today by a man who had a good deal to do with the originating of that committee, and who, as a member of Congress, always worked heartily in favor of temperance legislation. I am glad to introduce to you the Honorable William S. Bennet.

RESPONSE BY THE HON. WILLIAM S. BENNET

COMMITTEE ON PROMOTION OF TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION IN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Voters and Friends from Foreign Lands: I represent probably the smallest organization represented here. There was a time, eight or ten years ago, when a sort of semi-congressional committee was necessary, and the late Charles E. Littlefield, of Maine, was the first chairman of the committee of which I am now chairman. He retired from Congress, and I succeeded him. We functioned up to the extent that was necessary. Congress has acted, and we are like Good Templars, we are still on deck, but with nothing very much to do at present.

I can make a brief report from Illinois, that will be interesting, about Congressmen. I now live in Chicago. When I was in Congress I lived in New York. There were only two representatives from Chicago, Cook County, that voted for the Volstead Act, and everybody predicted that they would be defeated for nomination—William Warfield Wilson and Carl Richard Chindbloom. Both were renominated. Carl Chindblom squeezed through by thirteen thousand majority, and Wilson with less. I think that's about the ratio in which the Congressmen have been supported.

And I want to say, as a practical politician, that one of the things that has brought about this Eighteenth Amendment has been the fact that the members of Congress always desiring to do right, found out from practical experience that the dry people stood by them better than the wets. I think we can thank the temperance organizations for that.

I cannot resist saying that there is one man here on the platform today, and at other sessions, that ought to be having twice the fun that most of the rest of us are having, and that is my good friend, the Very Rev. P. J. O'Callaghan. He's as thorough a temperance man as the rest of us, and then he has had the fun of listening for several days to us Protestants confess our past misdeeds!

I represent an industry in general counsel that has a problem that you must take up some time, and that's the lumber industry. We are one of the few industries that's been injured by Prohibition; and it's a kind of joke on us, because the president, Mr. Edward Hines, is a temperance man and a contributor to the Anti-Saloon League, and if he isn't a contributor to the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, it's because Father O'Callaghan has not been on the job! We found after Prohibition in Wisconsin, in the lumber camps, we had dry towns in every lumber camp. We had, before we got national Prohibition. Now here's the curious condition; it used to be that when there was liquor we never had any trouble about having enough men in the woods. Why? Because, unfortunately, they would go down to Duluth and Virginia City and get drunk and spend their money in about three days, and be back up in the woods. Now they do not. They go to Duluth, they have enough money to live two or three months, and stay there, and our own companies up there in Minnesota and Wisconsin are twenty-five hundred men short now because of Prohibition!

You have got to do two things. It's a great job for the churches. They have got to inculcate in those people a higher order of thought so they will have some needs and desires.

I wish we had as easy a time with the white men in the North as with the colored people in the South. We have not had any trouble there. They said the colored men would not work, but the minute the colored women commenced to wear silk stockings, the colored men worked six days a week. They had to!

I think that's about all I have to say, except really while you may think that it was entirely fun about that situation in the North, it absolutely is not; and I am not talking about our particular city. We will get through some way, and we would rather lose money than to have the old bad conditions as they were when we could get men.

But it's a challenge to the churches, Catholic and Protestant, to go after those individual men and put them on a higher plane than they are now. They are human beings with souls, good, stalwart, sturdy men, who just simply have no needs or desires, and they come

out of the woods with a couple of hundred dollars, and until that's spent, why should they work? They have a mackinaw and two flannel shirts and a pair of boots and one suit of clothes and a hat; and what more does a man desire?

And we have got to make them better members of society, got to make them get married, for one thing. We are great advocates of matrimony up there. These people are most of them bachelors and do not have to work up there. When a man marries, especially in these days of the high cost of living, he has to work, believe me! So that's another thing you can do, teach them to get married.

I don't think I really need my one minute extra. I am glad to be here. I am frank to say, I am not here wholly by reason of interest for the Congress, although I have been much interested in it. I was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Sixty-first Congress that put into the bill of that year an appropriation for the American representation in that meeting of the Congress at The Hague. But we appropriated for it all right, and kept the Congress going, and I hope that wherever they meet next year they will have as good a meeting as they have here.

And do not think that the work is over. Wayne Wheeler was right when he said: "You have got to rivet the enforcement because we have never passed a law yet that enforced itself. You have got the law, but you can not afford to go to sleep on it."

Just one word in my thirty seconds that are left. I am sorry, very sorry, that the man whose name is attached to the enforcement law, Volstead, a thorough temperance man, was defeated for renomination.

MR. WAYNE B. WHEELER: He goes on the ticket again.

MR. BENNET (continuing): I am sorry he even got a bump. But whether he did or not, I just want to say that those conditions up there had absolutely nothing to do with temperance. The man who ran against him is a temperance man and ought not to have run against Volstead, but it was a local condition, having something to do with matters entirely outside of temperance. Of course every wet in the district voted against him, and gloried in the fact that he was beaten. But if it had been just a wet and dry fight in the primary, Volstead would have been renominated overwhelmingly. He stubbed his toe on something else, and is not to be blamed, for the temperance cause and the temperance people up there stood by him; but it was just one of those unfortunate things like getting struck by lightning. It will happen you know.

I thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: Now we have two brief speeches that you will all want to hear, one by Miss Stoddard and one by Father O'Callaghan. I am going to introduce

Miss Stoddard of the Scientific Temperance Federation—the Executive Secretary, and for that matter a big part of the Scientific Temperance Federation, of Boston.

RESPONSE BY MISS CORA F. STODDARD

OF BOSTON, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE FEDERATION

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been listening to all these addresses this afternoon. I realized that when I came before you it would not be with the support of millions of adherents, of millions of workers in Scientific Temperance Federation. It's not a support of might or of power of numbers. What the Scientific Temperance Federation has endeavored to do and to be, is to serve the great temperance cause of the world through all possible existing educational agencies. When it came into existence, there was in this country no one central place where the scientific facts on the alcohol question were being gathered together, compiled and put into form for popular use. Mrs. Hunt, in her work in connection with temperance education in the public schools, has done some of this for the sake of the temperance text-books. It was started to serve all the organizations. Necessarily, it is not a work that shows much on the surface. What we have done is to collect in our library in Boston not only information as to the scientific material, many original documents, but also references and indexes to this scientific material, wherever else it may be found, in form convenient for use. Then we have attempted to do this, to make those facts known to the people. As I said to one audience in this city this week, as a rule, our scientific friends like to do their facts up in very technical language, and in very technical, sober, scientific looking volumes that are very apt to get stood upon the shelves of the libraries somewhere; and the people needed these facts, and so we have tried to popularize the facts, to put them into form that the people could understand, to visualize them.

Now we took a lesson in that from our friends across the sea, for the first of this illustrative material that we used came to us from material from the European countries.

We have adopted in these later years this slogan, "Go out and reach the people where they are!" We do not get them in temperance meetings—all the people. We do not get them always all in the schools. We do not get the adults there. We do not get them through our temperance literature. And so we have tried to organize the material which we prepare in such a way that it could be used, and put where the people are, on the street, in the waiting rooms, in the great exhibitions of all sorts.

The Scientific Temperance Federation was, I think, the first organization to introduce into this country the idea of the traveling

antialcoholism exhibit. It has been taken up and developed. We have used it, and we have made a point of using it in connection with great exhibits on other subjects, with tuberculosis expositions, with great missionary expositions. We have put it into the great safety-first exhibitions, where thousands of employers and employes come together to consider industrial questions. We put it into the great general expositions, like of course the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The point of course is this: People who are interested in these other subjects go there to see the material, to hear the papers, to hear the discussions, on these other subjects, and when they are there, we get a chance to reach them with the antialcoholism material. We have put our messages into store windows, where the people congregate around. Sometimes they won't even go in, but they will stand in front of the windows and look, and they grow serious as they look. Over and over again, people have come to us months perhaps after some of these exhibits have been shown in the city, and said, "I got my first arrest of thought from the facts which I saw there presented." Young men come to us and say, "Well, I knew that a fellow did not get as good a job if he drank, but I didn't know why, until I saw this material." We try to make it appeal to the eye, to the intelligence, to reach the thinking people, and the people who do not think very much about these things, to catch their attention, so they will look to see what is there, and seeing, become convinced.

We have used the stereopticon slide. When the War Work Committee was ready to do its work in the army, it turned to the Scientific Temperance Federation for most of its stereopticon slides. Those slides went out bearing the approval of the proper governmental authorities, and served in the camps for millions of soldiers in this country and over-seas.

We have provided material for other organizations. As I said at one of our meetings the other day, we are trying to serve them all.

And so, from time to time, different organizations asked us for special material on special phases of the alcohol question, to serve special purposes. A few years ago one of our great insurance companies that has millions of industrial policy-holders, asked us to prepare a bulletin on the effect of alcohol. I mention this because it's an illustration of one other policy of ours, which is to work through these various existing agencies. They published this bulletin, not as a bulletin of the Scientific Temperance Federation. We did not appear in it at all. They published the bulletin containing the facts in ten languages. They sent it to five million policy-holders, and reaching seven million people! Now, no temperance organization in the country could have done that job. They could not have afforded it. Neither could those people have been reached from the temperance organization with the same force that it came from the great insurance company.

We have therefore not confined our efforts and our lines of work to the temperance organizations, but we prepared material, and helped in the preparation of material by other educational agencies, in the hope of bringing all possible educational agencies to a focus upon the problem of teaching the people the facts about alcoholism.

Somebody said to us the other day, "Are you going to stop now?" Of course not! You all know from the problems which have been discussed at this Congress that we can not stop now. Our people yet do not know all the facts about alcoholism. The scientific men themselves say they do not know them all, and I rather think it's right! And so, as the new facts become available, there must be some place where these facts can be brought together, where they can be weighed in relation to other facts.

I confess that some of our temperance friends sometimes have been disposed to think that the Scientific Temperance Federation has leaned over backwards in being conservative in the presentation of its facts. That's the reason, friends. I think that most of you, after all, have come to trust us, because we have tried to be honest in the presentation of the facts as we know them in relation to the whole body of known facts; and while we are fallible, we do not intend to mislead the temperance workers of the nation in this respect. And so, if we seem at times too conservative, remember this, that we believe it is better to be conservative where we have not the actual proven facts, than to lay ourselves open to criticism, or to encourage you to go ahead with facts which can not be thoroughly backed up by the best scientific evidence. And so, for the future, we must go on in the same way.

Our school work must be safeguarded. There are millions of our people who still do not know the facts about alcohol, particularly the alcohol in the lighter alcohol drinks, and the use of moderate quantities.

So I bespeak your cooperation in that way to allow us to serve you in so far as we can, in doing this great work of reaching all the people wherever they are with all the possible available truth about alcoholism and its effects. I thank you.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: Now, before the last speaker, I want to announce the fact that Mr. Percy S. Foster will speak for five minutes tonight, representing the Christian Endeavor organization. We are going to have a treat to-night—four short speeches, but every one of them will be to the point. Mr. Naismith, of Scotland, Mr. Larsen-Ledet, of Denmark, Governor Milliken of Maine, and the Honorable John G. Woolley.

It gives me peculiar pleasure to introduce as the last speaker a man with whom we have worked in connection with the preparation of this Congress, and who, along with Dr. Dinwiddie, has been more responsible for the success of this Congress than any other two men. I am glad to

introduce to you Father P. J. O'Callaghan, who will represent the Catholic Total Abstinence Union.

RESPONSE BY THE VERY REV. P. J. O'CALLAGHAN, C., S. P.,
OF WASHINGTON, D. C., REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CATHOLIC TOTAL
ABSTINENCE UNION

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The liquor interests of this country have been frightfully shocked that the American people have been tampering with their Constitution. I hinted at last night, and I wish to emphasize to-day, the contempt that that very word expresses for that which is the very source of the Constitution. I think there has been too much talk of the amendments to the Constitution, as if they were bits of verbiage added to a larger section of verbiage. The Constitution of the United States is not, as I said last night, a Magna Charta, giving concessions of ancient traditions and rights. It is not a statement of all the rights of the people. It is not the last word of the nation. But it is the utterance of the inmost mind of the sovereign people who reserve for themselves the right to speak in this age, and in every age, until the very end of our history. And the last utterance of the sovereign people is just as sacred as the first utterance that was embodied in our Constitution. And those who talk of the sovereign people of America tampering with the Constitution believe that that Constitution is a kind of shackle to hold a people a race of slaves. We are not making a fetish of the past. We are a living race, and the Constitution is a vital thing, and as soon as we shall have ceased to think and incorporate our latest thought, our deepest convictions, in our Constitution, we shall have begun to die.

I say, therefore, that the liquor people have not the first principle of Americanism, and have no reverence for that great sovereign people whose authority is of God, because all authority is of God.

The safety of the present Constitution and of the completed Constitution, when our race is done and of the years that are to come, will depend upon the mind of the American people. There is nothing real or great in the world but ideals; the rest of the world dies. All institutions die except the truth and ideals. They are the only things that live. And, interpreting the great idea of America and building up the genius of our country, and sustaining it and perfecting it, we hope to grow different from our fathers and better than our fathers unto the end. In the development of the genius of America, I am sure there is no greater service rendered than that Miss Stoddard has spoken of, the contribution to the intellect of America on the temperance question. It is the mind of America that has made itself sober, that will keep the nation sober, and that will establish and further reforms in the future.

We do that, and for the past fifty years the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America has rendered a great, big service. It has been the service of the ancient church that has felt the hesitancy that Dr. Barton

speaks of, because we are a little more ancient than the Baptist Church; we are the Baptist church of very early times; and we have had that ancient hesitancy which has been manifest, particularly in America, because it is true that the Catholic Church has hesitated to mingle in politics for many reasons, because her enemies have said that she has some great, big conspiracy to be not only the great old church, but to dominate all the nations and to seize all the governments in some mysterious way! But, dear friends, it is utterly impossible to bring Catholics into one mind. They are most discordant. They are the most discordant people in all the world, except in one thing. Just try to imagine driving together the Irish and the English and the French and the Germans and the Czecho-Slovakians and the Greeks—and I can't name them all! In the city of Chicago,—twenty-five different languages spoken in the common church, in the ancient church—twenty-five nationalities under the Archbishop of Chicago. That church cannot be anything else except loyal to what she thinks essential to the Gospel, and indifferent to the rest, asking not whether we are Republicans or Monarchists, Democrats or Republicans in our own land, whether we are Prohibitionists or Suffragists, or anything else, or whatsoever thing in this bishop or priest or people it may be in that church.

They taught us in that church that the only service that the church could render as a church was the building up in Catholic hearts of that ancient reverence for total abstinence which is as old as the church. The father of monasticism, St. Benedict, said that drink was for maniacs. And that has been inculcated in the highest teachings of the church down through the ages. And so the church in these days, with nothing new, has educated her people, for the sake of example, to practise total abstinence, and the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, through this half century, has trained thousands and hundreds of thousands of Catholics to be total abstainers; and they have had the coöperation, as Miss Hickson has well said, of most of the bishops at confirmations, and many of the pastors of Holy Communion, who have compelled or urged their children to take the pledge of total abstinence.

I wish to say in this presence that I believe that has been a tremendous contribution to public opinion, and a contribution when it was most needed; and I am sure that contribution will continue, because it is a contribution of the ancient church, built on its ancient principles; and as Mr. Bryan said night before last, there is no service we need more than to stir up in individual hearts a love of temperance by the practise of total abstinence.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER, MR. CHERRINGTON: We have two hours until the next session of the Congress, and we will let you go now if you will all promise to be back to-night!

The session was then concluded.

EVENING SESSION

SUNDAY, SEPT. 26, 1920

The Sunday evening session was convened in the auditorium of the Central High School, with the Chairman of the Congress, Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask you to stand and sing a verse of the Old Hundredth "Praise God from Whom all Blessings Flow." While we are standing we will be led in prayer by the Rev. F. E. Bigelow, pastor of the Cleveland Park Congregational Church.

THE REV. F. E. BIGELOW, Pastor of the Cleveland Park Congregational Church, offered the invocation.

[“America,” “Onward Christian Soldiers,” and “The Battle Hymn of the Republic” were then sung.]

THE CHAIRMAN: We have been trying to give to the members of the Congress, and the people of Washington who are wise enough to come to these meetings in the Central High School, the most of the best that is available. Some of our good friends have been “put over” until the present time, because our program was so full, and we have got to work pretty closely to the schedule to-night to get through, because when the gavel falls to-night when the meeting is over, the gavel will fall finally upon the last session of the Fifteenth International Congress against Alcoholism.

Announcement will be made of the action of the permanent committee with reference to the next meeting before we adjourn to-night. I am now going to call the first speaker of the evening to the platform, Mr. Larsen-Ledet, from Denmark.

ADDRESS OF MR. LARSEN-LEDET

OF DENMARK

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I see I am supposed to speak to you to-night on the subject of the results of Prohibition. During the early days that brandy had been under Prohibition in Denmark, I asked the deputy police master of my town what effect the police of the town found in the new system. The deputy put on a grave face, I guess. I couldn't see it for sure, because it was in the night that I spoke to him. "Ledet," he said, "you and your fellow workers must have a conscience now, for you are responsible for the fact that several of our policemen

are put out of work. Realize, contemplate, my dear Sir, all the dear guests that used to be brought in at the police station, and rest there for a certain time, and then go their way,—why now they are gone; all of them are gone, and nobody knows where they have gone! Where have they disappeared? Nobody knows where they are, and if this condition continues, much as I hate to see it, we will be obliged to close our doors, and stop business, because there is nothing for us to do!" So spoke the deputy police master of the great city of Copenhagen.

Other policemen used other words in a more serious and less humorous vein; they spoke to a different tune; but the meaning was the same, that the police, on account of Prohibition, were nearly all out of work in the territory in which they had no brandy. The official reports of the police departments, which have been collected and published, show too that the Government arrests for drunkenness had decreased from one third to one fifth in amount compared to what they used to be; the arrests for crimes of violence decreased two thirds, and the arrests for moral crimes were reduced to less than half of what they used to be.

Further, in the hospitals the number of cases of delirium tremens decreased quickly to one sixteenth of their former figure; the rescue homes and charitable institutions decreased in their quota, where before they were filled often to capacity, and they finally closed, empty, and were sold or devoted to other worthy enterprises. More than half of the charitable institutions closed their doors. The hospitals reported less sickness. For instance, the number of venereal disease cases diminished to the half, and the mortality decreased to thirty per cent for men and fifteen per cent for women. And the poor-houses, the Salvation Army, and the missions for homeless people and the missions for persons in the "slums" sent reports to the Government that, contrary to the slogan of some people here in America "No beer, no work," their guests had vastly diminished. They said that even the ones that did come were not in such condition as the ones who formerly came. They were better clothed; they were not half-starved.

From every township in the country came reports that many families which had theretofore looked to the state for aid were now able to stand for themselves because of the fact that the head of the family was now sober and began to feel inclined to work, an inclination he had not felt before; and consequently every one was better off.

Home life was more happy on account of Prohibition. We were told in the report of the missionaries who called in the homes of the poor that many of the women said that in the space of twenty or thirty years they had seen only a few happy days prior to the coming of Prohibition. "We are so happy!" say the children. "We get better food,—cheese with our bread—and then, too, we know that father will come home at night."

Food dealers have also reported that their sales have increased greatly, especially Friday and Saturday nights, which used to be the worst nights for carousing, and that the women dispose of more money and buy a better quality of things to eat than ever before.

But it wasn't necessary to make many inquiries, or to look for official statistics or things like that. All you had to do was to keep your eyes open and you could see the effects of Prohibition. Everybody could see that, as a result of Prohibition, drunkenness was a rare thing; strong drink was not much in favor. Everybody could convince himself that Mr. So-and-So had a better complexion than before; that his nose was smaller and its color more white and natural,—less of a red and blue than before. Prohibition increased widely, and its benefits were democratic. It reached all classes of society, from the upper to the lower.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in these few words I have only dwelt upon the appearance made by Prohibition in my own country. Other lecturers from other parts of Europe have told us that which they have learned about this system in their own lands. I do not wish to make my address unnecessarily long, and I will not do so by repeating all these details. I will only state that these experiences which we have felt in our own country have been felt and experienced all over Europe. In England, Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland, Finland,—everywhere where they have reduced the liquor traffic, or throttled it altogether, there is a corresponding decrease in crime, a corresponding decrease in sickness, a corresponding increase in industriousness and happiness. And many had to have that forced upon them during the war. Dr. Rosencrans, a prominent Danish orator, was a prisoner in Russia, and he wrote, after Prohibition went into effect, that he looked upon water with great distrust. That he would never have thought of drinking water until he left Denmark and went to Russia. He said that he went out to a fine restaurant in Petrograd and ate a beautiful dinner, and after he had drunk some water he swore that he was through with wine forever, if he could only return and tell the rest of mankind how much better water was to drink than wine. Dr. Rosencrans was obliged to go all the way from Copenhagen to Petrograd to find out that water was an excellent drink! In Copenhagen at the time that was written nobody drank water except officers, mules and temperance people. It seems almost pathetic. Since Prohibition came into effect millions of people who never thought it possible to drink water, have found out that it was not only possible, but have further found that good spirits and humor are found sparkling more in the water glass in a larger proportion than they are in any other glass.

All these experiences in the different countries of Europe have created a strong public opinion for Prohibition; and in my country sixty per cent of the electors, having tried the benefits of Prohibition, signed a petition to the Government asking for the maintenance of war measures; and in other countries they have done similarly, asking their government to maintain these measures.

Men and women who hitherto had no interest in the alcoholic question whatever, have added their opinion in favor of the temperance reform. And they have acted accordingly, since that.

The same was the case with the press. The leading papers of my

country mostly stated that Prohibition was a success, and war Prohibition has certainly worked as a mighty factor for the success of the Prohibition cause. It cannot be denied the people for long now. The people have seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears the results of Prohibition. And then in some not far distant day the women will be able to vote on the question of this reform. It was our opportunity in Denmark and we took it. Greater and greater help it was to us, and I think we have accomplished more just in these last few weeks than we would have accomplished by years and years of speech-making and agitating in the public press, though we did that, too. We have been carefully spreading our propaganda, just the same as our opposers did, we compared their platforms with ours and then we went after the support of the people. The people had just seen what the results of Prohibition were and they were compelled to admit something which they never had admitted before, and that was that restriction of liquor brings very good results. They are strengthening our side in this matter; because they have found that Prohibition exceeded in its good results all their expectations. I myself, while I was always strongly in favor of Prohibition, never dreamed that it would have any such effect as it did have.

Yet in spite of all these good effects the war measures will be repealed and alcohol will overflow the country again. It seems strange, yet, unfortunately it is true, and there are several reasons. First: the liquor traffic has more power just now than we have, and then it has money, and men to stand for it in the Government and in Parliament; second, there is a strong public sentiment in favor of liquor, notwithstanding all its good effects; third, we have an increase among certain classes of people in the craving for alcohol, because money is plentiful, and drinking always increases when the times are good.

Then, the habitual drunkards never do get reconciled to it. They will risk their lives to get it, and nothing in the whole animal kingdom is viler than a brewer when he is robbed of his drink. The war measures have touched the pocketbooks of the brewers, and they are now furious. They are foaming with rage. They cannot continue forever, however, to hold the balance of the power, and some time our day of power will come. We will take it away from them then, *finally and forever*.

The war has made Prohibition possible. The experiences formed from that Prohibition will stand as rocks in the ocean. One fact is worth more than a thousand fanciful dreams. Alcohol is coming back, but the people will remember the fact that during war-time Prohibition they were happy and more comfortable and every one was better off, and thus remembering they will have the wish to drive it away, and they will have our help in doing it. Before the war, a dry Europe was a nice dream, but not a possibility. But now it has become a high probability within the range of a few years. That is one of the greatest miracles of our age. In the month of July, 1914, if some good prophet had stood up and told

us that in 1920 dry Europe would be a possibility, and not only that, but better still, a probability, we would have shaken our heads, and said to him, in a worldly-wise fashion: "My good friend, you better go to bed; there must be something wrong with your upper story!" If the prophet then had said that one of the greatest wars the world has ever known would start out on a career of destruction to clear the way for Prohibition, we would probably once more have shaken our thoughtful heads, and said, "No, the stamp of sobriety has not been placed so deeply within the mind of man." But the war came, and brought about the period of sobriety, which rooted the principle of sobriety so deeply in the minds of mankind, and they were strongly in favor of it. I say that that is the great miracle of our age, and the historians of the future will describe it to our children's children, how mankind was forever emancipated from the curse of rum.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair was caught unprepared. Mr. Ledet has surprised the chair, and established a precedent. He has taken almost ten minutes less with this speech than he thought he would require. That helps out considerably, as we had a full evening. We are very glad indeed to have a friend present to-night from "bonnie Scotland." We had no notice of the arrival of Mr. Naismith of Glasgow, Scotland, until he came here to-night. We were informed that our Scotch friends were so busy in the campaign work there in Scotland that the sending of a representative to the Congress was impossible; and then we got word that they could send a delegate, and that he was coming; and then that was quickly followed by word that he would not come, and we had no contrary advice until much to our gratification, the other day, Mr. Naismith walked in, and we are going to have an opportunity to listen to him, and he will give us a few words about the great temperance campaign that is going on in Scotland. They are working just now to get the instrument which drives it from the cities and towns—local option—the entering wedge, but as the Solicitor-General said the other night we have gotten a long way ahead of that in this country, but it is a great improvement for Scotland, a great thing! We will hear Mr. W. W. Naismith, of Glasgow, Scotland, for fifteen minutes, about the campaign in that country.

ADDRESS OF MR. W. W. NAISMITH

OF GLASGOW, SCOTLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SCOTCH PROHIBITION
PARTY AND TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATIONS

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: In response to your gracious invitation, I have the honor of representing at this conference the Scotch Prohibition Party and Temperance Associations, and I bring to you not only their greetings, but also the hearty congratulations of all good people in Scotland. They watched with eager interest the progress of your fight for Prohibition, and probably nowhere across the seas was the

news of your victory received with greater thankfulness to God than in my country. It was a happy coincidence that on the 16th day of January, 1920, when your country went "dry," the first meeting of the League of Nations was held and took place in Paris. For I believe that those two outstanding events in the history of your great nation are going to work together for the fulfillment of the saying: "Glory to God in the Highest, on earth peace and good-will towards men."

There has been considerable stated in this Congress about our people in Scotland becoming local option advocates. And we are. I suppose you would like to hear something about what we are doing in our country and about the prospects. I sincerely wish your informant had been what most of you have been,—all of his life a temperance worker and a Christian man, but like Gallio, I cared for none of these things, until in God's mercy, the religion of Jesus Christ was made mine indeed.

The Scottish fight for Prohibition dates back as far as 1858, and I believe it was largely through the good influence and example of the organization begun at that time that the Scottish Temperance Society was organized in the same year. These people were anxious to decide and say for themselves whether or not licensed houses were needed in their midst, in those localities. More than sixty years have passed since then, but we in Scotland are very conservative and cautious. We go about a thing carefully, and we are deliberate in our habits of action. For instance, it took us twenty years to create public opinion in favor of the people's right to charter; and the next twenty years was spent in pledging the people's support in various ways, and the last twenty years have passed preparing for this campaign.

During that long period of sixty years several incidents have occurred which helped our cause considerably. For instance, because of our activities the magistrates reduced the licenses of public houses throughout the country in startling proportion. Then a great many large landowners closed up public houses on their lands, because they found they received their rents more promptly by so doing! More than two hundred of these places were closed on private estates in less than a year. For instance, the Duke of Argyll, a relative of Queen Victoria, closed up all the saloons on the Island of Iona (the island from which the Light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ first flashed upon the darkness of the pagan natives of Scotland, in the sixth century). This is to every real Scotchman a sacred spot, and the history of this island is so closely linked up with that of our country and religion that it is part of your history as well as ours. And when you visit the Cathedral there—and I hope you will some day—you will find Prohibition there, and you will find it enforced, too. It has been said by some one in this Congress that it would take at least ten years to establish Prohibition in Europe. It took not ten years in Iona, but *ten minutes!* Lady Victoria Campbell, the daughter of the late Duke, visited the island, and saw for herself the evils of the liquor trade, and she wrote a letter to her father—and

the deed was done. That method of gaining Prohibition may not be the most approved form, but it certainly was a very effective one in that case. It was not a gradual step from local option, but it worked all right. Some of the old topers there grumbled a little about it at first, as they always will, and some of them threatened to leave the island. I guess maybe one or two of them actually did go, but no one missed them. But the rest of the people soon became reconciled to the new condition of things, and when they realized how good it was for their children they were indignant to think they had ever tolerated it even for a minute. I was told that one of the former hard drinkers was now very strict in regard to the temperance question.

A week before I sailed for America a great demonstration took place in Glasgow in support of the no-license campaign. It was the largest that had even been seen in Scotland, and it showed how well our people appreciated and used the first good chance they had to fight this evil, the first big chance that has come to them to fight the drink evil.

The drinking habits of the educated classes in Scotland are surprising. And though in many places alcohol is not allowed to be sold or carried about, a great deal of drunkenness still exists. The police arrests for drunkenness, which had fallen down to a fraction of their former number have begun to rise again since the demobilization of the soldiers. Whisky is the drink they use. It has been well said that after the first glass of whisky a man's drinking is more or less involuntary. His will becomes weaker. In spite of my country's poor reputation in regard to this matter of sobriety, it is interesting to know that the amount of alcohol per head in Scotland is much less than the amount per head in England. I also believe that the experience of the life insurance offices shows a smaller percentage of deaths from cirrhosis of the liver, and similar diseases. There is less drinking in Scotland. That's what that shows. I suppose the explanation is that a man who loads beer into his body day after day does more harm to his tissues than the man who walks into a saloon once in a while, maybe once a week, and drinks a little too much whisky, and then is a teetotaler for the rest of the week. For a country, comparatively, it seems as though Scotland has a greater number of total abstainers than any other country in Europe. And the reason for it I fancy is because the women and men of that country realize that it is the greatest hindrance to the cause of Jesus Christ that ever existed. That is the main motive behind our no-license campaign. We have no desire to curtail anyone's liberty so long as the Act of Parliament gives us local option, but when we get an absolutely dry Scotland, then everything will go perfectly smooth. When some other part of the British Isles gets up and demands Prohibition we will help put it through with them, the same as we got it through in Glasgow, then through the smaller towns, until we have quite a number of dry cities. We will do that same way with Prohibition as we have done with local option.

The first poll on the question will take place in the city of Glasgow in November and December next. It will take place not only in Glasgow but in many other cities. The second day of November has been fixed, by a strange chance the same day that you elect your President here. We are going to try to make the whole country go dry at that time on a no-license basis. In order to carry local option by this necessary majority vote we have got to have 45 per cent of the votes, including the persons who have died, etc. You may say that we have got a big handicap to work under. We don't consider it such. We are not doing any complaining. Because when a town or district goes dry there is such a volume of public sentiment behind it to support it that there will be no going back on its decision. To undo it the same formality and the same work and efforts would be required.

Last year the National Citizens' Council was formed, and with the idea of bringing out to the polls the persons who had not been voting, especially the members of the Scotch Temperance organizations and women's relief organizations, and the two organizations have linked together as one, and all are putting forth the greatest efforts in regard to the coming polls on this question to be held at Glasgow. This work has been so well carried on that there seems at the present time a good possibility of our carrying this matter.

During this whole campaign we have been receiving very generous help from the United States. We called to you to "come over into Macedonia and help us," and you came. You were very kind here in America about placing all available truths and statistics at our disposal. You have shown a spirit of good sense and fair play, and you have placed at our disposal money and service. You have also helped our Canadian friends to agitate Prohibition both in public and in private and you have shown much appreciation and sympathy for our work, and we are greatly indebted for your help, and for the help of Mr. W. E. (Pussyfoot) Johnson, who got such a warm reception at the hands of those students! That incident down there gave us a good bit of free advertising, and the very sportsman-like and gallant way in which he treated it succeeded only in making him a hero. Like Oliver Twist in Charles Dickens' tale, who was not easily satisfied, we are looking forward to having Mr. Johnson's genial presence and most valued help again in Scotland during the remaining weeks of the campaign. Some of the newspapers were very much concerned about the presence of an American Prohibition man, and finally the liquor interests invoked the aid of a Mr. Windle who is wandering over the country and trying to tell us that American Prohibition is a complete failure, because it doesn't prohibit. Mr. Windle, I understand, was a former American preacher who afterwards changed his profession, radically. I think that in view of these facts the Prohibition Party is well entitled to accept the help of "Pussyfoot" Johnson.

Now as regards the general prospects of getting Prohibition, from

all the prospects and indications, and judging from the past experience of the United States and Canada, where you started in by first getting local option, I anticipate that our success is going to begin just like yours did, in the towns and cities, and spread to the country districts, and residential districts. Several years ago the opponents of the Temperance Act, before it was passed, said that it would only be enforced in the residential and country districts, but not in the cities. However, when it was passed, we had less trouble enforcing it in the crowded city wards, and the people seemed more willing to obey it than they were in the residential districts, so-called. After some weeks of observation in Glasgow my opinion is what I have just stated. However I think that the residential sections will also carry Prohibition by a large majority.

Mr. Bryan spoke very hopefully on the subject of Prohibition, and I wish I could say the same of Scotland. If a fellow or girl declines a glass of champagne at a party, he or she is looked upon as snobbish and has to stand a great deal of criticism. We have got one promise anyway, that wherever local option or no-license is granted the laws will be enforced by the courts. We do not expect that any further enforcement clause than that will be needed.

All in all it looks pretty much as though the people in Scotland would vote dry. I am hoping that at least one half or one third of them will, anyway. When I say that I must guard myself, for should these hopes, unhappily, not be realized, I think that many of us would have to leave Scotland. I myself might come to the "New World" to stay, but I am persuaded that this principle will be carried in Scotland, among the great people who live there, because I think that our hard-headed, canny Scottish men and women will vote against liquor.

Of one thing you may be absolutely certain. Under no circumstances, whatever, will Scotland ever have anything to do with state ownership or municipal control. Even the Scotch Labor Party is opposed to anything like that, and are advising their members to vote on the right side of the ticket.

It looks as if Scotland held the key to the position in the British Isles, in this matter of strong drink; and what Scotland does today it is by no means unlikely that England, Wales and Ireland will be compelled in self-defense to do tomorrow, or the day after.

We go forward to the future therefore with a *great hope and confidence*, in the sure trust that He who has led His people thus far will guide them to the end. May I ask for your *prayers* during the *next two very critical months?*

On the monument to John Wesley and his brother in Westminster Abbey, these words appear: "*The best of all is that God is with us!*" In the great fight against alcoholism, and its consequent sin and misery, in which you and we are all engaged, we are on the side of the angels, and the ultimate victory is sure.

Let us adopt the words, which adorn and ennoble the coinage of the United States, "*In God We Trust!*"

THE CHAIRMAN: I take great pleasure in introducing the next speaker of the evening to you. He is a man who just arrived from Spain in Washington this afternoon. It seems that the Spanish Government was late in receiving its note to send a delegate to the Congress, and the boat on which he sailed was delayed in arriving, and so he has just reached Washington. I want to introduce to you the official delegate from the Government of Spain, Señor Duran.

RESPONSE BY SENOR JERMAN ROYO DURAN

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT

(Señor Duran spoke in Spanish and Señor Velasco kindly interpreted for the audience.)

I represent the Spanish Government and I am sorry because I could not be here before this time; but there was some trouble as to the time I was to come to the United States.

I come with a commission—I mean a petition—to the Congress, and to the American Government and to the President of the Congress, in indication of the fact that my Government has received the invitation to send a delegate to this Congress. I come late, but I am going to try to secure all the information possible about the proceedings we have had in all the days of this great Congress. I am going to try and take with me all this information, and try to inform my Government about the solution of this great matter.

I am very much impressed by the large size of the audience which you have here. I am very happy to be with you today, and wish to get all the information possible relative to this Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are all very much obliged to Señor Velasco for this interpretation of the speech of the delegate from Spain. Now, we just have time left to do one thing which I am sure you will all feel is the greatest thing. I wish we could do more, and we would like to hear from her at length, and I think we should be derelict if we do not invite her to speak. She is a member of the American Committee on Arrangements for the Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism, was a delegate to the convention at Milan, Italy, and is the authoress of the great pageant which we witnessed on the steps of the Capitol the other night. She is a lady who can not only write pageants, and dream dreams, and visualize the great work of the Congress, but those of us who have had the pleasure of hearing her know that she can speak, and do other things that are worth while. I want to present Mrs. Suessa Baldrige Blaine, to this audience.

REMARKS OF MRS. SUESSA B. BLAINE

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE CONGRESS

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been indeed a great pleasure and a great honor to be associated with six very important and distinguished men as we have on our American Committee, and I am very sorry that they are not all on the platform. I have been taking lessons from Miss Agnes Slack, who told us the other night how a woman could manage a man. I didn't know that, and so I didn't try to manage that committee—the American Committee. However, I was able to cast my vote, and a woman can often manage a man that way.

I felt all the while in presenting my pageant to the American Committee, which was enacted on the steps of the Capitol and especially in honor of our friends from across the sea, that there was a deep lesson intended. It is supposed to bring out a distinct lesson and that is, that education is not enough! Education! We have heard so much about education here in our country, and it has been widely discussed at the Congress. Education is a great thing because education means light, and nothing foul can prosper under the shining sun. Light—the symbol of purity. Light is the symbol of knowledge, while darkness is the symbol of ignorance. Abraham Lincoln once said that if one should turn a searchlight on a rat-hole it would spoil the hole for the rat's purposes. So it is with us. If we have not seen the light of education shine upon this awful maze of liquor, soon it will be shown to the world in all its hideousness, and then in a very short while we will be able to turn the lights on something better and more tender.

Now after that what else do we need? Well, after education we need organization of the different moral forces; and we have had that in our great country for many years, wonderful organizations working for total abstinence, and working for Prohibition; but if we had not had the coöperation of all those forces we could not celebrate the victory that we are celebrating this year. It was the coöperation of organization that brought up this great victory.

Not mere coöperation, but unity. Unity has brought us our victory. It was in 1913, just after the last International Congress, the Fourteenth International Congress against Alcoholism, had adjourned, that the temperance and religious forces of this country got together and united on one proposition, and that was to win national Prohibition; and all the forces hung together on that one platform in the National Temperance Council. Then there was an organization of the National Legislative Commission, so that all legislative effort was combined, and when any action was taken in a legislative way, or when any action was taken on the part of the legislative forces, all of them worked together. It did not mean just the effort of one society. It meant the effort of them all.

You all saw for yourselves what coöperation will do in a military way. When there was a French army, and a British army, and an American army, and all separated, the cause did not prosper, but when they came together in one effort, they won the victory. And that is the thought I want to say to our dear friends from overseas, that if you unite your forces and form a more perfect union, in that way, with God's blessing and in God's own time, you shall win your cause.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that in a few moments the regular organist here will be present, and when she does come we are to be favored, as those of us who attended the meeting this afternoon were favored with a solo, from a sweet singer from Mexico. I have come to believe in the past few years that the people of the Latin countries can certainly "put it over" with songs.

I now have a great pleasure. I have known the present Governor of the State of Maine for a great many years. We all admire him and love him for what he stands for and for what he has done in our behalf in our recent judicial contest over Prohibition.

Governor Milliken said that he did not think that such States as Rhode Island, New Jersey and one or two others of similar nature should be permitted to antagonize all of the ratifying States of the Union without a protest from the States which had exercised their constitutional right and duty by ratifying the proposed Prohibition amendment to the Constitution, and so he took this matter up and engaged the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes of New York to represent the State of Maine, and the other States that might wish to join with them in that effort, to bring a brief before the Supreme Court of the United States in defense of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. The time for doing it was very short, and it had to be done very rapidly, but when the brief was filed in the Supreme Court in two cases by the twenty-four States which had joined forces in this fight, to defend the right of the sovereign States of the Union to govern this matter for themselves, the Supreme Court upheld the contention. I have great pleasure in introducing to you the Hon. Carl E. Milliken, the Governor of Maine.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR CARL E. MILLIKEN
OF MAINE

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Somebody has called the adoption of National Prohibition by the United States the greatest national and moral venture since Israel crossed the Red Sea and passed out of Egypt, or since the Pilgrims came to Plymouth Rock. Now, I take it for granted that in gathering here as you have in Washington, and representing, I am told, more than thirty nations besides the United States, you are interested in Prohibition.

I also take it for granted that you are not only interested in the question of Prohibition, but also in hearing how it works—applied

Prohibition; that you are not only interested in the scientific problems which confront these scientific investigators of the question of alcoholism and its effects, and that sort of thing; not only in the influences that are working for and against it throughout our land, but I believe you are also interested, in a large measure, in the observation of the effects of Prohibition, in a great, self-governed democracy. So I am here tonight to bear testimony, briefly and in a very sketchy way. I am here to speak both on the subject of procuring legislations and on the second and very important subject of enforcing laws already made. And you need not be surprised if at times I speak quickly and if I go right from one subject to the other and without any apparent connection between the two, sliding across maybe to your own country, and then from there back home again.

Let us first consider the subject of Prohibition in the United States. And in that case I would adopt as the motto of this nation on Prohibition, the motto suggested by the old laborer. It seems that in some little town or other they had been fixing up the cemetery and getting everything looking nice and prosperous, and so on, when somebody suggested that the graveyard would better have a motto. No one could think of a really satisfactory motto, until finally this old laborer who had been there doing some of the work on this cemetery improvement, hearing the discussion, and understanding the situation, said to someone in charge: "Sir, I would like to suggest a motto."

"Good!" answered the person whom he had addressed. "And what's that motto, my man?"

"'We are here to stay,' Sir!"

And I think that we should adopt the motto of that good old son of Erin, for such he was. That motto can well be put over the cemetery and on the tombstone in which "John Barleycorn" has been interred in the United States. He is there to stay. I am perfectly well aware that his ghost will walk, and there will be questions of enforcement of the law which will come up, and that there will be a great deal of hostility on the part of the "wets" that they will try to force against the law, and all that sort of thing. But Prohibition in this country has come to stay, and if there is no other reason why we should be thankful for this convention, it is that.

There has been a great deal of gray matter used, and a great deal of anxiety has been experienced by some people, in the past few weeks, in interpreting the vote in the Maine election. Let me give you one side light on that. The women in Maine voted for the first time just a few days ago, and so a great many politicians have been wondering as to why those results were brought about. As near as I can find out, and as closely as students of political economy can judge, however, where the men divided on issues at about four to three, the women divided about four to one. That is as closely as I can analyze it, and as closely as anybody can determine. And the

reason the vote went to this particular party is because the women would vote for only the party which they thought could be trusted on just such questions as these. There is the answer for anybody who thinks this country is going to go back on this proposition of Prohibition. The fact that women now have the right to vote clinches the proposition. I am saying that of course without any thought of suggesting to anybody that we should relax our vigilance, for we should not.

I also know that you are very interested to know, coming here as you do from other lands, how this thing works out. You want to know how it will work from the point of view of government. You want to know whether it is on a practical, workable basis from the point of view of government. You ask us, "Does it make government easier?" "Does it make it easier to keep order?" "Does it make it easier to keep the people happy?" "Does it guarantee to us the opportunity to keep men endowed with those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" That is the question I am here to speak of quickly, of the problem of government, as a problem both here and elsewhere in the world.

The problem of government was never more keen, never more vital, never more perplexing, than it is in this country, in the year 1920. It is the problem of existence, isn't it? And then too we have to avoid, not only the tyranny of the brutal undisciplined mob which would rule us. What has become of security of life and development of the mind? Let us ask that question quickly so that we can consider the situation in the world today. In the last century the theory was announced by scientific men that in the animal kingdom the law of survival and life was the survival of the fittest, that the weak and defenseless must die and the strong and powerful must live and win and triumph. That was the law, said they, of the animal kingdom. And in such manner they claimed that the animal life of the world had through all the long, tedious, remote ages down to the present day, progressed and developed and bettered itself. But One had walked and talked in Israel more than 1900 years before that was said about the animal kingdom, and He had announced what was also a theory of growth, but it was a theory or principle of spiritual growth and development, and said somethnig like this: "He that loveth his life shall lose it; but he that hateth his life shall find it"; and "He that loseth his life for my sake, the same will I reward richly in Heaven."

There have been those who denied that theory, but now those of us who have investigated the subject know that the life of the government depends as much upon the self-sacrifice and service which it performs as does that of the soul or spirit. To see the result of not regarding this, we do not have to go so very far into the books to understand it. In fact, all we have to do is to look around us. A few years ago I had the good fortune to make a visit to Egypt, and

as we sailed in the little steamer, up the Nile, a small party of us, we saw this same old Nile, just the same as it was 4,000 years ago, and we watched these quaint people, these people of the so-called modern Egypt, but what is in reality ancient Egypt to this day, because the people make it so. We saw them dip up their water slowly and painfully out of the Nile, raise it carefully and painstakingly to the surface in order that it might there run around in their little ditches, and irrigate their fields. They were doing it just exactly the same way that their ancestors did as they tilled their little sandy farms, though perhaps at that time, in that remote age, they were slightly more fertile and easy to develop than are the farms in these same locations at the present day, on the banks of that same Nile, more than four thousand years later. They hadn't advanced at all. The world has gone on and left them behind. Why? At the time when Abraham was tending his flocks in Palestine they were a very powerful nation. We saw them plowing with crooked sticks. This great nation of Abraham's day, then the most civilized nation of people in the world, what happened to them, to make this wonderful civilization stand still for practically thirty centuries or more? It has stopped forever, and made no advance except as it has been influenced from the outside world. You can find the answer very briefly, that this civilization was entirely pagan in its form and in its philosophy, and absolutely selfish and cruel. They tried this "survival of the fittest" idea. There was no thought for children, no care for the weak, no provision for the sick. The progress of civilization from that ancient day down to the present has been a gradual triumph over selfishness in the life of man, the triumph of unselfishness in the life of man, the triumph of unselfishness over the theory of one-man government and of selfishness. That was what the fighting overseas was all about; on the western front you saw it, that age-old animal, or beast, of selfishness struggling against justice, incarnate in that brutal theory of government, which eliminated the individual.

I have said that as a background to bring my case down to this point, where I can say that the life of a self-governing democracy, the permanency of the existence of that kind of government, is assured against overthrow. It depends upon the capacity and regard which its citizens have for it. You and I think it worth while. It is the same with Prohibition. It depends upon the capacity of the citizens of the nation for self-sacrifice and self-denial and self-control, and for their willingness to serve the state. It depends, in other words, upon the character of the citizens, and upon nothing else. You need to consider the effect upon the government of these vital questions, and that is in turn the effect upon the character of the people. If you can make the people see that Prohibition is just as necessary in the emergency of peace as in the emergency of war, and that it is just as necessary in peace to the welfare of your government

as it was in war, then your case is won, for the people are patriotic. You found that out during the war.

Let me mention two or three outstanding things about the effects already apparent in this land from the adoption of the policy of Prohibition.

In the first place there has been a really tremendous economic effect in the saving of cash expenditures. I am not going into that, for figures would weary you, but in a general way, about two billion dollars expenditure has been saved annually in the United States, and that is diverted into channels of trade, where it formerly went for intoxicants. For instance, too, I am informed that those who dealt in intoxicants have without these intoxicants adjusted themselves to new conditions and are getting by far the better end of the bargain. One example: I understand that the grape growers are now getting \$125 a ton for their grapes, as against \$75 a ton which they used to get from the breweries, for use in alcohol. Right here in Washington you have a certain industry which used to be a brewery, but they re-adjusted themselves to Prohibition, and they are now employing twice as much labor and paying their stockholders larger dividends and making more money all around, than they were ever able to do in their old business. Prohibition in this country or any other country won't hurt any legitimate business except that of an undertaker, or, as Mr. Ledet told us tonight, that of a policeman.

In the next place, the effect of Prohibition in the United States has been tremendously to increase the efficiency of labor. I don't need to argue that. I have some figures here which would show that, but I don't mean to use them tonight. It is easy enough to see how that has come about. In the first place, the laboring man works more steadily, and he is worth more as a steady worker, and then, too, his brain isn't addled, and his hand isn't shaking.

Throughout the country there has come from different localities and in various degrees, testimony to the effect that a vast saving has been effected by Prohibition. In the first place, a saving of money going into the channels of trade which formerly went for that which is worse than useless. In the second place, production is increased by it. It is stimulated and strengthened by the help of Prohibition. Both of these benefits which I have mentioned are important economic factors in the position of the nation among the other nations, and this position which is just now held by this country right here, we believe, will eventually compel all of our competitors to adopt this system in sort of self defense.

But these great economic lessons, important as they are, in favor of Prohibition, will not be enough to convince many of the value of Prohibition. I want to emphasize that tonight, because it is perfectly evident to every one of you that there is a great increase in the efficiency of labor, and that is important; also to some money is important, very much so. But neither one of those bears directly

upon what I have suggested, as being of vital importance, namely, the character of the people. The third effect does bear more directly upon the question, I think. The third effect is the startling, almost stupendous, decrease in crime. In arrests for all causes there has been an astonishing decrease, and in the necessity for poor relief, hospital cases, misery, poverty, ill-feeling and crime, social vices and all that sort of thing.

I have figures here that are interesting on this subject, and cyclopaedias could be compiled from figures of that kind, and the testimony varies only in degree and intensity. In this connection, my friend from Denmark has outlined the same sort of situation, and that is universal wherever Prohibition has gone into effect. That is more important because it bears more directly upon the issue. It is connected more intimately with the life and attitude of the people toward this question, upon which hinges the safety of the government. It is that principle, in fact, entirely upon which the government must rest; but after all it isn't of such very vital importance. It has been argued, and perhaps with some degree of force, that you could make all the laws in the world and try your best to enforce them, but that, for instance in the case of a man forty-five or fifty, or beyond middle life, who has always been accustomed to the use of alcohol either moderately or immoderately, he will still manage to get it some way; and that if he can't, he will use some substitute or try to use it, which he can get. You can not legislate it out of a man's system; but, furthermore, you should bear in mind this, that if the law is once passed, it matters very little from the point of view of the State itself what happens to the poor fellow who is over forty-five and who insists upon drinking substitutes for the liquor or drinking himself into a drunkard's grave. That is a matter of very little importance to the State itself except in this one point, of the influence for good or evil which it may have upon the people.

Then this brings me to my last point, that is, that Prohibition is important in the effect which it will have upon the rising generation. That is the one thing which has more bearing upon the nation than anything else, the effect of Prohibition upon the children who are to be the men and women of the nation within a few years. The welfare of the children is a very important point for us to consider. I sat in conference the other night and listened to a thrilling and heart-breaking account from John R. Mott, connected with European relief work, on his investigations conducted through the war-stricken portion of Europe ranging from the Baltic Sea down through to Turkey, and that brought out what can happen to a nation when the people rise against it. But the future of any nation depends upon the character of its people. The significant point of that message to my mind was that after months and months of patient investigation he had found that in many of the towns in these lands there were no children less than six years of age. Second, that of the hundreds and

hundreds of school age whom he did see in the schools, testimony was borne out by the lackluster eyes and the stooping forms, and stunted physical development, and retreating foreheads, to the fact that those children had not known for a long time what it was to have a square meal. That is an awful handicap of stunted and dwarfed physical life. And the third appalling fact is the enormous increase in juvenile delinquency in all those lands.

Now, as I said, the future of any nation depends upon the character of its citizens, and here is the future citizenship of the nation growing up now in the child life of every community, and yet we haven't given half enough attention and emphasis to these problems, the economic problems that press upon us; and too much emphasis can not be given to this fact that the future of America or of any other country depends absolutely upon the character of its boys and girls, for they are the future citizens, these boys and girls growing up among us. It is as true as any other of the essential physical facts in science.

What is the great benefit, now, of Prohibition to America or to any other land? Say what you will about the economic factors; say what you will about the increased efficiency of labor; say what you will about the increase in crime, and all that sort of thing, but that isn't vital in any great degree to the issue except to aid in putting legislation through. Give the boys and girls a better chance. That is what we have been trying to do in America all along. Literature won't do it; art won't do it; pleading certainly will not do it; money won't do it, and so the only thing that we can do is to give that new generation a wholesome, clean, upstanding, God-fearing, American citizenship that will be capable of self-government, and self-control; and if Prohibition is enforced it will help enormously to this end both in America or in any other self-governing democracy.

[Thereupon Señor Velasco, of Mexico, by request repeated his songs of the afternoon, being encored a number of times.]

THE CHAIRMAN: This afternoon we were not able to have a response from the Christian Endeavor Societies of America, but Mr. Percy S. Foster is here tonight and will say just a few words on behalf of the young people of the United Society of Christian Endeavor on their attitude towards Prohibition. After that we will hear from one of our old friends, whose name I will not give out until Mr. Foster gets through. I take great pleasure in introducing to you tonight Percy S. Foster.

REMARKS BY MR. PERCY S. FOSTER

I was not told until I came here tonight that I would be called upon to represent the Christian Endeavor organizations with a brief statement concerning their attitude towards the great cause of Prohibition.

The reason for my invitation is probably two-fold. First, I am at this time President of the Christian Endeavor Alumni Association of the District of Columbia, and, secondly, have been actively identified with the organization for many years. Christian Endeavor has meant so much to me that it would take more than the five minutes which I shall consume to tell the whole story.

Organized by Dr. F. E. Clark on the second day of February, 1881, the Christian Endeavor Society was introduced into my life the following year when, as a lad in Baltimore city, a pastor coming from Portland, Maine, organized a Y. P. S. C. E. in my own church and I united with it.

During all of these intervening years I have been thrown into close contact with the leaders in this organization, and have attended many of the international conventions, beginning in the City of New York in the year 1892, when I assisted in the music, and from 1894 have been one of the official musical directors until the present time. I have already been invited to serve as musical director at the New York Convention in July, 1921, in celebration of Christian Endeavor's fortieth anniversary.

These great conventions have thrown me into contact with the great temperance leaders, such as the late Frances Willard, and many others, who have been prominent speakers upon our platforms.

During all of these years Christian Endeavor has stood "four-square" on the liquor question—as evidenced by its frequent resolutions on this subject. The very language of the Christian Endeavor pledge presupposes total abstinence in that it states: "Trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him that I will strive to do whatever He would have me do," etc.

It was at the Atlantic City Convention in 1913 that the slogan was introduced, "A saloonless Nation in 1920." Few of us fully appreciated the fullness of this prophecy, but it has come to pass. We little realized that we would live to see this victory, but under the blessings of our God, it has been accomplished.

Some years ago a young girl was drowned from a Potomac River steamer, and they did not find her body for a few days. One day a friend of mine dropped into a barber shop where the old colored barber was in the habit of telling his customers the latest news while performing the tonsorial act. This morning he was greeted as follows: "Marse Tom, dey has done found dat woman." "What woman," was asked. "Why dat woman dat fell off de boat, and, will you believe me, de crabs done disguised her so you can hardly 'realize' her!" That was the darkey's way of saying that she had been disfigured in such a manner as to be hardly recognizable.

Now that is just what has happened to "John Barleycorn." Through no accident, and surely not with any suicidal intent, "Old John" finds himself in the great flood of pure waters of National Prohibition

and gradually are the crab-claws on the enforcement laws going to know at his vitals until his best friends will not be able to recognize him.

THE CHAIRMAN: In pursuance of the authority granted by the Congress the other day I am pleased to announce that the permanent International Committee of the Congress have decided that the Sixteenth International Congress against Alcoholism shall meet at Lausanne, Switzerland, and in order that we may get back to meeting in the odd years, and meeting biennially, as soon as possible, Europe not having had a Congress for nine years, when next year arrives, we have decided to have the next Congress in Lausanne, Switzerland, next year, 1921. I have pleasure in introducing to you the representative of that city, who has been a very good superintendent of the International Temperance Bureau's work, Dr. R. Hercod, of Switzerland.

REMARKS BY DR. R. HERCOD

OF LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The ready courtesy with which the Permanent International Committee of the International Congress against Alcoholism accepted my invitation to hold the next International Congress at Lausanne, Switzerland, fills me with joy both as a Swiss and as a citizen of Lausanne, and I feel deeply the great honor which has been deigned to my country and my people; but I also feel entirely the great responsibility which we are assuming, for I consider that we could scarcely hope to compete with such a great nation as the United States, with all its possibilities and resources.

But nevertheless, all this cordiality which you find here in the United States you will find again repeated and duplicated in Switzerland; you will meet with the same cordiality of reception with which you have met in the United States this time. You will find there the same earnest desire to do the utmost that we can for all these foreign guests whom we will have there, and we will try to make you all feel at home, you American people as well as the rest. You may all be assured of special welcome from every one, because we are not unthankful, and we don't forget that you helped us in our necessity during the war; and not only that but as delegates, having been your guests for a few days, we have found you so kind that we hardly know how it will be possible for us to repay you even in a small part for our debt to you for the many tokens of esteem and good feeling.

Come therefore to Switzerland next year and attend the Sixteenth International Congress against Alcoholism, at Lausanne, and see a little of our Old-World friendship, courtesy and love, and the beauty of our snow-covered mountains and peaks, and our green valleys and quaintly carved houses, our beautiful silvery mountain streams and

lakes, our old castles watching from the tops of the hills, and you will be welcome, welcome, welcome.

THE CHAIRMAN: I now have great pleasure in introducing to you one of the Nestors of our cause, whose silvery voice has been very enthusiastic in our favor. His devotion to this cause has helped us to win the victory, and he doesn't need any word of praise from me or any introduction. I am glad to present to you the Hon. John G. Woolley.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. JOHN G. WOOLLEY

OF MADISON, WISCONSIN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I take it that I need not concern myself greatly about being diplomatic in an address to this convention, although the delegates hail from so many different countries, and perhaps also they may consequently have many conflicting views. I speak, at any rate, as an American citizen, who for more than half a century has been at death grips with the liquor traffic. I have a right to speak of it, therefore. I have a right to rejoice at the victory which is almost here. I have never expected to live to see this time, but I am still here and alive, and nearly everybody who has met me, out of the old times, has remarked, like Percy Foster, for instance, that I look quite young!

You need have no fear that I shall detain you tonight with any old-fashioned or high-sounding argument to prove to anybody the bad character of the liquor traffic. That would be a waste of your time and an affront to your intelligence, to try to elaborate on the demerits of that very ancient, sneaking, stinking, blighting, mocking enemy of all mankind, that in the course of centuries of ignorance and neglect, selfishness and recklessness, was permitted to crawl, malignantly, diabolically, slowly, yet surely, from the condition of a mere poisonous snake in the grass up to the dignity of a dominating place in American business, and to a stronghold in American politics, which has at last been taken in its own devices, and brought to trial at the bar of American sentiment. And it has had a more than fair trial. It has employed the most able counsel that money could buy. It has reduced bribery and perjury and subornation of perjury almost to a science. The advance against it was quick but steady. Town after town, county after county, by the thousands, State after State, until now it has no refuge in our land.

Of the 3,000 counties in the United States, nearly 2600 took Prohibition action independent of the rest of the counties long before the ratification of the amendment. The reason they did it, was because they denounced it as a nuisance. They have tried it on numerous counts, and they have given it the benefit of a reasonable doubt. They have found it guilty upon every count, upon every charge, and it has been condemned to death by a two-thirds vote of the country at large. Forty

five states in forty-eight ratified the new amendment. They have promptly ratified in favor of the amendment in every instance, and the Federal Government has amended its Constitution and formally and regularly, with no flaws to pick in its announcement, proclaimed the liquor traffic a public enemy and an outlaw. A drastic, but nevertheless reasonable and necessary enforcement act has been written into this amendment or statute, and the Supreme Court of the United States has put the seal of legality on every step of the procedure; and for us that settles that part of it.

Then again our respect and love for our country make it necessary for us to carry the law. We must vindicate the majesty of the law. We must not weaken. We must execute judgement which was placed in the Constitution upon this tried and convicted criminal. We can do it. We dare not fail to do it. We *will* do it! But we will not do it easily. We shall not be able to do it quickly. We must not be satisfied with the sentimental and moral victory which we have already scored. This victory which we have achieved is simply an opportunity to wipe out this age-old curse. We have battled for years to win this victory, and the advantage at last lies with us. Always heretofore the liquor traffic had the advantage. The law recognized it as a "legitimate" business; the officers of the law belonged to it, or many of them did. They had their money invested in it, very largely. The politicians were afraid of it. It was entrenched in unlimited capital and greed, and in the age-long habit of man. But now its fortune is changing. The Christian people of this country now have the whip-hand over the liquor traffic, and what we are going to do with it in the difficult days that are now upon us, will be the supreme test of our quality as Christian American citizens.

Now our fight for Prohibition has been won in the letter of the law, so far, with fair success, but if it were lost in the spirit of the law, and no enforcement be carried out, that might happen again, and we might lose all this result of this fight again, and if we did it would take us a hundred years to get back to where we are to-night. But if within the first five or ten years of its existence we make this law more workable and efficient, we shall not only kill forever the liquor traffic in our country but we shall also draw the competing nations across the sea into prohibitory legislation regarding the use of intoxicants. We will bring a livelier, larger, nobler, finer brotherhood to pass, throughout the entire world of mankind.

What we have to do now is to carry out in the matter of practical, political action that judgment against the liquor traffic which we have written into our fundamental law. We have come to a critical moment in this long fight for a clean, sober America, but it needs somebody who is willing to do things which are disagreeable. We seek naturally to avoid anything which promises to be hard or disagreeable. That is our great vice in this great democracy. It is characteristic of the average

decent American Christian man or woman to do all they can to shirk the disagreeable things. We mind the brass-band things; we mind the drum-major things; we mind the Liberty-bond things; we mind the rally round the flag things; with Patrick Henry we say, with tremendous enthusiasm, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" And of course those things are all right. But when it comes to tackling a crowd of loafers, ragamuffins, lizards, and mobs, and grog-chasers, especially when they are in your own party of politics, we flunk. We draw back. We hate to touch it or even contemplate it at close range. But the truly Christian citizens of America who would well and truly serve their country in the difficult days that are to come now, must realize from now on that if they would do the most for their country they must be willing to tackle some of the disagreeable problems, the unpleasant problems of this great international disease of alcoholism.

It is something like political housekeeping, and indeed so it is. You know sometimes you go to a house where it is all very fine in front, and very pleasing to the eye,—because both individually and in politics we Americans are strong on fine things, and every picture will be straight on the wall, and in its proper position, and bric-a-brac in order, and furniture all dusted nicely; but you go out into the kitchen by accident, and what condition do you find? The hall may be scrupulously clean, but the kitchen looks as though it hadn't been swept for a long time; the rug on the floor in the dining room may be straight, but the pots and kettles,—O my! We keep everything in order, dontcha-know, but the cellar smells,—well, very bad! But you say that has got to be cleaned up by the man a little later. You smile, but that is all right, for that is an exact picture, a perfect picture, of our political condition in this country, and we are from now on up against an adventure of sheer intensive, fateful drudgery, in political housekeeping. We are handicapped in it to some extent by the fact that it is firmly instilled in the minds of many of our persons as a personal habit. We have had to do everything slowly, and by degrees. That has been the history of Prohibition in America.

There would be a revival of religion in some town, and they would go to work in the excitement and vote the town dry; or some man would get drunk and beat his wife up, or may be his whole family, possibly killing them; or some boy would get drunk and kick his aged mother downstairs, and the cry would be, "Pulverize the grog-shops! Banish the saloon!" They would get the people excited and indignant over it, and generally make the town dry. Then they would very promptly and calmly go to sleep in politics, take a sort of a political nap, and leave the law to enforce itself. The result was they had to fight the same battle over again, in a little while. That is something that no difficult or unpopular law ever had done, enforce itself.

While those people were taking this political nap, these ill-smelling politicians, without anybody watching them so as to keep an eye on them, with their patrons and friends, would be particularly active. They didn't

sleep upon their opportunities to defend what they called their rights. They were particularly active. They worked like beavers. They would carry the town "wet" at the next election. And of course, it was thus that we had the decent Christian people and the booze interests on a sort of see-saw, by this pusillanimous behavior. The town would be dry this year; wet next year; dry the next year; wet the next. This condition can not and must not overtake us the next time.

The Christian people of the nation are wide awake on this matter, and they will not be allowed to go to sleep again, for there is work for them to do. The temperature of the enthusiasm of these people is very high in this matter now, and it must not be allowed to cool down. The liquor traffic is waiting. Certainly it is waiting. It is that kind of a thing that we must whip it again, and then whip it some more. It is this big job of everlastingly whipping the liquor traffic that we have got on our hands. Too many Prohibitionists of the kind that are easily satisfied are throwing up their hats in the air in these days, and celebrating the overthrow of the liquor traffic. That is interesting, but premature, indeed.

Some master lecturers that I know, for instance—some of them preachers, too—are advertising funeral sermons to be pronounced over the remains of John Barleycorn, but they amount to nothing, for the fact is that any funeral without a corpse is rather an incomplete affair. The liquor traffic is not dead. It is not asleep. It is as active as ever,—it is as vicious as ever, and even more determined than ever, in spite of all these exploits. We still have them with us. They are not poor; they are not stingy; they are not weak; they are desperately determined that this law shall fail of enforcement.

The time has come when the blackest crime of the ages, the liquor traffic, has moved up in this country from the fortress of State politics, its former stronghold and habitat, to invasion of the very citadel of the nation's life; and they are campaigning now, this vast body of trained, resourceful, determined hoodlums, to capture the next Congress, or maybe the next two Congresses, and institute beer and wine, thus managing to draw the teeth of the Volstead Act, and, as I said, reinstate beer and wine as non-intoxicants, beverages which will not make a man drunk, but *nearly* so. Thus they would bring back nearly ninety per cent, at least, if not *all*, the evils of the liquor traffic which the Eighteenth Amendment was intended to prevent and meant to prohibit, and will prohibit if it has a fair chance.

That movement of the liquor interests has got to be stopped. It has got to be beaten, and it will be beaten, and the time has come when the good men and women of this country must honor this country and serve it. They love their country well. Will they serve it? They were willing to lay down their money and their lives for it; they were ready to fight for it, as they always will be, in the great emergency; but the time has come now when the good men and women of this country must take the reins and drive in the common politics of the country, in the

city, county, State and nation. This is a democracy. There isn't any government here except by the people. But there isn't anything like popular government nor any resemblance to it, unless the good people of the country take the reins and drive.

But they never did do it before. They never tried to do it. They always could have done it; they always ought to have done it. Now the conditions absolutely force them to run State affairs and do the things they are not accustomed to. They must rule this country. This is a democracy, as I say, and a better law means better representatives; better representatives mean better politics; better politics means better enforcement laws; better enforcement laws mean better judges, better executive officers; better officers mean better politics, and consequently better government. I venture to say that right at this moment we have got a drunken United States marshal chasing sober moonshiners around somewhere in the mountains of this country, right now, to-night. Why? Well, because heretofore we have always been just the slipshod kind of people that would put up with that kind of officers; just the kind who would stand for it. No administration would dare appoint that kind of officials to do that kind of work if they knew that it would be political ruin and black disaster for them to do so.

The Christian citizens of this country must make good in politics. That is the answer to the liquor problem in this country from now on. *The Christian citizen must make good in politics.* He must stop dreaming in the Book of Revelation, and *mobilize* in the Book of Acts! Not *be* good; that goes without saying; *make* good. Not *feel* good, but *make* good.

One thing that makes trouble here is that we have been Christians theoretically, but now we are to become Christians practically, doing, as a body composed of a lot of Christian people, the work of God.

You know we mustn't get to feeling so good over Prohibition that we will be just like a lot of little toy balloons and go all to pieces when we strike something. You know when they bump against anything solid there isn't any more balloon! They are just a kind of shiny, hollow, luman soap-bubble with no real amount of substance about them. Of course the trouble caused by this liquor traffic is chargeable primarily, and in a large degree, to the activities of the bad people who have exploited this trade; but the good people who have been asleep politically and economically are also somewhat to blame for it, for they have acted something like the man in Christ's parable who, like those good men here in America, while they slept, their enemies were busy sowing tares.

Now let us see who some of these people are that have been sowing the tares during our nice little nap. Well, the crooked lawyers, they have had something to do with this planting; the dirty politicians who, when sent out to represent a decent constituency, did just the opposite thing, and tried to put the liquor trade into a dry town!

The problem is not so much for America to delve in the doings of the malignant, vicious class of persons, as it is in the activities of virtuous,

Christian men and women. This country must engage in politics. Christian men and women must concern themselves with politics.

Some of you perhaps remember the various campaigns which we carried out in favor of Prohibition. One of the things which affected the public mind favorably toward the Woman Suffrage bill was that orderly parade up Broadway recently. I am very much in favor of woman suffrage myself.

In that connection I will emulate my friend Percy Foster, and tell you a little story. I have a very distinguished friend in New York City, whose wife was a very earnest woman suffragist. He was convinced in favor of woman suffrage on philosophical grounds. Of course I suppose the reason for that was because his wife was such an earnest worker. Then one day there was a procession planned for New York suffragists, and he was asked if he would be willing to march in the procession along with other men, thus showing that the men would be willing to give their countenance to the movement, and this would help their cause. He was, of course, very glad to accept, and on the appointed day he reported at the suffrage headquarters from which the parade or procession was to start, to receive with the other men who were to march, their buttons, badges, etc. He stepped into the line, and then they distributed the banners which the men were to carry. Our friend's banner was turned from him slightly, and it is likely that the woman suffrage leader did not notice what she was handing him, but he took it and stepped back into the line, and waited for the command to march which was given, in time. His wife was one of the ones appointed to review the marchers as they went past the reviewing stand, and to report to the mass meeting which was to follow. Our friend came along with his banner, and for the first time in all her married life this lady was disgraced by her husband through the shabby fashion in which he was carrying the banner, and moving along. It was draped over his shoulder to the rear in such a position that nobody could read the inscription. He seemed to be purposely carrying it in such a way that the inscription could not be read. She was surprised and mortified, and I suppose, somewhat angry. But there wasn't very much that she could do just at the moment. She could not go down and order him to carry it as it was intended to be carried, or to march along more becomingly, nor she couldn't signal him from there, and so, being a prudent woman, she possessed her soul with such patience as she could. Then she laid for him after the parade was over. She said to him, when she met him: "John, why on earth did you carry that banner in that way? What made you walk like that? Why did you carry that banner so that nobody could read it? Why, I am disgraced because of you! The very purpose for which you had that banner placed in your hand was because you are so well-known as a good, conservative business-man, and you would have helped our cause a great deal. But you carried it so that nobody could read it!"

"But," he said, "you could read it, couldn't you? You knew what was on it?"

"No," was the reply. "I did my best. I watched you as far as I could see, and was in hopes that you would get it straight enough so that I could read it. I couldn't read it, and indeed I know I could have read it if you had carried it anyways decently."

"Well, I'll tell you what was on it. It said on that fool thing,—'Men can vote; why should not I?'"

We don't want to be in the same kind of a trap that that man was! The Christian citizens of this country must refuse to carry or accept a banner in politics without knowing what is on it, or anything which they may be ashamed of, as is done so very, very often by many persons, and they don't know of it until too late.

Christian citizens must make good in politics. We are going to make good in politics. This thing hasn't come with a "spurt." It has been growing on us for more than 112 years, and there are more people doing more Christian things to-day than ever before, in the whole history of the Christian republic. This fight is won at last, and now all we have got to do is to carry forward this work, and be true to ourselves, and diligent in the business of serving our country in the greatest enterprise that the church of Jesus Christ ever had upon its hands. And with the country dry by the official declaration of the Secretary of State, with thirty-five States dry by their own political volition, and with all of the Christian people of the country lined up in a solid mass against the liquor traffic, to exterminate this enemy of the public, and with capital back of us, and with splendid talent arrayed on our side, and with labor beginning to come in our direction, and the scientists of the world, of any repute, in our camp, and with woman suffrage looming up large all over the country, and all over the world, for that matter, and with the voice of civilization cheering us on, we simply cannot lose this fight unless we turn tail and prove poltroons in the greatest opportunity that the Church has ever had upon her hands.

I thank you, ever so much.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just a moment; let us adjourn to-night in order. We have come to the closing hour and the closing moment of this Congress. I wish that I could say what it is in my heart to say, but I dare not try it; I will not attempt it at this hour. The Chair has had some hard duties during the week that has passed. He has had a lot of pleasant ones, too. But I venture the assertion that none of you know the hardest job of the chairman during the whole life of the convention or Congress, and that was to be in the Congress, and be in the chair, and unable to make a speech! I dare not try it to-night. I will say at the last to our friends from abroad that we are glad, more than glad, more than we can adequately express, that you have come to us and have been our guests. We bid you an affectionate farewell for the time, and we wish you a safe journey to your several countries and homes. We hope to meet you in the next Congress, and we bid you Godspeed in the work which you go to do, and we hope that great success will at-

tend your efforts in the promotion of this reform. We shall think of the pleasant times which we have had together here both now and in the past. And so, we can only say to you—"God bless you till we meet again!"

The Fifteenth International Congress Against Alcoholism is adjourned and we hope to meet you again at Lausanne, Switzerland, in the Sixteenth Congress next year. Good night!

**REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS
AT THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS AGAINST ALCOHOLISM**

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

Le Breton, Dr. Thomas A. (*Ambassador*)

BELGIUM

Symon, C. (*Counselor*)

Silvercruys, Robert (*Attaché*)

Ley, Dr. August

BOLIVIA

Calderon, Don Ignatio (*Minister*)

Cortadellas, Alberto (*Chargé d'Affaires*)

BULGARIA

Panaretoff, Stephen (*Minister*)

CANADA

Lemieux, Sir François

Grant, Dr. Andrew

CHILE

del Rio, Felix Nieto

Montenegro, Ernesto

Pinochet, Tancredo

Salcedo, Severo

Urbina, Vicente Valdivia

CHINA

Koo, Vi Kyujin Wellington (*Minister*)

Wei, Wen Pin (*Secretary*)

CUBA

Cespedes, Dr. Carlos Manuel de (*Minister*)

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Drime, Karel

Zmrhal, Professor

DENMARK

Brun, C. (*Minister*)

Ottosen, Dr. Carl Surmullet

ECUADOR

Elizalde, Dr. Don Rafael H. (*Minister*)

ENGLAND

Geddes, Sir Auckland (*Ambassador*)

Craigie, R. L. (*First Secretary*)

FINLAND

Ives, Judge E. (*Counselor*)

Helenius-Seppälä, Dr. Matti

FRANCE

Méteil, Dr. Jean

GREECE

Tsamados, M.

GUATEMALA

Mendez, Don Joaquin (*Minister*)

HOLLAND

Slotemaker de Bruine, Dr. J. R.

HONDURAS

Guitierrez, Don J. Antonio Lopez (*Minister*)

NICARAGUA

Zavala, Don Manuel (*Chargé d'Affaires*)

NORWAY

Bryn, H. H. (*Minister*)

Vogt, Dr. Ragnar

PANAMA

Le Fevre, Don J. E. (*Secretary*)

PERSIA

Abdul Ali Khan Sadigh-es-Saltaneh (*Minister*)

PERU

Gibson, Carlos D.

POLAND

Kwapeszenski, M. (*Counselor*)

SALVADOR

Sol, Dr. Don Salvador (*Minister*)

SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

Growitch, Dr. Slavko Y. (*Minister*)

Staitch, Georges K. (*Secretary*)

SIAM

James, Eldon R. (*Minister*)

SPAIN

Riano y Gayangos, Don Juan (*Ambassador*)

Duran, Jerman Royo

SWEDEN

Ekengren, W. A. F. (*Minister*)

Thunberg, Dr. Torsten Ludwig

SWITZERLAND

Jenny, Conrad (*Chargé d'Affaires*)

Hercod, Dr. Robert

Ming, Dr. Peter A.

URUGUAY

Dulio, Vicente Mines

VENEZUELA

Dominici, Dr. Don Santos A. (*Minister*)

Requena, Dr. Rafael

**LIST OF DELEGATES
TO THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
AGAINST ALCOHOLISM**

AUSTRALIA

Sheldon, Mark.

AUSTRIA

Ude, Professor, University of Gratz, Gratz.

BELGIUM

Vullings, Rev. Father.

CANADA

REPRESENTING THE DOMINION ALLIANCE

Bengough, John Wilson, Toronto, Ontario.
Flumerfelt, Miss Myrtle, Toronto, Ontario.
MacPherson, Rev. Donald, Port Hood, Nova Scotia.
More, Rev. Dr. T. Albert, Toronto, Ontario.
Spence, Miss Ruth E., Toronto, Ontario.
Williamson, I. W., Toronto, Ontario.

REPRESENTING OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Jamieson, Mrs. W. A. (*Sons of Temperance*), Thornton, Ontario.
McLeod, Rev. Archibald A. (*Sons of Temperance*), Dundas, New Brunswick.
MacPherson, Rev. Donald (*Clergys' Total Abst. League*), Port Hood, N. S.
Spence, Rev. Ben H. (*World's Prohibition League*), Toronto.
Stavert, Rev. R. Hensley (*Sons of Temperance*), Hunter River, P. E. I.
Thomas, Rev. B. H. (*Sons of Temperance*), Dorchester, New Brunswick.
Trice, William A. (*Sons of Temperance*), Toronto.
Vokes, Miles (*World League Against Alcoholism*), Toronto.

CHILE

Valdivia, Lucila, Chilean Embassy.
Valdivia, Maria Munoz, Chilean Embassy.
Valdivia, Vicente, Colierno de Chile.

CHINA

Chau Eu Lin, Herman, Honyang, HuPeh.
Tsiany, Ley, Human.

COLOMBIA

Betancourt, Hon. Julio.

DENMARK

Larsen-Ledet, Lars, Copenhagen, Denmark.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Galvan, Dr. Luis.

LIST OF DELEGATES

ENGLAND

Neild, Theodore, J. P., Grange Court, Leominster, England.
Saleeby, Dr. C. W., 10 Campden Mansions, Kensington, London, W8.
Slack, Miss Agnes, Ripley, Derbyshire, England.

FRANCE

Gallienne, Pastor Georges, 53 Bis, Rue Saint-Lazare, Paris.
Legrain, Dr. Paul Maurice, Asile de Villejuif, Paris.

HOLLAND

Crommelin, Miss Henriette W., Kersbergen, Holland.

HONDURAS

Bonilla, Dr. P., New York City.
Valle, Rafael Heliodoro, 3028 Neward St., Cleveland Park, D. C.

ITALY

Amaldi, Dr. P.

JAPAN

Yamaguchi, Dr. Minosuke (*National Temp. League of Japan*), 100 Prescott Ave., New York City.

KOREA

Roe, Chungil Yhan, Chimampo, Korea.

MEXICO

Velasco, Rev. Epigmenio, Gante No. 5, Mexico City.

NEW ZEALAND

Fowlds, Hon. Geo., Greystonknowe, Auckland, New Zealand.
Fowlds, Miss A., Greystonknowe, Auckland, New Zealand.

NORWAY

Solnordal, Advocate Ole S., Christiania, Norway.

PERU

Algorito, Rev. Ruperto, Lima, Peru.

POLAND

Glass, M.
Golinska, Dr. Mme. Dazynska.
Praybyneurki, Wattes S., 1930 California Ave. N. W., Washington.

RUSSIA

Bakhmeteff, Boris.

SCOTLAND

Naismith, Wm. W., 57 Hamilton Drive, Glasgow.
Rea, Thomas, Mount Pleasant, Bothwell, Scotland.

SOUTH AFRICA

Cook, Dr. A. J., Muizenberg, South Africa.

SWEDEN

Björkman, Senator Alexis, Stockholm, Sweden.

URUGUAY

Acevedo, Dr. Varela, Montevideo, Uruguay.
Pusci, Francisco M., Montevideo, Uruguay.

UNITED STATES OFFICIAL DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS

Barkley, Hon. Alben W., *Representative from Kentucky*, Paducah, Kentucky.
Beane, Rev. Father J. G., *Pres. C. T. A. U.*, Pittsburgh, Pa.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Callahan, Col. P. H., Louisville, Ky.
Fess, Hon. S. D., *Representative from Ohio*.
Gordon, Miss Anna, *Pres. Nat'l W. C. T. U.*, Evanston, Ill.
Kelly, Dr. H. O., Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md.
Kenyon, Hon. William S., *Senator from Iowa*.
Milliken, Hon. Carl E., *Governor of Maine*, Augusta, Maine.
Russell, Dr. Howard H., *Ass. Gen. Supt., Anti-Saloon League*, Westerville, Ohio.
Stoddard, Miss Cora Frances, *Exec. Sec'y, Scientific Tem. Fed.*, Boston, Mass.
Yost, Mrs. L. L., *Legislative Supt. Nat'l W. C. T. U.*, Washington.

DELEGATES APPOINTED TO THE CONGRESS

STATE OF ALABAMA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Beckwith, Bishop C. M., Montgomery McCoy, Mrs. J. B., Birmingham
Craighead, Hon. Erwin, Mobile Partlow, Dr. W. D., Tuscaloosa
Crawford, Geo. Gordon, Birmingham Sanders, Mrs. W. T., Athens
Ledbetter, Mrs. E. W., Anniston Thomas, Judge W. H., Montgomery
Wyman, Dr. B. L., Birmingham.

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Branscomb, Dr. L. C. (*M. E. Church South*), Birmingham.
Jeffries, Mrs. Mary (*W. C. T. U.*), Birmingham.
Lokey, A. F. (*Alabama State Prohib. Comm.*), Birmingham.

STATE OF ARKANSAS

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Sellers, Chas. L., Little Rock.

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Dorsey, Mrs. Andrew (*W. C. T. U.*), Newport.
Fuller, Minnie V. Rutherford (*W. C. T. U.*), Empalve, Sonora, Mexico.
Graves, Mrs. Ruth (*W. C. T. U.*), Mansfield.
Logan, Mrs. Eskridge (*W. C. T. U.*), Prescott.
Markwell, Mrs. Lulu A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Little Rock.
Miller, Dr. A. C. (*M. E. Church South*), Little Rock.
Pittman, Mrs. Jennie C. (*W. C. T. U.*), Prescott.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Condit, Mr. Fillmore, Long Beach Dorr, Mrs. Sara J., San Francisco
Stoddard, Mrs. Helen M., Los Angeles.

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Thwing, Rev. E. W. (*International Reform Bureau*), Pasadena.
Whiting, Miss Theodosia (*W. C. T. U.*), San Francisco.
Warren, Kenyon, Pasadena.

STATE OF COLORADO

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Hungerford, Mrs. Adrienne, Denver Larson, Henry A.
Johnston, Mrs. Hobart, Denver Matthews, Estelle, Denver

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Phifer, Dr. W. C. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Denver, Colo.

LIST OF DELEGATES

STATE OF CONNECTICUT

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Brissmade, Jno. C., Washington	Holt, Thos., Newington
Cleaveland, Livingston W., New Haven	Minor, Mrs. Anna Rogers, Waterford
Goss, John H., Waterbury	Perry, John H., Southport
Hazen, Edward W., Haddam	Reed, Judge Joel H., Stafford Springs
Hohenthal, E. L. G., South Manchester	Root, Dr. Joseph E., Hartford
	Spooner, H. H., Kensington
	Tatem, John M., Eastford
Wilson, Mrs. Mary B., Plantsville.	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bachelor, Theodore (*W. C. T. U.*), West Willington.
 Baedor, Mrs. Anna R. (*Div. Sons of Temp.*), Hartford.
 Beach, Chas. L. (*Conn. Prohibition Committee*), Bridgeport.
 Boyle, Wm. D. (*Y. M. T. A. and B. Society*), New Britain.
 Brodin, August (*I. O. G. T. Grand Lodge*), 211 Fairview St., New Britain.
 Burr, Louis St. C. (*Conn. Proh. Committee*), West Center St., So. Manchester.
 Coe, Rev. Henry D. (*No. Bapt. Convcn.*), Bristol.
 Cook, Mrs. F. E. (*C. T. U. of Conn.*), 16 E. Main St., Waterbury.
 Darling, Mrs. F. Jeannette (*East Danbury W. C. T. U.*), 38 Homestead Ave., Danbury.
 Downs, Mrs. Alta H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Bethany.
 Engign, Josephy R. (*Conn. Temp. Union*), Simsbury.
 Fenner, Mrs. Geo. P. (*Conn. Proh. Com.*), New London.
 Fielder, Mrs. Edna (*W. C. T. U. of Conn.*), Danbury.
 Gordon, Mrs. David (*W. C. T. U.*), Hazardville.
 Hohenthal, E. L. G. (*Conn. Proh. Comm. and Nat'l Div. Sons*), South Manchester.
 Kehoe, T. H. (*St. Paul's T. A. B. Society*), New Britain.
 Lasher, Walter B. (*Conn. Temp. Union*), 607 Clinton Ave.
 Lynch, Wm. J. (*C. T. A. U.*), 136 South St., Danbury.
 Mansfield, Jas. H. (*Conn. Temp. Union*), West Cheshire.
 Marcy, Mrs. E. H. (*Great Plain W. C. T. U.*), Danbury.
 McCloskey, Thos. E. (*C. T. A. U. of A.*), Danbury.
 Murray, Alice (*C. T. A. U. of A.*), New Haven.
 Newton, Mrs. Hattie M. (*Conn. W. C. T. U.*), Durham.
 Nuttall, Miss Martha (*Sons of Temp.*), Hartford.
 O'Brien, Hon. Matthew (*Conn. Prohib. Comm.*), Bridgeport.
 Patcher, Mrs. Camelia, Danbury.
 Platt, Grace Curtiss (*Conn. W. C. T. U.*), Bridgeport.
 Richards, Mrs. Edward (*Conn. Prohib. Comm.*), Orange.
 Richter, Rev. G. E. (*Conn. Prohib. Comm.*), Darion.
 Robertson, J. T. (*Conn. Temp. Union*), Manchester.
 Schriver, Hon. Lester O. (*Conn. Prohib. Comm.*), Middletown.
 Tynan, John J. (*C. T. A. U. of A.*), Middletown.
 Welles, Mrs. Mary E. (*C. T. U. of Conn.*), Wethersfield.
 Welles, Mr. E. Stanley (*Conn. Temp. Union*), Newington.
 Woodman, Mrs. T. G. (*W. C. T. U.*), New Haven.

LIST OF DELEGATES

STATE OF DELAWARE

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Cordrey, Mrs. Ella D., Harrington McCrown, Mrs. Anna A., Middle-
 Donnell, Mrs. Mary B., Newark town
 Hoffeecker, Mrs. Clara A., Middle- Messick, Mrs. Lena M., Bridgeville
 town Pierce, Mrs. Georgia Grier, Milford
 Prettyman, E. C., 100 W. 8th St., Wilmington.

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Jones, Mrs. Elva (*Thacher W. C. T. U.*), Wilmington.
 Pierce, Mrs. James P. (*W. C. T. U.*), Milford.
 Sergeant, Mrs. Annie V. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wilmington.
 Theldrake, Mrs. John (*W. C. T. U.*), Harrington.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Alden, Russell (*United Lutheran Church of America*), Washington.
 Allison, Mrs. James A. (*Dist. Columbia W. C. T. U.*), Washington.
 Anderson, Mrs. E. E. (*Seventh Day Adv. Denom.*), Takoma Park.
 Andross, E. E. (*Seventh Day Adv. Denom.*), Takoma Park.
 Besson, Miss Adele N., 1329 14th St., N. W.
 Besson, E. John (*Anti-Saloon League*), 1329 14th St., N. W.
 Besson, J. F. (*Anti-Saloon League*), 1329 14th St., N. W.
 Bagby, Rev. Edward B. (*Brd. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), 1644 Park Rd.
 Bailey, Mrs. L. H. (*Georgetown W. C. T. U.*), Washington.
 Beesley, Thos. Q. (*Asst. to Committee of Congress*), Washington.
 Benhoff, Mary E. (*Anacostia W. C. T. U.*), 1345 Valley Place S. E.
 Bishop, Arthur G. (*Brd. of Temp. Welfare Ch. of Christ*), 325 10th N. E.
 Blaine, Suessa B. Mrs. (*American Exc. Comm.*), 1303 3rd St. N. W.
 Briggs, Rev. Jno. E. (*So. Bap. Conv., So. Bap.*), Washington.
 Brimer, Mrs. Ida (*Metropolitan W. C. T. U.*), Washington.
 Bryan, Rev. J. Franklin (*M. P. Ch. and D. C. Anti-Saloon League*), 19 9th S. E.
 Butler, Rev. Geo. A. (*Anti-Saloon League of D. C.*), 229 2nd S. E.
 Busher, Mrs. A. (*W. C. T. U.*), 3550 Warder St., N. W.
 Carroll, Prof. Mitchell, Ph. D. (*Int. Nat'l Reform Bu.*), Biltmore Apts.
 Carl, Mrs. Linnie (*Young People's Br. of W. C. T. U.*), Washington.
 Cave, Rev. P. A. (*Brd. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), 1010 Va. Ave. S. W.
 Chase, Fannie D. (*Seventh Day Adv.*), Takoma Park.
 Church, Laura R. (*Internat'l Order of G. T.*), 408 Clifton Terrace N. W.
 Clark, Lindley S., 1124 Park Rd. N. W.
 Clark, Rev. Lucius C., D. D. (*Int. Nat'l Reform Bu.*), Iowa Apts.
 Clark, Dora B. (*Bd. of Suppression of Liquor Traffic*), 1124 Park Rd.
 Coggin, Rev. J. N. C. (*Colored Bd. of Temp. Proh. and Public Morals*), 204
 Pa. Ave., S. E.
 Cooksey, P. J. (*Eagle Tent I. O. Rechabites*), 137 Thos. St. N. W.
 Crafts, Rev. Wilbur F., Ph.D. (*Int. Reform Bureau*), 206 Pa. Ave. S. E.
 Crafts, Mrs. Wilbur F. (*Int. Reform Bureau*), 206 Pa. Ave. S. E.
 Criswell, Mrs. Eva C. (*Emma Shelton W. C. T. U.*), 530 Shepherd St.
 Cusick, Mrs. Jennie (*Frances E. Willard Union W. C. T. U.*), 101 8th St. N. E.
 Dinwiddie, Rev. Edwin C., D. D. (*Lutheran Temp. Comm.*), 1802 Lamont St.
 Driscoll, Mrs. A. J. (*C. T. A. U. of A.*), 1210 M St.
 Drake, Rev. and Mrs. Linn (*Drexel Hill W. C. T. U.*), West Bradley Lane.
 Duncan, Rev. Geo. S., Ph. D. (*Int. Reform Bureau*), 2900 7th St. N. E.

Edgar, Mrs. J. A. (*Mt. Pleas. W. C. T. U.*), 1334 Harvard St.
 Edwards, Dr. John R. (*Bd. of Temp. Proh. and Pub. Morals*), McLachlen Bldg.
 Edwards, Jno. R. (*Bd. of Temp. M. E. Church*), 4403 Iowa Ave.
 Ellison, Everett M., 1720 M. Street.
 Eyre, Emma D. (*Makefield W. C. T. U.*), 2552 Tunlaw Rd.
 Farquhar, Mrs. Chas. (*Oakdale, Mont. Co. W. C. T. U.*), 1324 13th St.
 Fess, Hon. S. D. (Rep.) (*U. S. Official Delegate*), House of Rep., Washington.
 Fletcher, Mrs. Duncan U. (*Unitarian Temp. Society*), 1455 Mass. Ave.
 Forness, Miss Mary A. (*Unitarian Temp. Society*), 1654 Euclid St.
 Fox, H. P., 4037 New Hampshire Ave.
 Foster, Hugh B. (*United Society of Chris. End.*), 11 10th St. S. E.
 Galliher, Wm. T. (*Bd. of Temp. Proh. and Pub. Morals*), A. Nat'l Bank.
 Griffith, Mrs. Dorsey (*Laytonville Md. W. C. T. U.*), 3805 Georgia Ave.
 Gibb, Mrs. Wm. B. (*W. C. T. U. Eckington*), 2104 1st St. N. W.
 Gravener, Mrs. L. H., 1882 Columbia Rd.
 Hessler, Mrs. Mary A. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Haggerty, Wm. A., Ph. D. (*Anti-Saloon League of D. C.*), 509 3rd St. N. W.
 Haman, Rev. E. (*Catholic Clergy Proh. League*), 1908 N. Cap. St.
 Hayes, Mrs. Edward (*Meth. Epis. Church*), 808 11th St. N. E.
 Hayes, Rev. Edward (*Meth. Epis. Church*), 808 11th St. N. E.
 Heald, G. H., M. D. (*Seventh Day Adv.*), 38 Sycamore Ave., Takoma Park.
 Hiatt, J. Edgar (*Bd. on Supp. of Liquor Traffic*), 3116 13th St. N. W., Wash.
 Hissey, Mrs. Sadie E. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Hurdle, T. T. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Hutchison, Miss Jessie (*Nebraska W. C. T. U.*), 305 D St., Washington.
 Holmes, Rexford L. (*United Society of Chris. End.*), 321-3 Southern Bldg.
 Howell, W. E. (*Seventh Day Adv.*), Takoma Park.
 Hull, Mrs. M. C. (*N. W. W. C. T. U.*), The Iowa Apt. 13th and O Sts.
 Kelley, Rev. Dr. Joseph T. (*4th Pres. Church*), 417 E. Clifton Terrace.
 Kelly, Wm. B. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Kendall, Rev. A. B. (*A. C. Conv. Chris. Church*), 806 Taylor St. N. W.
 Koch, Irving L. (*United Society of Chris. End.*), 1440 R St. N. W.
 Kress, Dr. D. H. (*Am. Med. Soc. for Study of Alcohol and other Narcotics*),
 Takoma Park.
 Lathrop, Julia C. (*U. S. Dept. of Labor, Children's Bureau*), Washington.
 Latimer, Lee D. (*Anti-Saloon League of D. C.*), 1434 New York Ave. N. W.
 Lawson, Rosetta E. (*D. C. W. C. T. U. No. 2*), 2011 Vermont Ave. N. W.
 Leland, Mrs. Mary E., 1716 Penna. Ave.
 Lindley, D. Clark (*Bd. on Supp. of Liquor Traffic of 5 yrs. Meeting*), 1124 Pk. Rd.
 Lineback, Mrs. Benj. A. (*D. C. W. C. T. U.*), 27 U. St. N. W.
 Lipscomb, Wm P. (*Bd. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. Christ*), Apt. 105, The Ontario,
 Washington.
 Little, Miss C. (*So. East W. C. T. U.*), 647 Md. Ave. N. E.
 Longacre, Rev. Chas. S. (*Seventh Day Adventists*), 102 Park Ave., Takoma Park.
 Lyon, Wm. S., 2921 Ordway St. N. W.
 Mahoney, M. A. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 McDonald, Mrs. Lucy E. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 McDowell, Bishop Wm. F. (*Bd. Temp. Proh. & Pub. Morals*), 1509 16th St. N. W.
 Metz, W. R. (*Bd. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), Gov't Printing Office.
 Miller, Rev. Geo. A. (*Anti-Saloon League of D. C.*), 338 10th St. N. E.
 Moore, John E., 2713 P St. N. W.
 Morris, Miss Grace C. (*Columbia W. C. T. U.*), 3800 14th St., Apt. 411.
 Mulford, Mrs. Edith E. (*Georgetown W. C. T. U.*), 2552 Tunlaw Rd.
 Newman, R. W. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 O'Callaghan, Very Rev. P. J. (*Apostolic Mission; Treas. Cong.*) Apostolic Mission.
 Patterson, D. Stewart (*Bd. of Temp. M. E. Church*), 3921 Kansas Ave. N. W.

LIST OF DELEGATES

- Parks, Mrs. Isabella (*Hamlin W. C. T. U.*), 2463 6th St.
 Paulette, Mrs. R. H. (*W. C. T. U.*), 3728 Jocelyn St. Chevy Chase.
 Peery, Mrs. D. Carnahan (*W. C. T. U., Coburn, Va.*), 2100 Mass. Ave. N. W.
 Pickens, Mrs. Mary Drown (*Bd. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), 1831 Calif. St.
 Pickett, Deets (*Bd. of Temp. Proh. and Pub. Morals*), 204 Pa. Ave. S. E.
 Pierce, Rev. U. G. B., D. D. (*Unitarian Temp. Society*), 1748 Lamont St.
 Pollock, Mrs. N. M. (*D. C. W. C. T. U.*), 13 R St. N. E.
 Pryor, Miss Mary E. (*W. C. T. U. No. 2*), 1321 27th St. N. E.
 Ramsey, Mrs. W. H. (*Cap. Hill W. C. T. U.*), 813 Mass. Ave. N. E.
 Reed, David (*Int. Reform Bureau*), 206 Pa. Ave. S. E.
 Rohrer, Rev. Freeley (*Metropolitan Pres. Church*), 17 5th St. S. E.
 Robinson, W. J. H. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Ross, Mrs. I. N. (*A. M. E. Ch. Missionary Soc.*), 1615 15th.
 Scott, Mrs. Alma J. (*W. C. T. U., D. C., No. 2*), 389 Rhode Island Ave.
 Shoemaker, Albert E. (*Ind. Order of Good Templars*), Washington.
 Shoemaker, A. E. (*Md. and Va. Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), 631-33 Woodward Bldg., Washington.
 Silva, Felix M., 413 Randolph Street.
 Slayton, Miss Martha, Horseheads, N. Y.: 1669 Columbia Road.
 Smith, Rev. W. F. (*Bd. Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), 629 Park Rd.
 Smith, Walter F. (*Christian Church*), 449 Park Road.
 Snell, Mrs. Mary C. (*N. E. Suburban W. C. T. U.*), 2117 Kearney St. N. E.
 Solbach, Mrs. Leo W. (*Mt. Pleas. Y. P. B. of W. C. T. U.*), 3224 13th St. N. W.
 Sorrell, Richard H. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Sullivan, Mark, 86 Home Life Bldg.
 Steck, Rev. Charles F. (*Lutheran Church*), 1509 U St.
 Suter, Jesse C. (*I. O. G. T.*), Takoma Park, 7312 Blair Rd.
 Thompson, Fannie T. (*W. C. T. U.*), 411 T St. N. W.
 Thrift, Hugh A. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Union Trust Bldg.
 Tupper, Rev. Henry Allan, D. D. (*Com. on Social Service, So. Bap. Conv.*), Washington.
 Watson, Rev. E. O. (*Federal Council of Churches*), Washington.
 Wheeler, Wayne B. (*Anti-Saloon League of America*), 32 Bliss Bldg., Wash.
 Wilfley, Rev. Earle (*Bd. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), 1483 Harvard St.
 Williams, Mrs. E. V. C. (*W. C. T. U. No. 2*), 1523 Corcoran St. N. E.
 Williams, Rev. G. Ellis (*Bd. Temp. Proh. and Pub. Morals*), 4216 N. H. Ave.
 Williams, Chas. (*Ind. Order of Rechabites*), Washington.
 Williams, H. E. (*Com. on Temp. and Pub. Morals of Univ. Ch.*), The Rockingham.
 Williams, Mrs. Therie A. (*D. C. W. C. T. U.*), The Rockingham, Wash.
 Wilson, Andrew (*Anti-Saloon League of D. C.*), 804 Woodward Bldg.
 Wilson, Rev. Clarence True (*Fed. Council of Churches of Christ of A.*), 204 Pa. Ave. S. E.
 Wright, C. R., 1404 15th St. N. W.
 Wright, Mrs. C. R., 1404 15th St. N. W.

STATE OF FLORIDA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

- Garne, Mrs. Chas. Du, Coconut Webb, Frank, Chattahoochee
 Grove Neal, Minnie E., Jacksonville
 Dillard, J. L., Winter Garden

LIST OF DELEGATES

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Doig, Mrs. Nellie H. (*W. C. T. U. Fla.*), Archer.
LaMance, Mrs. Lora S. (*W. C. T. U. Fla.*), Lake Wales.
Lawrence, Mrs. Effie M. (*W. C. T. U. Fla.*), Coconut Grove.
Potts, Mary (*Sec'y of Fla. No. 2*), Sanford.
Preston, Mrs. Frances E. (*W. C. T. U. No. 2*) Sanford.
Reade, Mrs. Stephen F. (*St. Andre's Episcopal Ch.*), Fort Pierce.
Tilghman, W. G. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Palatke.
Usleman, C. T. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Jacksonville.

STATE OF GEORGIA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Armor, Mrs. Mary Harris, Crawfordville.	Magath, Mrs. Julius, Oxford.
Burghard, Mrs. August, Macon.	McElreath, Hon. Walter, Atlanta.
Dillard, Mrs. Lella, Emory University, Atlanta.	Stovall, Dr. A. S. J., Elberton.
Griffin, Miss M. Theresa, Columbus.	Thomas, Dr. J. A., Columbus.
Hardman, Hon. G. L., Commerce.	Upshaw, Hon W. D., Atlanta.
Harris, Gov. N. E., Macon	White, W. Woods, Atlanta.
Holder, Hon. John N., Jefferson.	Williams, Mrs. Marvin, Atlanta.
	Witham, W. S., Atlanta.
	Wright, Rev. J. B., Cairo

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Birdson, B. Otis, Hawkinsville.
Johnson, Dr. E. H. (*M. E. Church South*), Emory Univ., Atlanta.
Jones, Rev. Chas. O., D. D. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Atlanta.
Ledbetter, C. M. (*Anti-Saloon League of Ga.*), Waycross.
White, Mrs. F. A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Demorest.

STATE OF IDAHO

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Drake, Dr. Emma F. A., Boise	Stauffer, Mrs. Lina, Hope
McCrea, Mrs. Mabel J., Sandpoint	Wright, Rev. R. B., Boise

STATE OF ILLINOIS

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Addams, Miss Jane, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago	O'Callaghan, Very Rev. P. J., Chicago
Adler, Dr. Herman M., 1812 W. Polk St., Chicago	Read, Dr. Chas. F., Chicago State Hosp., Dunning
Gordon, Miss Anna, Pres., Natl. W. C. T. U., (<i>U. S. Official Delegate</i>), Evanston	Sears, Miss Amelia, 1305 Astor Street
Grimstead, Dr. Wm. F., Pres. S. M. S., Cairo	Singer, Dr. H. Douglas, Chicago State Hosp., Dunning
Hinton, Dr. Ralph T., Elgin State Hospital, Elgin	Wilson, Alonzo E., Wheaton
Michell, Dr. Geo. W., Peoria	Ward, Prof. Henry B., University of Ill., Urbana
Norbury, Dr. Frank P., Springfield.	Yarros, Dr. Rachel, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago
	Zeller, Dr. Geo. A., State Hosp., Alton.

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bennett, Wm. S. (*Committee Prom. Temp. Legislation*), Chicago.
Brankin, Mrs. Alila L. (*Knights of Father Mathew*), Joliet.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Brooks, Mrs. D. K. (*Knights of Father Mathew*), Chicago.
 Burke, Miss May (*Knights of Father Mathew*), Bloomington.
 Callahan, Mrs. Mary E. (*C. T. A. Union*), Chicago.
 Carney, Mary A. (*Knights of Father Mathew*), Chicago.
 Christgau, Mrs. Elsie (*W. C. T. U.*), Glen Ellyn.
 Christgau, O. G. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Glen Ellyn.
 Clee, Robert E. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Chicago.
 Deane, Miss Julia F. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Ebbert, Frank (*Anti-Saloon League*), Washington.
 Foley, Miss Mary (*C. T. A. Union*), Chicago.
 Gordon, Miss Anna A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Gordon, Miss E. P. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Hinshaw, Virgil G. (*Prohibition Committee*), LeGrange.
 Hoening, W. B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Hood, Miss Helen L. (*W. C. T. U.*), Chicago.
 Horning, Mrs. M. B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Irish, Mr. Hugh (*Temp. Comm., M. E. Church*), Tennessee.
 Irish, Mrs. Hugh (*Temp. Comm., M. E. Church*), Tennessee.
 Meany, Mrs. Catherine (*Ladies Aux. to Knights of Father Mathew*), Springfield.
 McBride, F. Scott (*Anti-Saloon League of Ill.*), Chicago.
 Milner, Rev. Duncan C. (*State of Ill. and Presby. Ch.*), Chicago.
 Minns, Margaret C. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Norton, Mrs. Thomas (*Catholic Total Abstinence*), Joliet.
 Norton, Mrs. Barbara (*C. T. A. Union*), Chicago.
 O'Connor, Alida H. (*C. T. A. Union*), Chicago.
 Parks, Mrs. Frances P. (*W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Phillips, Vernon L. Mrs. (*Inter-Collegiate Proh. Asso.*), Chicago.
 Platt, Margaret B. (*Nat'l W. C. T. U.*), Evanston.
 Post, Alice Thacher (*Jane Adams, Hull House*), Chicago.
 Schmitz, Mrs. J. A. (*Total Abstinence Society*), Chicago.
 Scrogin, A. J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Lexington.
 Shaw, Mrs. and Mr. Mark B. (*Inter-Collegiate Proh. Assoc.*), Chicago.
 Shaw, Mrs. Elton R. (*Inter-Collegiate Proh. Assoc.*), Chicago.
 Sheedy, Miss Ella (*Catholic Total Abstinence*), Chicago.
 Whelan, Miss Mary (*Catholic Total Abstinence*), Chicago.
 Williams, Dr. Elmer Lynn (*Inter-Collegiate Proh. Assoc.*), Chicago.

STATE OF INDIANA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Bowser, S. F., Fort Wayne	Minton, Carl Atty., Indianapolis
Campbell, John, South Bend	Nicholson, S. E., Richmond
Clark, Edward W., Indianapolis	Schmidt, J. Raymond, Indianapolis
Haynes, Elwood, Kokomo	Sears, Miss Clara M., Indianapolis
McNaught, S. P., Indianapolis	Shumaker, Dr. E. S., Indianapolis
Vayhinger, Mrs. Cullia J., Uland.	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Aldrich, Maude M. (*Presbyterian Church*), Winona Lake.
 Everson, Chas. J. (*Ind. Anti-Saloon League*), Indianapolis.
 Dugnid, Mrs. Wilson (*W. C. T. U.*), Ray.
 Geary, Mrs. Alice G. (*Grant Co. W. C. T. U.*), Marion.
 Hobbs, Mrs. C. M. (*Hamilton Co. W. C. T. U.*), Carmel.
 McNeil, Hallie (*Flying Squadron Foundation*), Indianapolis.
 Miles, Ethan A. (*Indiana Anti-Saloon League*), Indianapolis.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Nicholson, S. E. (*Bd. of Suppression of Liquor Traffic*), Richmond.
 Robinson, D., Indianapolis.
 Schmidt, J. Raymond (*Int.-C. Proh. Assoc.*), Indianapolis.
 Stanley, Mrs. Elizabeth (*Ind. W. C. T. U.*), Liberty.
 Stewart, Oliver Wayne (*Flying Squadron Foundation*), Indianapolis.
 Zweier, Jeannette (*Flying Squadron Foundation*), Indianapolis.

STATE OF IOWA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Hill, Mrs. Ella M., Des Moines	McBeth, P. H., Des Moines
Hollister, Miss Louise E., Davenport	Patterson, Mrs. M. E., Sioux City
Kamrar, Hon. J. L., Webster City	Pilkington, W. J., Des Moines
Kenyon, Hon. Wm. S., (<i>U. S. Official Delegate</i>), Washington, D. C.	Sawyer, H. H., Des Moines
MacEachron, Hon. A. E., Goldfield	Smith, Mrs. Ida B. Wise, Cedar Rapids

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Ballenger, Carrie L. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Council Bluffs.
 Brownson, E. J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Des Moines.
 Carhort, L. D. (*W. C. T. U.*), Marion.
 Dickinson, Hon. L. J. (*Congregational Ch. of Algona*), Algona.
 Edworthy, Annie M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Des Moines.
 Holsaple, R. N. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Des Moines.
 Kearney, Agnes E. (*C. T. A. U. of A., Dubuque Tourist Club*), Dubuque.
 McMillan, C. N. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Sioux City.
 McBeth, P. H. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Des Moines.
 Park, L. E. (*W. C. T. U.*) Waterloo.
 Shadle, Lucile W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Des Moines.

STATE OF KANSAS

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Capper, Hon. Arthur, Topeka	Mitchner, Mrs. Lillian M., Topeka
Chandler, Mr. C. Q., Wichita	Hodges, Hon. Geo. H., Olathe
Condit, H. S., Topeka	Howell, Mr. W. H., Alton
Floyd, C. W., Sedan	Marble, Hon. Geo. W., Fort Scott
Grant, Rev. A. H., Achison	Schoonover, Judge Mansfield, Garnett
Sibbett, Mrs. Mary E., Wichita.	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Martin, Laurretta (*Knights of Father Mathew*), Kansas City.
 Martin, Mrs. Richard, Kansas City.

STATE OF KENTUCKY

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Barkley, Hon. Alben W., (<i>U. S. Official Delegate</i>), Paducah	Boyd, H. M., Waynesburg
Beauchamp, Mrs. Frances, Fayette Park, Lexington	Callahan, Col. P. H., Louisville

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Fannie, T. N. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Ashland.
 Fultz, Mrs. Hampden, Louisville.
 Gibbs, Mrs. Guy (*Callettsburg, Ky., W. C. T. U.*), Paintsville.
 Hunston, Mrs. Lora T. (*W. C. T. U.*), Campbellsburg.
 Irwin, Anna Flora (*W. C. T. U.*), Ashland.
 Jones, Miss Juanita (*W. C. T. U.*), Wilmore.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Morrison, Dr. Henry C (*M. E. Church South*), Wilmore.
 Pickett, Mrs. Ludie Day, Wilmore.
 Riffe, Miss Mearle (*Third Dist. W. C. T. U.*), Bowling Green.
 Sams, Melvin, Campbellsburgh.
 Sams, Mrs. Lora T. Hunston, Campbellsburgh.
 Shannon, Mrs. Rena (*W. C. T. U.*), Lexington.
 Taylor, Norah B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Lexington.
 Weber, Dr. J. L. (*Tenn. Anti-Saloon League*), Paducah.
 Wheeler, Mrs. Anna B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Lexington.

STATE OF LOUISIANA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Barr, Dr. J. C., New Orleans	Jones, Dr. Caluse L., Shreveport
Barton, Dr. A. J., Alexandria	Managan, W. H., West Lake
Bebout, L. L., New Orleans	Morton, O. B., Monroe
Causey, I. M., Baton Rouge	Parsons, J. W., Mansfield
Girard, Crow, LaFayette	Saxon, Dr. Geo., Shreveport
Haas, W. D., Alexandria	Sunney, Dr. Geo., New Orleans
Hall, W. P., Shreveport	Turner, Dr. A. W., Shreveport
Joffrion, W. J., Marksville	White, H. H., Alexandria

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Jones, R. E. Bishop (*M. E. Church, New Orleans*), New Orleans.

STATE OF MAINE

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Bass, Mrs. Geo. H. (<i>W. C. T. U.</i>), Wilton	Leavitt, Mrs. Gertrude Stevens (<i>W. C. T. U.</i>), Portland
Bates, Mrs. Philip L., Searsport	Libby, Mrs. J. R., Portland
Berry, Rev. W. F., Waterville	MacAndres, Mrs. Jennie, Calais
Butler, Hon. Whiting L., Farmington	MacDonald, Rev. A. M., Bar Harbor
Carlson, Rev., Helen H. H., Paris	Milliken, Hon. Carl E., Augusta
Coburn, Miss Louise H., Skowhegan	Oliver, Wilbur C., Bath
Dow, Hon. Fred N., Portland	Owen, Rev. C. E., Waterville
Dunbarr, Hon. Kendall M., Damariscotta	Pike, Hon. B. M., Lubec
Estes, Mrs. M. D., Island Falls	Quimby, Mrs. Althea G., North Turner
Fuller, Hon. W. O., Rockland	Ranger, Rev. J. B., Presque Isle
Hamlin, Hon. E. M., Milo	Shapleigh, Miss Amelia (<i>W. C. T. U.</i>), West Lebanon
Jorden, Elwyn K., Alfred	Whechter, Hon. Alton C., South Paris
Whiting, Hon. L. Butler, Farmington	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bigney, Mrs. Alice M. (*W. C. T. U. of Maine*), Greenville.

STATE OF MARYLAND

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Kelly, Dr. H. O. (*U. S. Official Delegate*), Baltimore.

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bailey, M. G. (Mrs. A. D.) (*Hyattsville, W. C. T. U.*), Bladensburg.
 Barnes, Rev. O. C. (*Bd. Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), Rockville.
 Bourdeau-Sisco, Dr. (*Md. W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Baylor, W. H. (*So. Baptist Conv.*), Baltimore.
 Brown, Mrs. J. Frank (*W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Byrd, Miss Elsie Mae, Dawsonville.
 Carnes, Mrs. M. F., Rowland Ave., Baltimore.
 Clark, Rev. Chas. (*Temp. and Public Morals*), Baltimore.
 Cochran, Wm. F. (*Fed. Council of Churches of Christ*), Baltimore.
 Cochran, Rev. Clarence H. (*East Hartford M. E. Church*), Abingdon.
 Conoway, Chas. S. (*I. O. G. T.*), Woodbine.
 Cooper, Mrs. Emma K., Chevy Chase.
 Crabbe, G. W. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Baltimore.
 Crabbe, Mrs. G. W. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Baltimore.
 Crew, Acca V. (*Fairlee W. C. T. U., Md.*), Washington.
 Davis, Larence H. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Baltimore.
 Day, Titus J. (*Bamacus Lodge No. 199 I. O. G. T.*), Monrovia.
 Dove, Miss Ida S., Rockville.
 Dulaney, H. S. (*Md. Anti-Saloon League*), Baltimore.
 Fogle, Miss Ethel I. (*W. C. T. U.*), Woodsboro.
 Fowble, Mrs. F. S. (*W. C. T. U.*), Reistertown.
 Gottwale, Mrs. Emily K. (*N. Cap. W. C. T. U.*), Riverdale.
 Hammond, Florence A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Harris, Dr. Carlton D. (*M. E. Church South*), Baltimore.
 Haslup, Mrs. Mary R. (*W. C. T. U. Md.*), Baltimore.
 Higgins, Frank (*Mont. Co. Anti-Saloon League*), Rockville.
 Herr, Emily A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Westminster.
 Hill, Grace M. (*Md. No. 2 W. C. T. U.*), Petersville.
 Hill, Mrs. Margaret Peck (*W. C. T. U.*), Petersville.
 Hillegeist, Henry L., Baltimore.
 Holmes, Mrs. Pauline W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Hoot, Mrs. Chas. W. (*"Elim" W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Jones, Mrs. Harry C. (*Sons of Temp.*), Baltimore.
 Johnston, Rev. Hugh (*First M. E. Church*), Baltimore.
 Knipp, J. Edgar (*Oton Proh. League*), Baltimore.
 Keen, Mrs. Martin P. (*N. E. Balt. W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 King, Jesse P. (*I. O. G. T.*), Mt. Airy.
 King, Mrs. J. K. (*Va. and Md. Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Mt. Airy.
 Levering, Joshua (*World Federation*), Baltimore.
 Lyons, Rev. A. O., Bethesda.
 Massey, Mrs. Emile T. (*W. C. T. U.*), Sandy Spring.
 McCormick, Rev. H. P. (*Com. on Social Service So. Baptist Conv.*), Baltimore.
 Mills, J. Bibb (*Anti-Saloon League of Md.*), Baltimore.
 Neave, Samuel R. (*Bd. of Suppression L. T.*), Hughesville.
 Norris, Wm. T. (*Proh. Committee of Md.*), Baltimore.
 Parker, John N. (*Bd. of Supp. of Liquor Traffic*), Baltimore.
 Parrish, Rev. Wm. E. (*M. E. Church of Cumberland*), Cumberland.
 Porter, Lydia S. (*Md. No. 2 W. C. T. U.*), Bladenburg.
 Prettyman, E. C. (*Md. Anti-Saloon League*), Baltimore.
 Rawlius, Joshua S. (*Sons of Temp.*), Baltimore.
 Shelton, Mrs. Emma Sanford (*W. C. T. U.*), Chevy Chase.
 Sheets, Fred A., Kensington.
 Shipley, Mrs. D. G. (*Carroll Co. W. C. T. U.*), Westminster.
 Shoemaker, Fannie (*Fidelity Lodge Good Templars*), Friendship Heights.
 Sisco, H. N. (*W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Sisco, Dr. P. S. Brodeau (*World's W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Starr, Annie D., Rowland Pk., Baltimore.
 Stewart, Mrs. Milton (*W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Thomas, John C. (*Bd. of Supp. of Liquor Traffic*), Baltimore.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Thomas, Mrs. Wm. E. (*Md. W. C. T. U.*), Baltimore.
 Thompson, Chas. (*Seventh Day Adv.*), Takoma Park.
 Veirs, Miss Nannie, Rockville.
 Veris, Miss Blanche, Rockville.
 Walker, Winnie H. (*Susquehanna Br. W. C. T. U.*), Havre de Grace.
 Walker, Mrs. Oleita (*Susquehanna Br. W. C. T. U.*), Havre de Grace.
 Williams, A. J. (*Md. Anti-Saloon League*), Baltimore.
 Willison, Mrs. Chas. C. (*Cumberland, Md. W. C. T. U.*), Cumberland.
 Wilson, Alfred (*Fidelity Lodge I. O. G. T. of Bethesda*), Bethesda.

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Davis, Arthur J., 344 Tremont St., Rutledge, Rev. Lyman V., (*Anti-S. L. Boston & Unitarian Temp. Soc.*), Boston
 Gleason, Mrs. Ella F. (*W. C. T. U.*), Stoddard, Miss Cora Frances, (*U. S. Boston Official Delegate & T. Fed.*), Boston

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Brady, Edward W. (*St. John's T. A. and M. A. S.*), Clinton.
 Brant, Rev. John F. (*International Reform Bureau*), Brookline.
 Cassidy, Rt. Rev. Monsignor James E. (*T. A. L. of A.*), Fall River.
 Corcoran, Lawrence (*Boston Prohibition Com.*), Brookline.
 Dustin, Rev. Alfred S. (*First Cong. Church*), Berlin.
 Dustin, Mrs. A. S. (*First Cong. Church*), Berlin.
 Forness, Mary A. (*Unitarian Temp. Society*), Peabody.
 Fosdick, F. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Fitchburg.
 Foster, Ralph W., Boston.
 Frost, Mrs. Elizabeth (*Mass. Federation State Com.*), Roslindale.
 Grenay, Robt. J. (*W. C. T. U.*), Holyoke.
 Haig, Rev. Adadourian (*Second Congregational Church*), Plymouth.
 Haskell, Col. Edward H. (*Federal Council of Churches*), Boston.
 Jacquemet, Joseph Amedee (*Total Abstinence Soc.*), Fall River.
 Jones, Miss Laura A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wellesley Farms, Mass.
 King, Deleevare (*Scientific Temp. Union*), Boston.
 Lewis, John B. (*Prohibition Nat'l Com.*), Reading.
 Lewis, Mrs. J. B. (*Nat'l Prohibition Association*), Reading.
 Lawson, Rev. George A. (*Sons of Temperance*), Somerville.
 Magow, Mrs. N. O. (*Mass. Prohibition State Com.*), Lawrence.
 Man, Jeannette H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Boston.
 Manor, Mrs. Jeannette H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Boston.
 Merritt, Arthur H. (*Scientific Temperance Federation*), Boston.
 Nicholls, Jno. A. (*International Reform Bureau*), Boston.
 Peabody, Mrs. Henry W. (*Hon. Committee*), Beverly.
 Rand, Dr. N. Louise (*Garden City Y. P. B.*), Boston.
 Reedy, Mary J. (*W. C. T. U.*), Roxbury.
 Reid, David (*International Reform Bureau*), Boston.
 Roller, G. H. (*Harvard University*), Cambridge.
 Ropes, Mrs. Alice G. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wellston.
 Rosselle, Rev. W. Quay, Ph.D. (*Northern Baptist Con.*), Malden.
 Santore, John (*North End Y. P. B.*), Boston.
 Saurusaüter, Rev. P. P. (*Lithuanian Total Abstinence*), Lawrence.
 Sherman, C. R. (*Visitor*), Williamstown.
 Sutcliff, Albert (*Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Boston.
 Sherman, Elizabeth J. (*W. C. T. U.*), Framingham.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Tompson, Joseph H. (*Mass. Prohibition State Com.*), Attleboro.
Transeau, Mrs. Emma L. (*Scientific Temp. Fed.*), Boston.
Waldron, Rev. John D. (*Rising Hope Lodge No. 22 I. O. G. T.*), Mattapoisett.
Weeks, Albion A. (*Prohibition State Com.*), Cambridge.
Wills, Miss Edith (*Scientific Temp. Federation*), Boston.

STATE OF MICHIGAN

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Calkins, Mrs. E. L., Ypsilanti	Kinney, Mrs. Jane, Port Huron
Christian, Hen. D. M., Owesse	Kresge, S. S., Detroit
Crane, Mrs. Caroline Bartlett, Kalamazoo	Lovett, W. P., Detroit
Haller, Rev. J. G., Durand	Meade, Hon. A. F., Battle Creek
Hanley, Mrs. Ella E., Bad Axe	Scaddon, Hon. Frank, Crystal Falls
Hatten, C. Ray., Grand Rapids	Scott, Richard H., Lansing
Holcomb, Hon. Martin, Grand Rapids	Woodworth, Geo. L., Iron River

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Jones, Matie (*W. C. T. U.*), Detroit.
Kellogg, J. H., M. D., Battle Creek.
Lockwood, Myrtia E. (*W. C. T. U.*), Holly.
Perkins, Elizabeth A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Ann Arbor.
Shaw, Rev. Etta Sadler (*W. C. T. U.*), Grand Rapids.
Shaw, Lissa V. (*W. C. T. U.*), Grand Rapids.
Waltman, W. V. (*Anti-Saloon League of Mich.*), Lansing.

STATE OF MINNESOTA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Dick, Rev. T. J., Jackson	Johnson, William L., St. Paul
Guyman, Rev. S. M., Minneapolis	LaDu, Mrs. C. W., Minneapolis
Hendrix, Miss Rozette, Minneapolis	Mandigo, Mrs. Della R., St. Paul
Safford, G. B., Minneapolis.	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Freeman, Rev. James E., D. D. (*Church Temp. Society*), Minneapolis.
Geyman, Rev. Adam (*Minnesota Anti-Saloon League*), Minneapolis.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Alexander, Mrs. C. H., Jackson	Hobbs, Mrs. B. T., Brookhaven
Anderson, A. C., Ripley	Johnson, J. L., Hattiesburg
Bailey, Dr. T. J., Jackson	McGehee, Mrs. Marjorie, Swan Lake
Clark, Frances, Meridian	More, Rev. J. M., Jackson
Crisler, Dr Chas. W., Jackson	Patton, Hon. W. H., Shubuta
Enochs, H. P., Fernwood	Russell, Mrs. Lee H., Jackson
Franklin, Hon. L. C., Clarksdale	Taylor, Hon. S. J., Jackson
Watkins, Hon. H. V., Jackson.	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Archer, Mrs. George, Greenville.

LIST OF DELEGATES

STATE OF MISSOURI

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Ball, Hon. J. Elmer, St. Louis	Gwatkin, Rev. W. E. Macon
Burger, Mrs. Nellie, Springfield	Hay, Hon. Chas. M., St. Louis
Faris, H. P., Clinton	Shauer, Miss Roena E., Jackson
Fleet, Dr. R. R., Liberty, Wm. Jewell College	Shupp, Rev. W. C. St. Louis
	Whitlock, Rev. Chas F., Monett

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Drummond, Mrs. J. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Janesport.
Fitzgerald, Miss Nellie (*Ladies' Aux. to K. of F. M.*), Kansas City.
Grace, Mrs. Mary Sharp (*Ladies' Aux. to K. of F. M.*), St. Louis.
Haw, Dr. M. T. (*M. E. Church South*), St. Louis.
Hickson, Miss Sally (*Ladies' Aux. to K. of F. M.*), Kansas City.
Hogan, Mrs. Mary (*Ladies' Aux. to K. of F. M.*), St. Louis.
Kelly, Miss Katherine (*C. T. A. U.*), Kansas City.
Kirchner, Miss Lena (*Ladies' Aux. to K. of F. M.*), Kansas City.
Martin, Dr. Daniel (*M. E. Church South*), St. Joseph.
Middleton, Mrs. Lizzie (*World's W. C. T. U.*), Kansas City.
Murphy, Mrs. Anna Grier (*C. T. A. U.*), Kansas City.

STATE OF NEBRASKA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Callfas, Dr. Jas. F., Omaha	Lindley, E. E., Hastings
Claffin, Maurice M., Lincoln	Roberts, Agnes D., Omaha
Currie, J. H., Bradshaw	Seibert, Mary L., Chapman
Dyar, Lela G., Boone	Stebbins, Wm., Gothenburg
Haskell, John, Wakefield	Vance, Harriet, Alliance
Joslyn, Mrs. Geo., Omaha	Warrick, S. K., Scotts Bluffs

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bryan, Hon. William Jennings (*Speaker at Congress*), Lincoln.
Hutchison, Jessie E. (*W. C. T. U.*), Omaha.
High, F. A. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Lincoln.
Starett, Mrs. Emma L. (*World's W. C. T. U.*), Central City.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Abbott, Mrs. Charline M., Rochester	Robbins, Rev. J. H., Concord
Partridge, Miss Mary E., Claremont	Spaulding, Hon. Rolland R., Roches- ter

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Sanborn, Mrs. Clara H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Portsmouth.

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Demarest, Mrs. Isabelle H. (*Also W. C. T. U.*), Closter
Rosewater, Dr. Chas. A., Newark

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Acken, William C. (*Sons of Temperance*), Metuchen.
Ackerman, Mrs. Ethel S. (*W. C. T. U.*), Closter
Ackerson, Mrs. S. S. (*W. C. T. U.*), Newton.
Booth, Mrs. J. H., Arlington.
Bird, Eunice, Passaic.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Bourne, Mrs. Emma. (*W. C. T. U.*), South Orange.
 Brown, Mrs. A. Iwan (*W. C. T. U.*), Passaic.
 Chaplin, Mrs. Clara M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Haddonfield.
 Cramer, Mrs. Elizabeth, Camden.
 Dawson, Rev. Edward (*Com. Public Morals Refd. Ch.*), Passaic.
 Elfreth, Esther II. (*W. C. T. U.*), Haddonfield.
 England, Hannah R., Woodstown.
 Gardiner, Miss Elizabeth (*W. C. T. U.*), Mullica Hill.
 Gebhardt, Mrs. E. E. (*W. C. T. U.*), Clinton.
 George, Anna P. (*W. C. T. U.*), Montclair.
 Gibson, Mrs. Laura C. (*W. C. T. U.*), Bridgeton.
 Gibson, Hugh C., Kearney.
 Green, Joseph J. (*Sons of Temperance*), West Collingswood.
 Haines, Jno. B. (*Pitman M. E. Church*), Pitman.
 Halverson, T. J. (*Nat'l Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Bloomfield.
 Hartman, Mrs. Nettie (*W. C. T. U.*), Dividing Creek.
 Heddin, Clarence H. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Newark.
 Heddin, Mrs. Clarence (*Anti-Saloon League*), Newark.
 Hill, Miss Eliz. G. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Gloucester.
 Houston, Laura A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Trenton.
 Johnson, Mrs. S. N. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wenonah.
 Jones, Baltus (*I. O. G. T. Grand Lodge of N. J.*), Little Falls.
 Keppenall, Jacob (*I. O. G. T. Grand Lodge of N. J.*), Passaic.
 Knox, Rev. Wm. A. (*Simpson M. E. Church*), Paterson.
 Lacy, Mrs. William F. (*W. C. T. U.*), Camden.
 Lines, Rt. Rev. Edwin S. (*Church Temp. Society*), Newark.
 Lunger, S. H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Netcong.
 McNeil, D. W. (*I. O. G. T. Grand Lodge of N. J.*), Paterson.
 Mathias, Miss Elmer A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Asbury Park.
 Munson, G. Rowland (*Anti-Saloon League of N. J.*), Newark.
 Munson, Mrs. M. L. (*W. C. T. U.*), Atlantic City.
 O'Halleran, Miss Margaret, Highwood.
 Perine, Mrs. Mary E., Orange.
 Pritchard, Harriet (*W. C. T. U.*), Montclair.
 Rigdon, Mrs. A. C., Ridgewood.
 Shields, Jas. K. (*Anti-Saloon League of America*), Maplewood.
 Smock, Mrs. S. S., Wickatunk.
 Spence, Alex. (*I. O. G. T. Grand Lodge of N. J.*), Newark.
 Steele, Rev. James Dallas, D. D. (*Presbyterian Church*), Passaic.
 Thulander, A. E. (*N. Y. Scandinavian Gr. Lodge I. O. G. T.*), E. Orange.
 Van Deventer, Mrs. Lucy (*W. C. T. U.*), Ocean Grove.
 Washabaugh, Rev. J. E. (*M. E. Church and W. C. T. U.*), Washington.
 Watts, Rev. Joseph W. (*Holy Trinity Church*), Ocean City.

STATE OF NEW MEXICO

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Farley, Russell. McIntoch, New Mexico Strunquist, Anna Wilds, Albuquerque

STATE OF NEW YORK

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Bailey, Dr. Pierce, Katonah Finley, Dr. John, Albany
 Estelle, Miss Helen C. H., Pough-keepsie Jewett, Dr. Stephen Perham, New York City

LIST OF DELEGATES

- Iglehart, Dr. Ferdinand (*Com. on Temp. Legislation*), New York City.
- Jacobson, H. M. (*Nat'l Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), New York, 35 William St.
- Jewett, Mrs. Stephen P., New York, 1200 Madison Ave.
- Joy, James R. (*Editor Christian Advocate*), New York, 150 5th Ave.
- Kelly, Miss Mary A. Greenpoint. 198 Milton St.
- Kimball, Alfred R. (*Fed. Council of Churches*), New York, 105 E. 22nd St.
- Kress, Samuel F., Corning, 19 Jennings St.
- Kuhn, Frances J. (*C. T. A. U. of America*), New York, 68 Amsterdam Ave.
- Labey, Miss Lucy (*C. T. A. U. of America*), New York, 150 E. 48th St.
- Lawson, Rev. Albert G. (*Fed. Council of Churches*), New York, 2041 5th Ave.
- Lathridge, Dr. Wm. E. (*Nat'l Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Watervliet, N. Y.
- Leddy, Miss Mary A. (*C. T. A. U. of America*), New York, 918 9th Ave.
- Leonard, Miss Julia, New York 165 W. 62nd St.
- Lindsay, Carolyn P. (*W. C. T. U.*), Albany, 414 Western Ave.
- Mason, Dr. L. D. (*Am. Med. Soc. for the Study of Alcohol and Other Narcotics*), Brooklyn, 171 Joralemon St.
- MacFarland, Rev. Chas. S. (*Fed Coun. of Churches*), New York, 105 E. 22nd St.
- Madden, Mrs. John T., New York. 355 W. 57th St.
- McKee, John (*Prohib. State Comm. of N. Y.*), Brooklyn, 113 Columbia Hts.
- Miller, Mrs. Helen Andress (*W. C. T. U.*), Albany, 40 N. Allen St.
- Miller, Rev. O. R. (*New York Civic League*). Albany, 452 Broadway.
- Mullen, Lettie (*C. T. A. U. of America*), New York, 442 W. 37th St.
- Nearing, Mrs. E. A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Oneonta, N. Y.
- Needham, Mrs. Clara C. (*W. C. T. U.*), Roscoe, N Y
- Oldney, Anna E. (*World Prohib. Fed.*), New York, 289 4th Ave.
- Oldney, Mrs. C. S. (*World Prohib. Fed.*), Brooklyn, 480 Grand Ave.
- Peck, Rev. George W. (*New York Civic League*), Buffalo, 30 Baynes St.
- Perkins, Maude B. (*Young People's Br. W. C. T. U.*), Syracuse, 114 W. Ellis.
- Phillips, Vernon L. (*Inter-Col. Prohib. Fed.*), New York, 289 4th Ave.
- Phillips, Mrs. Vernon L. (*Inter-Col. Prohib. Fed.*), New York, 289 4th Ave.
- Pinochet, Tancredo (*Chilean Gov't and Anti-Saloon League*), New York, 310 Lexington.
- Poling, Daniel A. (*Unit. Soc. Chris. End.*), Port Washington, N. Y.
- Rector, Rev. M. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Stockton, N. Y.
- Roper, Daniel C., New York City.
- Roper, Mrs. Daniel C., New York City.
- Rogers, Albert R. (*Fed. Council of Churches*), New York, 233 Broadway.
- Schieffelin, Wm. Jay (*Epis. Ch. Temp. Soc.*), New York, 171 William St
- Schmitz, Miss Maria (*C. T. A. U.*), Brooklyn, 174 St. John's Pl.
- Stapleton, Mrs. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), New York. 444 W. 57th St.
- Starbuck, Mrs. E. (*W. C. T. U.*), Hillside, N. Y.
- Stelzle, Rev. Chas. (*Fed Coun. of Churches*), New York, Rm. 160 16th floor Metropolitan Bldg.
- Stenburg, Gotfried (*Nat'l Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Richmond Hill, 10434 111th St.
- Stires, Rev. E. M., D. D. (*Epis. Ch. Temp. Soc.*), New York, 3 W. 53rd St.
- Stockard, Chas. R., Cornell Medical College, New York City.
- Thorne, Hugo (*N. Y. Scan. G. L. I. O. G. T.*), Richmond Hill, New York.
- Tsiang, Leo (*Inter-Col. Prohib. Assn.*), New York, 415 W. 115th St.
- Van Valkenburg, Mrs. Ida (*W. C. T. U.*), Albany, N. Y.
- Ward, Rev. Henry, D. D. (*I. O. G. T. Grand Lodge*), Buffalo, 37 Tioga Ave.
- Waht, Miss Mary, New York, 400 W. 58th St.
- Watson, Rev. Robert, D. D. (*Inter. Reform Bureau*), 3 W. 95th St., New York.
- Wellman, Harry E. (*Nat'l G. Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Kendall, N. Y.
- Wilber, Miss Mary A. (*W. C. T. U.*), Delanson, N. Y.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Wilcox, Rev. J. Foster (*Northern Bapt. Conv.*), New York, 23 E. 26th St.
 Wood, Mrs. Mary B. (*W. C. T. U. of N. Y.*), Ithaca, 507 Tioga St.
 Wood, Rev. Hervey (*Native Races Anti-Liquor Traffic Com.*), N. Y., 23 E. 26th St.
 Zurcher, Rev. George (*Prohib. State Com.*), North Evans, N. Y.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Bain, Rev. E. L., Greensboro	McBrayer, Dr. L. B., Sanatorium
Cotton, Mrs. M. E., Red Springs	Poteat, Wm. Louis, Wake Forest
Dixon, Miss Eula, Snow Camp	Rotter, Rev. Sanford L., Monroe
Goodno, Mrs. T. Adelaide, Greensboro	Shaw, W. T., Weldon
Harper, Dr. W. A., Elon College	Sprunt, W. A., Wilmington

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bledsoe, Miss Amorette (*Anti-Saloon League*), Raleigh.
 Boren, W. C. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Greensboro.
 Cannon, Bishop James, Jr. (*M. E. Church South*), Lake Junaluska.
 Carr, Gen. Julian S. (*M. E. Church South*), Durham.
 Cooper, W. B. (*Anti-Saloon League of America*), Wilmington.
 Davis, Rev. R. L. (*Anti-Saloon League of N. C.*), Raleigh.
 Dixon, D. H. (*Anti-Saloon League of N. C.*), Goldsboro.
 Lambeth, Rev. W. A. (*Anti-Saloon League of N. C.*), High Point.
 Lance, Rev. Chas. M., Rosemary.
 Peele, Rev. W. W., Raleigh.
 Usleman, Rev. O. T. (*Anti-Saloon League of N. C.*), Raleigh.

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Anderson, Mrs. Elizabeth Preston, Fargo	Quigley, Dr. G. H., Bismarck
Hutcheson, Dr. W. J., Grand Forks	Watkins, F. L., Bismarck

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Boughton, Mrs. Emir Best (*W. C. T. U.*), Route B., Washington, D. C.
 Lean, Mrs. Anna R., Cando.
 Reed, Mrs. Walter R. (*W. C. T. U.*), Fargo.
 Wilder, Mrs. Kate S. (*W. C. T. U.*), Fargo.
 Wylie, Mrs. Barbara H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Bowsmont.

STATE OF OHIO

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Chambers, Mrs. Mattie, Akron	Richard, Mrs. Florence D., Columbus
Croxton, Mr. Fred C., Columbus	Rodefer, Hon. Major, Bellaire
Cummings, Hon. M. J., Akron	Romans, Mrs. Viola D., Quaker City
Deffenbaugh, Hon. J. W., Lancaster	Russell, Dr. Howard H. (<i>Also World League Against Alco.</i>), Westerville
Fuller, Mrs. Frances E., Madison	Teachout, Hon. David, Cleveland
Gleason, Mrs. Lulu T., Toledo	Van Kirk, Mrs. H. D., Columbus
Holland, Dr. J. W., Toledo	Van Kirk, Mrs. Lucy E., Granville
McKinstry, Mrs. Hattie, Cincinnati	Warner, Mrs. Emily, Cleveland
Maysilles, Prof. A. A., Dayton	Courtenay, Dr. A. N., Westerville
Meredith, Mrs. Sarah K., Canton	
Neville, Rev. Father Martin, Dayton	

LIST OF DELEGATES

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Anderson, Wm. F., Cincinnati.
 Baker, Dr. Purley A. (*Anti-Saloon League of America*), Westerville.
 Barrett, F. W. (*Ohio Prohibition Executive Com.*), Springfield.
 Bradford, Mrs. G. E. (*W. C. T. U.*), Cincinnati.
 Carlson, Dr. G. A. (*Nat'l Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Youngstown.
 Cherrington, Ernest H. (*Anti-Saloon League and Sci. Temp. Fed.*), Westerville.
 Doty, Boyd P. (*Anti-Saloon League of Ohio*), Westerville.
 Ervin, Miss Mary (*World's Nat'l Loyal Temp. Legion*), Cedarville.
 Faulk, S. J. (*Ohio Prohib. State Comm.*), East Liverpool.
 Fickel, Samuel J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Grindell, Miss Ila (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Hall, Rev. Maxwell, Columbus.
 Jamison, Minnie G. (*W. C. T. U.*), Columbus.
 Johnson, Mrs. W. E. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Lane, Dr. C. W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Warren.
 Lane, Mrs. C. W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Warren.
 Lane, Mrs. Etta Freeman (*W. C. T. U.*), Plain City.
 McVey, Mrs. Blanche R. (*W. C. T. U.*), Columbus.
 Mee, George W. (*Philo Proh. Committee*), Greenville.
 Moore, L. M. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Moore, Dr. E. J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Porter, Albert, D. Lit. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Rabe, Thos. H. (*Ohio Proh. Committee*), Canton.
 Richardson, Rev. Ed. J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Sellers, Chas. L. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Westerville.
 Slater, Mrs. Mattie (*Ohio, Prohib. Exec. Comm.*), Warren.
 Spencer, Mrs. Emma E. (*W. C. T. U.*), Canton.
 Watkins, Dr. Aaron S. (*Prohibition Party*) Cincinnati.

STATE OF OKLAHOMA

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bonnell, Dr. A. E. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Muskogee.
 Fisher, E. B., McAlester.
 Haley, Nellie E., Ponca City.
 Laughbaum, Hon. H. T. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Oklahoma City.
 Legg, Mrs. Julia Chonteau (*Ladies' Aux. to K. O. F. M.*), Tulsa.
 McClintic, Hon. James V., Rep. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Snyder.
 McDougall, Judge D. A. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Sapulpa.
 Roach, Rev. I. Frank (*Anti-Saloon League*), Oklahoma City.

STATE OF OREGON

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Carl, Mrs. Minnie (*Young People's Br. W. C. T. U.*), Portland.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Chalfant, Harry M., Narberth	LaPlace, Dr. Ernest, Philadelphia
Beane, Rev. Father J. G. (<i>U. S. Official Delegate</i>), Pittsburgh	Marshall, Dr. John, Philadelphia
Cogill, Dr. Lydia, Philadelphia	McClurkin, Rev. J. K., Pittsburgh
Elliott, Prof. W. A., Meadsville	Montgomery, Dr. E. E., Philadelphia
Gazzam, Mrs. Joseph M., Philadelphia	Rhoads, Miss Rebecca, Bellefonte
Hare, Dr. Hobart Amory, Philadelphia	Smith, Calvin M., Philadelphia
	Snyder, Hon. Plymouth W., Hollidaysburg
	Tope, Dr. Homer W., Philadelphia

LIST OF DELEGATES

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Alexander, Miss Clara (*Anti-Saloon League*), Philadelphia.
 Baedro, Mrs. Anna R. (*Sons of Temperance*), Philadelphia.
 Ballinger, Walter F. (*Bd. of Temp. Proh. and Pub. Morals*), Philadelphia.
 Balph, Mrs. M. Z. (*W. C. T. U.*), Beaver Falls.
 Batten, Rev. Samuel Z., D. D. (*Northern Bapt. Conv.*), Philadelphia.
 Boyd, Mrs. Miller (*W. C. T. U.*), Westtown.
 Boyle, John C. (*C. T. A. U. of America*), Chester.
 Brandt, J. H. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Philadelphia.
 Brandt, Mrs. J. H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Brown, Daniel (*C. T. A. U. of America*), Braddock.
 Brown, Mrs. Daniel (*C. T. A. U. of America*), Braddock.
 Buckley, Mary (*C. T. A. U. of America*), Pittsburgh.
 Carnathan, Mrs. J. F. (*W. C. T. U.*), Harrisburg.
 Cassidy, Mary G. (*T. A. B. Society*), Ardmore.
 Cavanaugh, Gertude A. (*C. T. A. U.*), Scranton.
 Champion, Mrs. R. B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Swarthmore.
 Collins, Mrs. Elizabeth (*Our Lad's Good Coun. T. A. B. Soc.*), Ardmore.
 Convery, Charles (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Cooper, Rev. A. W., Mountain Top.
 Cawby, Frank J. (*Scranton Diocesan Union*), Archbald.
 CePutron, J. F. W. (*R. C. T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Creame, Joseph L. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Crowley, Miss Nelly M. (*O. Moth's G. C. L. T. A. B.*), Merion.
 DepUtron, Mrs. Kathryn (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Diefenderfer, Mrs. Flora J. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wisconsin.
 Dempsey, Irene (*C. T. A. U.*), Dunmore.
 Dickerson, J. H. (*Pres. Board of Temperance*), Wooster, Ohio.
 Dittman, H. F. (*Temp. Com. of Presby. of Phila.*), Philadelphia.
 Downie, R. M. (*National Reform Association*), Beaver Falls.
 Daugherty, Rev. S. D., D. D. (*Synodical Supt.*), Philadelphia.
 Dougherty, James., Haverford.
 Downy, Mrs. Anna (*W. C. T. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Dunleasey, Marella (*C. T. A. U.*), Scranton.
 Ellis, S. M. (*Pioneer Tent No. 1, Indep. O. of Rechbts*), McKeesport.
 Ewing, Rev. Joseph Lyons (*Penn. Anti-Saloon League*), Philadelphia.
 Eyre, Mrs. Emma D. (*W. C. T. U.*), Dollington.
 Eyre, Mrs. Lettie W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Newton.
 Fanning, Hon. Michael J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Philadelphia.
 Ferris, F. Sophia, Philadelphia.
 Farrell, Rev. J. J., Scranton.
 Fitzgerald, W. M. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Fitzgerald, Mrs. Wm. M. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Foster, Mrs. Joseph T. (*W. C. T. U.*), Franklin.
 Gannon, Margaret A. (*C. T. A. U.*), Pittsburgh.
 George, Mrs. H. H. (*Natl Reform Association*), Beaver Falls.
 Getz, Rev. G. W. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Carlisle.
 Getz, Mrs. G. W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Carlisle.
 Gill, John E. (*Pa. State Prohibition Committee*), Pittsburgh.
 Goho, Mrs. Ella J. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Lewisburg.
 Gordon, James F. (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Greene, Jennie M. (*C. T. A. U.*), Scranton.
 Harbison, William A. (*Natl Reform Association*), Pittsburgh.
 Hagan, Mrs. James, Philadelphia.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Hanaway, Mary B., Brandywine Summit.
 Hankins, Matthew J. (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Harding, Thomas (*C. T. A. U.*), Carbondale.
 Hazard, Mrs. Julia, Swarthmore.
 Hendricks, Miss Clara A. (*Pa. State Proh. Committee*), Chester.
 Hennessy, Miss B. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Hering, H. Beecher, Philadelphia.
 Hershey, S. W., York.
 Heutsler, Mr. Thomas (*C. T. A. U.*), Irwin.
 Hodgson, Mrs. Anna J. (*W. C. T. U.*), Turtle Creek.
 Hoppes, George W. (*Perm. Temp. Comms. of United Evang. Ch.*), Pottsville.
 Hughes, Richard H. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Jones, Mrs. Harry C. (*Grand Division Sons of Temp.*), Philadelphia.
 Joyce, Margaret (*C. T. A. U.*), Verona.
 Kane, Rev. D. J. (*Total Abst. League*), Moscow.
 Kane, Rev. F. J., Philadelphia.
 Kane, Elisha Kent (*Penn. State Prohibition Com.*), Kushequa.
 Keefer, Rosine G. (*W. C. T. U.*), DuBois.
 Kings, Mrs. Jessie, Falls.
 Knox, Mrs. J. Charles (*W. C. T. U.*), Gettysburg.
 Lambing, Rev. M. A. (*Total Abst. League*), Scottsdale.
 Leitz, Catharine L. (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Leitz, Agnes A. (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Lewis, Mrs. R. T. (*C. T. A. U.*), Pittsburgh.
 Lindsay, Kathryne (*C. T. A. U.*), Clifton Heights.
 Lindsay, Nellie (*C. T. A. U.*), Clifton Heights.
 Lundy, Mr. James (*C. T. A. U.*), Irwin.
 Lynn, Anna M. (*C. T. A. U.*), Scranton.
 Lynn, Mrs. Mary (*C. T. A. U.*), Scranton.
 Lyster, Mrs. Nelson O. (*W. C. T. U.*), Lansdowne.
 Martin, James (*C. T. A. U.*), Carbondale.
 Martin, Rev. James S., D. D. (*Natl Reform Ass'n*), Pittsburgh.
 Masland, Mr. C. W. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Melrose.
 Mattimore, Mrs. P. H. (*C. T. A. U.*), Pittsburgh.
 McCann, Rev. John E. (*C. T. A. U.*), Easton.
 McCarthy, Nellie (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 McCormick, John J. (*C. T. A. U.*), Lansdowne.
 McCollough, Mrs. J. Reid (*W. C. T. U.*), Gettysburg.
 McDowell, Mrs. Caroline (*W. C. T. U.*), Pittsburgh.
 McDowell, Mrs. J. C. (*Bd. of Temp. Proh. and Pub. Morals*), Pittsburgh.
 McGee, William V. (*C. T. A. U.*), Jenkinstown.
 McLaughlin, James E. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Metz, Rev. J. A., Germantown.
 Miller, Rev. Rufus W. (*Fed. Council of Churches*), Philadelphia.
 Murphy, Michael J. (*T. A. B. Society*), West Chester.
 Obuholtzer, Mrs. Sara Louisa (*W. C. T. U.*), Philadelphia.
 O'Connell, Mrs. Mary (*C. T. A. U.*), Braddock.
 Olson, Mrs. Ole (*W. C. T. U.*), Renovo.
 Postlecut, Mrs. W. J. (*W. C. T. U.*), South Fork.
 Prindable, Joseph P. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Prugh, B. E. (*Prohibition National Committee*), Harrisburg.
 Raby, Mr. W. H. (*Church of Christ*), Waynesboro.
 Raby, Mrs. W. H. (*Church of Christ*), Waynesboro.
 Rafferty, Rev. W. Edward, D. D. (*Northern Bap. Con.*), Philadelphia.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Rickenbrode, E. C. (*M. E. Church*), Pleasantville.
 Riddle, Sara M. (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Rodes, R. R., York.
 Ruddle, Josephine (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Sanner, Mrs. H. H. (*W. C. T. U.*), Pittsburgh.
 Schaeffer, Charles E. (*Reformed Church in U. S.*), Philadelphia.
 Schaum, Rev. George F. (*Perm. Com. of United Evang. Ch.*), Lancaster.
 Scanlon, Mrs. Charles (*World Prohibition Federation*), Pittsburgh.
 Scanlon, Miss Pauline (*World Prohibition Federation*), Pittsburgh.
 Scanlon, Dr. Charles (*World Prohibition Federation*), Pittsburgh.
 Sherwood, Mrs. Paul J. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wilkes-Barre.
 Schlegel, H. Franklin (*United Evang. Ch. Temp. Coms.*), Reading.
 Schmidt, Mrs. Ambrose (*W. C. T. U.*), Bellefonte.
 Skinner, W. Spencer (*Baptist Church of Pittsburgh*), Pittsburgh.
 Slack, Ross (*Sons of Temperance*), Philadelphia.
 Slater, Mrs. Ida (*W. C. T. U.*), Johnstown.
 Smith, Anna G. (*C. T. A. U.*), Dunmore.
 Smith, Mrs. Belle Davis (*W. C. T. U.*), Erie.
 Smith, Harry W., Tamaqua.
 Smith, Mrs. H. W. (*W. C. T. U.*), Tamaqua.
 Stauffer, Rev. J. J. (*Penn. State Prohib. Committee*), York.
 Stauffer, Rev. Edgar E. (*Perm. Temp. Com. of Un. Evang. C.*), Lebanon.
 Steele, Joseph M. (*Natl Reform Association*), Philadelphia.
 Stewart, Mrs. T. R. B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Wilkesburg.
 Stiner, Mrs. Clara (*W. C. T. U.*), Kennett Square.
 Stringer, Godfrey (*Penn. State Pro. Committee*), Philadelphia.
 Stringer, Mrs. Mary (*W. C. T. U.*), Germantown.
 Trezise, Mrs. W. M. (*W. C. T. U.*), DuBois.
 Tuolry, Hugh (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Walsh, Margaret D. (*T. A. B. Society*), Philadelphia.
 Walsh, Mary M. T. (*C. T. A. U.*), Philadelphia.
 Walters, Thos. (*Bd. of Temp. Presbyterian Church*), Pittsburgh.
 Walton, John (*Fed. Council of Churches*), Philadelphia.
 Watchhorn, Rev. John, D. D. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Philadelphia.
 Wenzel, Mrs. Adele G. (*W. C. T. U.*), Bethlehem.
 West, Mr. George (*C. T. A. U.*), Lanimer.
 White, James J. (*C. T. A. U.*), Scranton.
 Wilson, Faidley, M., D. D. (*Natl. Reform Ass'n.*), Philadelphia.
 Wylie, Mrs. Jean B. (*W. C. T. U.*), Pittsburgh.
 Wylie, Mrs. R. C. (*Natl Reform Association*), Pittsburgh.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Burlingame, L. D., Providence, 15	Randall, Dean Otis E., Providence,
Catalpa Rd.	Brown Univ.
Davis, Rev. Samuel H., Westerly	Roberts, Mrs. J. H. (<i>Also W. C. T.</i>
Hall, Mrs. J. J. (<i>Also R. I. W. C. T.</i>	<i>U.</i>), Providence, 319 Butler Ex.
<i>U.</i>), Providence, 319 Butler Ex.	Rooke, Mrs. G. T., Providence, 319
Johnson, John, Pawtucket	Butler Ex.
Livingston, Mrs. Deborah Knox	Shaw, Edward, Providence, 4 West-
<i>Also W. C. T. U.</i>), Providence, 319	minster St.
Butler Ex.	Steere, S. V., Chepachet

LIST OF DELEGATES

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Brown, Clarence L., Providence.
Chase, Rev. Loring B. (*Newman Congregational Church*), Providence.
Claypool, Rev. Ernest V. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Providence.
Cooper, Rev. J. Francis (*Anti-Saloon League*), East Greenwich.
Dingwall, Rev. J. D. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Pawtucket.
Ellis, I. C., Westerly.
Evans, Rev. Edward R. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Pawtucket.
Goff, D. C. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Providence.
Green, Rev. William T. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Natick.
Littlefield, Nathan W. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Providence.
O'Brien, Thomas (*T. A. B. Society*), Pawtucket.
Olsenious, Rev. Joel (*Anti-Saloon League*), Auburn.
Place, Miss Marion (*W. C. T. U.*), Providence.
Rooke, Mrs. George F. (*W. C. T. U.*), Providence.
Stewart, Rev. T. J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Pawtucket.
White, Willis H. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Providence.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Burney, Prof. W. B., Columbia Hayne, Dr. Jas. A., Columbia
DuBose, S. W., Easley Williams, Dr. C. F., Columbia
Guignard, Dr. Jane Bruce, Columbia Wilson, Dr. Robt., Jr., Charleston

STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Collins, Mrs. Ida M. (*Anti-Saloon League of S. Dak.*), Redfield.

STATE OF TENNESSEE

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Brandon, Prof. A. J., Murfresboro Leslie, Hon. Geo. M., Camden
Bang, Mrs. Mary, Nashville, 719 McDaniel, N. M., Tellico Plains
 Russell St. Milton, G. F., Chattanooga, 500 Wood
Carre, Dr. Henry Beech (*Also Anti-Place*
 Saloon League & World League
 against Alcoholism), Nashville Webb, Hon. W. R., Belle Buckle
Cooper, Noah W., Nashville Wheelock, Mrs. W. E., Chattanooga,
 238 Prospect St.
Elkins, Hon. Louis E., Nashville

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Burrow, Dr. J. A. (*M. E. Church*), Chattanooga.
Chappell, Dr. E. B. (*M. E. Church South*), Nashville.
McAlister, Rev. J. D. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Nashville.
McCoy, Mrs. J. H. (*M. E. Church South*), Nashville.
Murray, Bishop W. B. (*M. E. Church South*), Memphis.
Welch, Mrs. Minnie Alison (*W. C. T. U.*), Sparta.

STATE OF TEXAS

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Clark, Mrs. T. S., Marlin McHugh, Mrs. E. L., Vernon
Hollett, Mrs. Mary P., San Antonio, Megrail, Mrs. Cora E., Grand Prairie
 815 Russell Place
Jackson, Mrs. J. D., Cleburne, 105 W. Ragland, Mrs. T. S., Gilmer
 Willingham

LIST OF DELEGATES

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Colline, Mrs. Josephine (*Anti-Saloon League*), Dallas.
Milburn, W. J. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Abilene.
Webb, Rev. Atticus (*Anti-Saloon League*), Dallas.
Woodward, Dr. Comer (*M. E. Church South*), Dallas, Southern M. E. Univ.

STATE OF UTAH

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Whitney, H. G., Salt Lake City.

STATE OF VERMONT

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Laing, A. E. (*Anti-Saloon League of Vermont*), Burlington.

STATE OF VIRGINIA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Emerick, Mrs. J. H., Purcellville	Parrott, Mrs. Faith, Middleville
Garnett, Christopher B., Fairfax	Pouder, Jno. Gardner, Arlington,
Hatcher, Rev. S. C., Ashland	D. C.
Jones, C. E., Carysbrook	Ruebush, Mrs. J. K.,
Jorg, Mrs. Wm., Richmond	Savage, Mrs. Ed. C.,
Lambert, Geo. A., Rural Retreat	Smith, H. B., Richwood
Lee, Mrs. Bettie, Danville	Wicker, Rev. J. J., Richwood

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Barber, R. S. (*Anti-Saloon League*), South Boston.
Bellows, Joe (*Anti-Saloon League*), Ocran.
Benkerhoff, M. H., Falls Church.
Bennett, Dr. R. H. (*M. E. Church South*), Lynchburg.
Callahan, Mrs. J. A. (*H. C. T. U.*), Bristol.
Cannon, Bishop James (*Also registered in N. C.*), Blackstone.
Campbell, Dr. W. C. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Roanoke.
Conway, P. D. B. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Fredericksburg.
Conway, Miss Vivian, Fredericksburg.
Merriitt, Earl R., Falls Church.
Griffith, R. S., M. D., Basie City.
Hoge, Howard M. (*Ed. of Surreption of Liquor Traffic*), Lincoln.
Hawxhurst, Mr. G. W. (*Ch. Grand Lodge I. O. G. T.*), Falls Church.
Hepburn, Rev. David (*Anti-Saloon League*), Richmond.
Hepburn, Mrs. David (*Anti-Saloon League*), Chester.
Hicks, Mrs. Mary Quim (*H. C. T. U.*), Fredericksburg.
Hoge, Sara H. (*Ed. of Sup. of Liquor Traffic*), Lincoln.
Hopkins, Rev. J. A. (*Ed. of Temp. Welfare of Ch. of Christ*), Edinburg.
Hough, J. W. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Norfolk.
Ivy, Dr. W. C. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Roanoke.
James, Mrs. L. W. (*H. C. T. U.*), Drendon.
Jackson, Rev. Engen. B. (*Soc. Serv. Com. S. B. Church*), Alexandria.
Justus, Mrs. R. A. (*H. C. T. U.*), Chester.
Keefer, Miss Nora (*H. C. T. U.*), Richmond.
Lambeth, Dr. Graham (*Anti-Saloon League*), Richmond.
Latham, Mrs. Frank (*H. C. T. U.*), Alexandria.
Mason, Mrs. Julia H. (*H. C. T. U.*), Alexandria.
McCormell, John P. (*Anti-Saloon League*), East Radford.

LIST OF DELEGATES

McConnell, Mrs. J. P. (*W. C. T. U.*), East Radford.
 Merrill, Miss Lucile (*W. C. T. U.*), Agnewville.
 Mullins, Mrs. Henry G. (*W. C. T. U.*), Martinsville.
 Paulett, R. H., Farmville.
 Paulett, Mrs. R. H., Farmville.
 Peery, Mrs. D. Carnhan (*W. C. T. U.*), Coeburn.
 Peterson, Mrs. Evalyn (*W. C. T. U.*), Pamplin.
 Pitt, Dr. R. H. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Richmond.
 Scott, Rev. John G. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Richmond.
 Small, Hon. Sam (*National Reform Association*), Rosslyn.
 Talbot, Frank (*M. E. Church South*), Danville.
 Thomas, Mrs. R. (*W. C. T. U.*), Richmond.
 Walton, M. L. (*M. E. Church South*), Woodstock.
 Weech, Amy C. (*W. C. T. U.*), D. C., 21731 Ninth St.
 Wellford, Dr. E. T., Newport News.
 Wolfe, Mrs. Hattie (*W. C. T. U.*), Highland Springs.

STATE OF WASHINGTON

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Barr, Carrie M. (*W. C. T. U.*), Yakima.
 Roberts, John T. (*W. C. T. U.*), Yakima.
 Roberts, Elizabeth (*W. C. T. U.*), Yakima.

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Barnes, Mrs. J. Walter, Fairmont	Sweet, Mrs. Edith M., St. Albans
McWhorter, Judge J. C., Buckhannon	Thomas, A. S., Charleston
Mohler, Mrs. T. H., St. Albans	Trainer, Geo. W., Salem
Pickering, Mrs. Blanche, Rowlesburg	West, Mrs. Leandus, Clarksburg
Raine, Mrs. Montgomery, Evenwood	Yost, Mrs. L. L. (<i>U. S. Official Delegate</i>), Charleston, Kanawha Hotel
Laughlin, Geo. A., Wheeling.	

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Bonafield, Mrs. Virginia (*W. C. T. U.*), Fairmont.
 Darlington, Bishop U. V. M. (*M. E. Church South*), Huntington.
 Davisson, Nora B. Miss (*W. C. T. U.*), Lost Creek.
 Light, Dr. John H. (*M. E. Church South*), Marlinton.
 Martin, A. W. (*State Prohibition Party*), Haywood.
 Robinson, Mrs. B. F. (*W. C. T. U.*), Clarksburg.
 Robinson, Miss Margaret (*W. C. T. U.*), Clarksburg.
 Teter, Mrs. M. D. (*W. C. T. U.*), Bridgeport.
 Waterhouse, B. N. (*General Sunday School Board*), Huntington.

STATE OF WISCONSIN

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Alexander, L. M., Port Edwards	Rosebush, Judson G., Appleton
Hazelberg, Hon. T. T., Madison	Strange, Ex-Lieut. Governor, Neenah
Hooper, Mrs. Ben, Oshkosh	Vea, F. J., Stoughton
James, Miss Ada, Richland Center	Weldon, W. E., Milwaukee
Johnson, Mrs. Mary Scott, Superior	Whitehead, Hon. John M., Janesville
Minanhan, Miss Ellen L., Milwaukee	Youmans, Mrs. Theo. M., Waukesha

LIST OF DELEGATES

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Jones, Warren G., Madison.
Sedar, Rev. James I. (*Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League*), Milwaukee.
Wright, Mrs. Frances (*World's Purity Federation*), Green Bay.

STATE OF WYOMING

APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR

Allison, Mrs. Archie, Cheyenne	Rose, W. B., Cheyenne
Bible, Dr. Geo. A., Rawlins	Stoner, Mrs. Ethel, Cokeville
Condit, L. R. A., Barnum	Warren, Earl, Riverton
Cromer, Dr. J. M., Casper	Wade, W. L., Cheyenne

REPRESENTING ORGANIZATIONS

Hawkins, Mrs. C. D. (*Anti-Saloon League*), Wheatland.

THE SPIRIT OF TEMPERANCE

PAGEANT GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST ALCOHOLISM

On the East Front of the Capitol
Washington, D. C., September 21, 1920, at 8 P. M.

Written by
SUESSA BALDRIDGE BLAINE (MRS. DON P. BLAINE)
of the *American Executive Committee*.

Produced under the direction of
MAUDE MOORE FORREST, *District of Columbia Command, Vice*
Director of Music, CHARLES S. WENGER, *District of Columbia Command, Vice*.

PART I

THE PROGRESS OF TEMPERANCE—PAGEANT OF THE FIFTEENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
PRESENTED IN CONGRESS.

Processional Hymn—"How Firm a Foundation."

PROLOGUE BY THE SPIRIT OF TEMPERANCE

In the by-gone distant ages, Bacchus ruled with reckless hand,
Kings and courtiers, sages and seers, tribute paid at his command;
License stalked abroad unchallenged, Self-indulgence had its way,
Till the Nations, crushed by vices, passed in ruin and decay.

Slowly, surely, men are learning, wholesome lessons Time has taught;
Virtue some time is rewarded, sacrifice is not for naught,
And to some, in wondrous measure, comes the dream of Brotherhood—
They forego the doubtful pleasure to promote the common good.

Entrance of COLUMBIA and her COUNSELORS—The Departments of State, Treasury,
War, Justice, Post Office, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor.

March of INTERNATIONAL GUESTS representing NATIONS participating in the
pageant. They are greeted by THE SPIRIT OF TEMPERANCE and presented to
COLUMBIA.

ALL NATIONS render homage to THE SPIRIT OF TEMPERANCE. COLUMBIA wel-
comes her guests to the very Heart of the Nation.

EPILOGUE BY THE SPIRIT OF TEMPERANCE

Light must ever follow darkness, Truth's white banners be unfurled—
Temperance, as fair as sunrise, dawns to-day to bless the World!

PART II

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, PAGEANT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

Entrance of COLUMBIA and her COUNSELORS escorting the INTERNATIONAL GUESTS.

COLUMBIA addresses the GUESTS:—Before us will pass in historical review great founders of our Country and of our Constitution.

Entrance of GEORGE WASHINGTON attended by CONTINENTAL ADVISORS.

THE CONSTITUTION BECOMES THE FOUNDATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

COLUMBIA speaks:—Behold the Constitution of the United States. With the passing years it has grown with the Nation to meet increasing needs and responsibilities.

ELEVEN AMENDMENTS ARE ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The Ten Original Amendments. 1791.—(1) Freedom of speech and of the press and the right to petition; (2) The right to keep and bear arms; (3) Regarding soldiers' quarters in times of peace and war; (4) The right of search and seizure regulated; (5) Concerning prosecution, trial and punishment; (6) The right to speedy trial; (7) The right to trial by jury; (8) Excessive fines and cruel punishment prohibited; (9) Enumeration of certain rights construed; (10) States' rights; (11) Judicial powers construed—1798.

The CLOCK of the UNIVERSE strikes.—TIME passes.

Entrance of THOMAS JEFFERSON accompanied by BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and DR. BENJAMIN RUSH, early Advocates of Temperance.

COLUMBIA speaks:—Thomas Jefferson, one who believed in temperance as fundamental.

Thomas Jefferson was largely responsible for the first aggressive action of the United States Government to prohibit the liquor traffic among the Indians. He also strongly opposed the securing of revenue for the Federal Government through taxation of intoxicating liquors.

THE TWELFTH AMENDMENT IS ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION.

(12) Manner of choosing President and Vice-President—1804.

TIME passes.

Chorus: "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

• "As Christ died to make men holy, let us live to make men free."

Entrance of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

COLUMBIA speaks—Abraham Lincoln with clear and prophetic vision foretold a time when this Nation would not only be loosed from the chains of slavery but also be set free from the fetters of strong drink.

"Whether the world would be vastly benefited by a total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks, seems to me not now to be an open question. When the victory shall be complete, when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on earth, how proud the title of that land which may claim to be the birthplace and cradle of those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN in an address at Springfield, Ill., Feb. 22, 1842.

The names of Jefferson and Lincoln will ever be enshrined in the hearts of the American people.

THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS ARE ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION.

(13) Slavery abolished, 1865; (14) Regarding rights of citizenship, apportionment of representatives in Congress and validity of public debts, 1868; (15) Granting the franchise to colored citizens, 1870.

TIME passes.

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH AMENDMENTS ARE ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION.
(16) Income taxes authorized, 1913; (17) Election of U. S. Senators by direct popular vote, 1913.

Chorus: "Oh, God, Our Help in Ages Past, Our Hope for Years to Come."

COLUMBIA speaks:—The Evolution of Temperance has been slow but sure.

Deep CONSECRATION and stern AGITATION laid the foundation in dark early days;

Then EDUCATION by its information, built up the structure in logical ways.

ORGANIZATION spread over the Nation, massing the workers in units of power;

COOPERATION of all these forces won LEGISLATION, blest boon of the hour.

Entrance of GROUPS representing:

THE CHURCH—which has given religious and moral instruction.

THE HOME—where little ones have been tenderly taught.

THE SCHOOL—where in accordance with Federal and State laws children have received scientific temperance instruction.

THE PRESS—which by charts, posters and leaflets, by articles in magazines and daily newspapers, as well as in religious and temperance publications, has educated the general public.

THE PLATFORM—whereby lecturers have presented their message in every hamlet, town and city.

SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION—conducted by eminent University Professors to determine the physiological and psychological effect of alcohol.

THE ECONOMIC VIEWPOINT—as interpreted by hundreds of employers and thousands of working men of this Nation.

These and many other efforts and interests have had a part in THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE.

Entrance of the UNITED TEMPERANCE FORCES.

Interpretative Scene:—Representing the early Temperance effort as being shrouded in darkness and difficulty when separate forces struggle on and on guided by the spirit of *Agitation*. Consecrated *Education* appears and they are brought together into the pathway which leads toward the dawn and, at last, brings them to the clear light of victory.

Chorus: "Onward Christian Soldiers."

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT IS ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States, and all territory subject to its jurisdiction, for beverage purposes, was introduced in the Senate by joint resolution in April, 1917, and in December, 1917, was passed by both Houses of Congress and submitted to the Legislatures of the various States. Having been duly ratified on January 16, 1919, by thirty-six States as required by the Constitution, it was, on January 29, 1919, proclaimed as being in full force and effect. By subsequent action of other State Legislatures, a grand total of forty-five States ratified the Eighteenth Amendment.

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT enters and is greeted by COLUMBIA and her COUNSELLORS. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE accepts his scroll and adds it to the CONSTITUTION.

Interpretative Scene by pupils of Lyric School of Interpretative Dancing for Children, under the direction of Grace Batchelor and Mary Frances Murray.

The United Temperance Forces by members of the W. C. T. U., Washington, D. C., under the direction of Mrs. Bertie S. Solbach.

States, Territories and U. S. Possessions by groups from State, Treasury and War Departments, including War Risk and Census Bureaus.

Heralds of Victory: Mary Skinner, Edith Tupman, Alice Tupman, Mary Jordan.

Progress and Prosperity: Eva and Edith Monroe.

PAGEANT COMMITTEE.

1. Representing the American Executive Committee of the Congress: Mrs. Suessa B. Blaine, Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, Miss Laura R. Church.
2. Representing the American Advisory Committee: Mrs. A. J. Driscoll, Mrs. E. S. Henry, Mr. Deets Pickett.
3. Costumes: Mrs. E. T. Perkins, Mrs. J. Criswell, Mrs. W. Gifford, Mrs. T. Tincher, Mrs. W. Taylor, Mrs. J. R. Handy, Mrs. A. J. Driscoll.
4. Marshals: Mrs. N. M. Pollock, Mrs. J. W. Allison, Mrs. W. Winklehaus, Mrs. F. Davis, Mrs. E. J. Deeds, Mrs. L. W. Solbach, Mrs. C. F. Bowman, Elizabeth Davis Schreiner, *Pageant Organizer for the American Executive Committee.*

Piano used by the National Community Chorus by courtesy of the Arthur Jordan Piano Co.

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